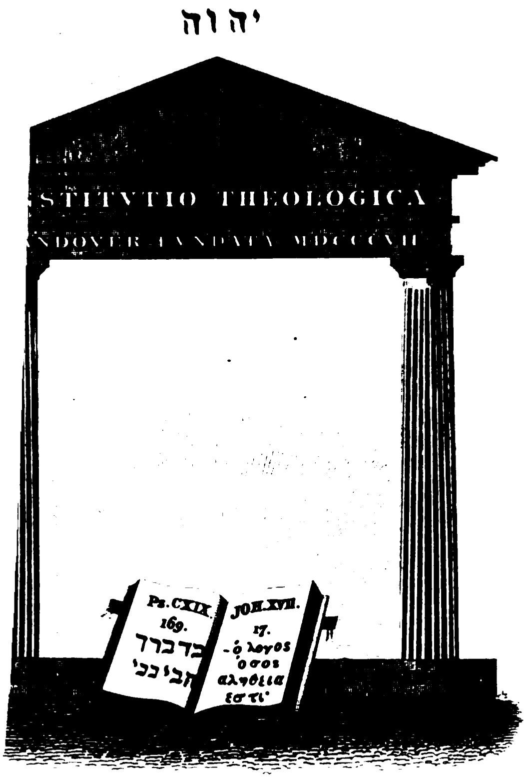

יהוה
STITVTIO THEOLOGICA
NDOVER
MDCCCVII
Ps. CXIX. 169.
כדברך הבינני
JOH. XVII. 17.
ὁ λογος ὁ σος αληθεια εστι

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME SECOND.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION, AND INSTITUTIONS.

Φάναι, ὃ ἂν μὴ γιγνώσκωμεν, βαρβαρικὸν τοῦτ' ἔιναι. ἔιη μὲν ὂυν ἴσως ἄν τι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀυτῶν, ἔιη δὲ κἂν ὑπὸ παλαιότητος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνεύρετα ἔιναι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πανταχῇ στρέφεσθαι τὰ ονόματα ὀυδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἂν ἔιη ἐι ἡ παλαιὰ φωνὴ πρὸς τὴν νυνὶ βαρβαρικῆς μηδὲν διαφέροι. PLATO, *Cratylus*, i. 421.

"We might say that the words which we did not understand were derived from the barbarians. Some of them might in reality be so; and it might also be the case that, owing to the lapse of time, the earliest forms were undiscoverable: for, as a result of the circulation of words in all parts of the world, it would not be at all strange if the ancient language, as compared with the modern, was in no respect different from the speech of the barbarians."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, AND FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE LEYDEN LITERARY SOCIETY.

VOLUME SECOND.

INQUIRY WHETHER THE HINDUS ARE OF TRANS-HIMALAYAN ORIGIN, AND AKIN TO THE WESTERN BRANCHES OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN RACE.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1871.

HERTFORD:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.[1]

My primary object in this volume, as in its predecessor, has been to produce a work which may assist the researches of those Hindus who desire to investigate critically the origin and history of their nation, and of their national literature, religion, and institutions; and may facilitate the operations of those European teachers whose business it is to communicate to the Hindus the results of modern inquiry on the various subjects here examined.[2] The book (as will at once be apparent to the Oriental scholar) is, for the most part, either a compilation, or, at the least, founded on the labours of others; but while my principal aim has been to furnish the reader with a summary of the results of preceding inquiries, my plan has, at the same time, rendered it necessary for me occasionally to institute fresh researches in different directions for the further elucidation of particular points which were touched upon in the course

[1] [This Preface is now reprinted with hardly any alteration, excepting such as has been rendered necessary by the difference in the numbers of the pages in which the several topics are treated, and by some additions and omissions.]

[2] This peculiarity in the object of the treatise will account to the European scholar for the introduction of many details which would otherwise have been quite superfluous.

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and in others but thinly scattered,
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ts plan (in pp. 1—3), and from the
this Preface, it may conduce to the
readers who, before entering on a
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bject of the present Part is to prove

that the Hindus were not indigenous in India, but have immigrated into that country from Central Asia, where their ancestors at one time formed one community with the progenitors of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, etc.[3] In order to establish this result, I have sought to show that Sanskrit, the original language of the Hindus, exhibits undeniable marks of close affinity to the ancient languages of the other races just mentioned; and that the earliest religion, and mythology also, of India are connected with those of Persia by various points of contact and resemblance. Having adduced evidence on both these heads, and argued that these facts imply a common origin of the nations in question, and their subsequent dispersion from one common centre towards the different regions in which they ultimately settled; I endeavour to fortify the conclusions to which we are thus conducted by demonstrating that, in the earliest ages of their history, the ancestors of the Hindus appear to have occupied only the north-western corner of Hindustan; and that, while they were connected on the one hand by affinities of language and religion with the nations of the west, they were on the other hand distinguished, both by language and by institutions, from certain other tribes with whom they came into collision as they advanced across the north of India, and afterwards diffused themselves to the south of the peninsula: for if we find that the Hindus originally possessed only the Panjāb, the presumption (derived from

[3] [This proposition has been so far modified in the second edition that I now only insist on at least one of the elements in the ancestry of the Hindus having belonged to the Indo-European stock.]

-erations) that they immigrated from the
becomes strengthened; and if, again, on
to the south-east, they encountered tribes
-ent language and religion, already in occu-
-ose tracts, the probability that they did not
India, alongside of these alien tribes, acquires
-rce.

to obtain a basis for carrying out the philo-
-ion of this argument, viz., for comparing the
-guage of the Hindus with those of the Per-
-ks, and Latins, it became necessary for me to
the Sanskrit, which is now a learned language
at one time spoken by the ancestors of the
This I have attempted to do in the First
(pp. 4—214), by showing in detail that the
Sanskrit idiom has undergone a long series of
mutations, of which we now see the ultimate
in the modern vernacular dialects of the north of
The method which I have adopted to exhibit
-s been to begin (Section i., pp. 4—11) with the
-g spoken dialects, Urdu, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc.,
, show what the elements are of which they are
-sed, viz., (1) pure Sanskrit, (2) modified Sanskrit,
-deśya or aboriginal non-Sanskrit words, and (4)
derived from Arabic and Persian. The fourth
-nt is the latest which they have acquired, and
only from the Mahomedan invasion; while the
-d and third (in a more or less different form) are
-ion to them with the Prākṛits, or older vernacular
-cts, out of which they grew.

the succeeding sections (ii.—vii., pp. 11—128) an

account is given of these earlier vernaculars, viz. (1) the Prākṛits, of which specimens are to be found in the different Hindu dramas, and which seem to have existed as spoken dialects, at least from the commencement of the Christian era, until they became merged in the modern vernaculars; (2) the Pāli, or sacred language of the Buddhist books of Ceylon and Burmah, which appears to represent one of the provincial dialects of northern India existing at the time when Buddhism began to be propagated in the sixth century B.C., and exhibits to us the popular speech of that region at a somewhat earlier stage than the dramatic Prākṛits; (3) the dialects (nearly contemporaneous with the Pāli) which are employed in the rock and pillar inscriptions of Aśoka; and (4) the singular dialect or jargon employed in the Gāthās or metrical portions of the Buddhist chronicles of northern India. In this portion of the work some comparative tables are introduced, which exhibit (*a*) the relations (*i.e.* the points of resemblance and of difference) between the modern vernaculars, Hindī, and Mahrattī, and the dramatic Prākṛits, and show how the two former have been formed by a modification of all the various elements of the latter, just as they (the older Prākṛits) in their turn have sprung up (if we except a small non-Sanskritic residuum) from the gradual decomposition of the Sanskrit; (*b*) the forms which are common to the dramatic Prākṛits, and the Pāli, as well as those points in which they vary, and which demonstrate that the Pāli diverges considerably less from the Sanskrit than the Prākṛits do, and must consequently be more ancient than they; and (*c*) the

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orthern India, must at that
ılar tongue. After some
f the Sanskrit language and
arguments,—drawn partly
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ately lost in its derivative
l partly from certain pheno-
or notices occurring in Indian
Section ix. (pp. 144—160) in
hat Sanskrit was once a verna-
; the Vedic hymns were com-
which their authors habitually
argue further (Section x., pp.
crit was once a spoken tongue,
ges have been exposed to all the
spoken languages are subject.
been the case, is clear from a
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which it took in the later litera-
t became exempt from further
g to be popularly spoken) it has

continued ever after to retain. As, however, the distinction which is here drawn between the older and the more recent literature may be disputed by the Hindu student, I have considered it necessary to adduce proof of the assertion that the Vedic hymns are the oldest of all the Indian writings; and with this view to ascend by gradual steps from the most recent commentaries on the Veda, through the Nirukta, the Brāhmaṉas, etc., to the hymn-collections, pointing out that each of these classes of works presupposes one of the others to have preceded it in regular order, and that such methods were employed by the commentators for the interpretation of the hymns as to prove that much of their language was already obsolete or obscure, and that consequently their priority in time to the very oldest of their expositors must have been very considerable. To complete the survey of the subject, I further show that there is a difference in the ages of the several Vedas (the Ṛik, Yajush, and Atharvan) themselves, as well as between the different portions of each, as is distinctly evidenced by their contents (see also pp. 446, ff.). The superior antiquity of the Vedas to the other Indian writings is next proved by a statement of the differences discoverable between the religious systems of these two classes of works, the nature-worship of the Vedas supplying the original germ out of which the Puranic mythology was slowly developed with innumerable modifications. The greater age of the Vedas is then shown by comparing a number of their grammatical forms with those of the later Sanskrit. Finally, I revert to the conclusion before indicated, that the language in which the Vedic hymns

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logy are premised, in which it is shown how, by a comparison of their roots and structure, languages can be distributed into different families, of which the several members have a more or less close affinity to each other, while they have little or no resemblance to the members of any other family. This is illustrated by a comparative table, in which it is shown that while Sanskrit has in many of its words a strong similarity to Persian, it has scarcely any to Arabic; and by some other particulars. Section ii. (pp. 228—267) supplies detailed evidence of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin, consisting, first, of comparative lists of words belonging to those languages which correspond with each other both in sound and sense; and secondly, of illustrations of the resemblances between those languages in their modes of inflection, as well as in the formation of words. As, however, the mutual differences which these languages also exhibit, might be urged as disproving the inference of their derivation from a common source, it is shown how, in the course of time, different branches of the same original tongue have an inevitable tendency to diverge more and more from the primitive type, both by modifying their old elements, and by assimilating new: and it is further pointed out that it is precisely those parts of a language which are the most primitive and essential in which the different Indo-European tongues coincide, while those in which they differ are such as would grow up after the nations which spoke them had been separated, and had become exposed to the action of diverse influences, physical, intellectual, and moral. But as, admitting the

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267—278) the inference is
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points of resemblance in lan-
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there is no objection arising
derations, *i.e.* from colour or

s proposition is modified. I only affirm
ds some presumption of affinity in race.]
edition changed into an inquiry whether

bodily structure, to classing the Hindus among the Indo-European races. Section v. (pp. 287—300) exhibits the grounds which exist for supposing that the ancestors of the Indians and Iranians (or Persians) continued to form one community after the other kindred tribes had separated from them, and departed to distant regions. These grounds are, first, the closer affinity which subsists between Zend, the language of the ancient Persians, and Sanskrit (of which some illustrations are furnished); secondly, the fact that both nations in former times applied to themselves the appellation of Ārya; and, thirdly, the nearer and more numerous coincidences which are discoverable between the early mythologies of the two peoples, of which some details are adduced. From this more intimate affinity between the Indians and Persians, independent as both are of each other in their origin and development (see also pp. 312—317), a strong confirmation is derived to the general conclusion (deduced mainly from language) of the common origin of all the nations called Indo-European. In Section vi. (pp. 301—306) the theory of Mr. Curzon, that India was the original country of the Indo-European races, from which they issued to conquer, occupy, and civilize the countries lying to the north-west, is stated, together with some of the arguments by which he supports it. The remarks of Mr. Elphinstone, who leaves it undecided whether the Hindus were autochthonous or immigrant, are also quoted. In Section vii. (pp. 306—322) I cite the opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber,

and Pictet, who concur in the conclu-
radle of the Indo-European race must
in India, but, as Schlegel, Lassen, and
some central tract, from which the dif-
of this great family could most easily
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they eventually occupied; a condition
ot be fulfilled by supposing a remote and
on, such as Hindustan, to be the point
Some of these writers draw the same
the relation in which the Indo-Arians
boriginal tribes whom they encountered
opposition to Mr. Curzon, who represents
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maintains that the Iranian language and
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the same section it is further urged that
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Romans are derived from those of the Indo-
is no ground for supposing that the former
rated from India at any period whatever.
(pp. 322—329) contains the few passages
able to discover in the Indian authors which
posed to embody any reference (in no case,
confessed, other than a very obscure one) to
Himalayan origin of their ancestors. The
ese are the interesting paragraph of the
rāhmaṇa, which contains the legend of the

Deluge in the oldest form in which it occurs in any Sanskrit work,[7] and some texts relating to the northerly region of Uttara Kuru, the Ottorocorras of Ptolemy. In Section ix. (pp. 329—334) I have quoted, according to the versions of Spiegel and Haug, the first chapter of the Vendidad, which contains the oldest tradition of the Persians relative to Airyana-vaejo, the supposed primeval abode of their forefathers. Section x. (pp. 335-341) discusses the route by which the Āryas immigrated into India.[8] Schlegel and Lassen are of opinion that they must have penetrated into India from the west by the route of Kabul and across the Indus. Roth and Weber also regard the Panjāb as the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in Hindustan. In Section xi. (pp. 341—357) I have endeavoured to show by quotations from the Vedas, that at the period when the hymns were composed, the Indians, though not unacquainted with the central provinces of northern India, were most familiar with the countries bordering on, or beyond, the Indus, and the north-western parts of Hindustan generally. From this fact, and from the testimony of later writers to their intercourse with tribes, apparently Arian in descent and language, residing in the Panjāb and on the other side of the Indus, I derive a confirmation of the view that the Hindus entered India from the north-west.

In the Third Chapter (pp. 358—444) I have sought

[7] [This passage has been omitted in the present edition for the reasons stated in note 96, p. 323.]

[8] [A sentence referring to an opinion of Professor Benfey subsequently altered, is here omitted.]

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Deluge in the oldest form in which it occurs in any Sanskrit work,[7] and some texts relating to the northerly region of Uttara Kuru, the Ottorocorras of Ptolemy. In Section ix. (pp. 329—334) I have quoted, according to the versions of Spiegel and Haug, the first chapter of the Vendidad, which contains the oldest tradition of the Persians relative to Airyana-vaejo, the supposed primeval abode of their forefathers. Section x. (pp. 335-341) discusses the route by which the Āryas immigrated into India.[8] Schlegel and Lassen are of opinion that they must have penetrated into India from the west by the route of Kabul and across the Indus. Roth and Weber also regard the Panjāb as the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in Hindustan. In Section xi. (pp. 341—357) I have endeavoured to show by quotations from the Vedas, that at the period when the hymns were composed, the Indians, though not unacquainted with the central provinces of northern India, were most familiar with the countries bordering on, or beyond, the Indus, and the north-western parts of Hindustan generally. From this fact, and from the testimony of later writers to their intercourse with tribes, apparently Arian in descent and language, residing in the Panjāb and on the other side of the Indus, I derive a confirmation of the view that the Hindus entered India from the north-west.

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spoken originally (*i.e.* before the Brahmanical invasion of the Dekhan) must have belonged to a race which had no affinity to the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas; and could not, therefore, as Manu asserts, have been degraded Kshatriyas. I then endeavour to show how the results obtained in this Chapter, viz., (1) that the Āryas, when living in the Panjāb, came into conflict with an alien race called Dasyus; (2) that the Āryas can be shown from their own books to have at first occupied only the north-west of India and then to have advanced gradually to the east and south, and last of all to have crossed the Vindhya range into the Dekhan; and (3) that the original languages of the south of the peninsula are distinct from Sanskrit,—how, I say, these results harmonize with, or corroborate, the theory that the Hindus, or Indo-Arians, are not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west.[9]

The Appendix[10] (pp. 445—488), and the "Additions and Corrections" contain some further illustrations of the subjects discussed in the body of the work, and in a few cases supply some modifications of the text which closer research has rendered necessary.

In the notes towards the close of the Volume, and in the Appendices, the Sanskrit passages have been printed in the Italic character.[11] The system I have followed is nearly that of Sir W. Jones. The distinctions between some similar letters have not always been very

[9] [See note 3, p. ix.]

[10] [Portions of the Appendix and additions have now been incorporated in the earlier part of the volume.]

[11] [In the first edition the Sanskrit was printed in the Nāgarī character throughout the greater part of the volume.]

carefully indicated; but the Sanskrit scholar will have no difficulty in determining the words which are intended.

Nearly all the Sanskrit texts in this Volume have been taken from printed editions. The quotations from those parts of the Rigveda which have not yet appeared in Professor Müller's edition, have been copied from the MS. copy in my possession, alluded to in the Preface to the First Volume. The quotations from Durgāchārya, in pp. 166 f. and 173, have been derived from a MS. belonging to the East India House. That in p. 204 was, I believe, extracted from a MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The two passages from Bhāskara Acharya, pp. 161 and 178, were obtained from Pandit Bapu Deva of the Benares College.

I owe it to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker that I am able to adduce the extracts from the Nyāya mālā vistara, in pp. 53 and 179.

The work of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, entitled: "Etude sur la Géographie et les Populations Primitives du Nordouest de l'Inde d'après les Hymnes Védiques" (which discusses many of the subjects handled in the present volume), has only now come into my hands, as the last sheet, containing part of the Appendix and the "Additions and Corrections," is passing through the press.

The results at which this author has arrived in his valuable and ingenious dissertation, in regard to the origin of the Āryas, their immigration into India, and the direction of their movements within that country,

correspond precisely with those which I myself had reached. His views on some points of detail on which I had adopted a different opinion, tell even more strongly than my own in favour of the general conclusions in which we both coincide.[13]

[13] I allude to his conclusion that the Sarayu referred to in the Veda was a river in the Panjāb (in support of which he refers to Burnouf's Bhāg. Pur. folio ed. p. ii. 455); and that the country of the Kīkaṭas must, most probably, have been in Kos'ala or Audh, and not in Magadha, or South Behar.

I am happy to learn from M. de Saint-Martin's work that he intends to prosecute further his researches into the ethnography of India.

[EDINBURGH, 1860.]

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this edition for the press, I am reminded how much this volume is indebted to the labours of the different authors whose works are quoted in it, viz., Burnouf, Lassen, Cowell, Campbell, Ellis, Caldwell, Clough, Turnour, Fausböll, Rajendralal Mitra, H. H. Wilson, Weber, Müller, Goldstücker, Roth, Benfey, Bopp, Kuhn, A. W. Schlegel, Pictet, Spiegel, Haug, Whitney, Windischmann, Langlois, Renan, Curzon, and Elphinstone.

To these names I have now to add those of Messrs. Beames, Childers, D'Alwis, Aufrecht, Curtius, Vullers, Schleicher, Fick, Crawfurd, Huxley, and G. Rawlinson, from whose writings or communications I have derived valuable assistance in augmenting my materials, or revising different portions of the work. My obligations to these scholars are acknowledged in the text.

The improvements which have been introduced in this edition are principally the following: the Comparative Tables of Words in pp. 15, ff.; 76, ff.; 221, ff.; 230, ff.; and 287, ff.; as well as the statements of Gāthā and Vedic forms in pp. 117, ff., and 205, ff.; have been greatly enlarged.

My conclusions regarding the value of affinity in language as a proof of affinity in race, and the effects of climate upon colour, have been so far modified that I no longer venture to pronounce positively that the Brahmanical Indians are of pure Indo-European descent; but leave it an open question whether the blood of their Arian ancestors may not on their immigration into India have been commingled with that of darker tribes previously in occupation of the country.

In the Appendix, Note B, pp. 446, ff., reference is made to a recent paper by Prof. Kern, in which he alleges the insufficiency of the proofs heretofore adduced of the posteriority of the Atharvaveda to the Rigveda; and more detailed grounds in support of that opinion are adduced. Some remarks are also made in pp. 454, ff. on the views recently expressed by the same writer, and by Prof. Haug, on the antiquity of the caste-system.

The Appendix and the Additional Notes contain further illustrations, or corrections, of various statements in the text.

The volume has, further, been revised throughout; but, with the exception of the alterations which have been just specified, it remains essentially the same as before.

J. M.

EDINBURGH, 1871.

CONTENTS.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 17, line 15, for "*daliddāe*" read "*daliddadāe.*"
" 76, line 12, for "*Saptaśalaka*" read "*Saptaśataka.*"
" 94, line 17, for "*baliddo*" read "*baladdo.*"
" 192, 4 lines from the bottom, *for* "Panigins" *read* "Paingins."
" 259, last line, *for* "Mahābbāshya" *read* "Mahābhāshya."
" 332, note 109, line 2, *for* "Hyreania" *read* "Hyrcania."
" 360, note 3, line 5, *for* "viii. 226," *read* "viii. 22, 6."
" 361, 7 lines from foot, *for* "Vṛihad" *read* "Bṛihad."
" 368, line 29, *for* "xviii. 8, 22," *read* "xviii. 2, 28."
" 370, note 30, line 3, *for* "Vālākhilya" *read* "Vālakhilya."
" 385, line 17, and note 63, line 1, *for* "Arjuni" *read* "Arjuna."
" " note 3, line 5, *for* "i. 103, 3," *read* "i. 104, 3."

Note.—Page 89, note, line 3, Prof. Weber suggests that "*kadraṇo*" in the works quoted is no doubt a misprint for "*kaïṇo.*"

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME SECOND.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

In the first volume of this work I have sought to collect, translate, and illustrate (1) the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of castes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brâhmaṇas and their appendages, in the Râmâyaṇa, the Mahâbhârata and the Purâṇas; (2) the texts of the Veda, and Brâhmaṇas, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the Âryan Indians; (3) the passages of the Rig and Atharva Vedas which throw light upon the mutual relations of the several classes of Indian society at the time when those works were composed; (4) the portions of the Brâhmaṇas, or of later books which relate the struggles for pre-eminence which appear to have occurred between the Brâhmans and Kshattriyas in the early ages of Indian history; (5) the opinions of Manu and the authors of the Mahâbhârata and Purâṇas regarding the origin of the alien tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan; and (6) the Purânic descriptions of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhâratavarsha or India: and as a result of the whole inquiry I found that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes; and that in consequence of this discrepancy the theory commonly received by that people of the original distinctness of the four classes, in virtue of their derivation from different portions of the Creator's body, is not established as the doctrine of Hinduism, even by a literal interpretation of its more popular writings.

It will now be my endeavour to show by a series of proofs of a different description, derived from comparative philology, and from an examination of the earliest Hindu writings, the Vedas, that the people of India who belong to the principal pure and mixed classes were not originally divided into castes, or indigenous in India, but may, with

the greatest probability, be regarded as forming a branch (not, however, perhaps, free from the intermixture of foreign elements,) of the great Indo-European family, of which the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Germanic tribes were, or are, also members; and that while other branches of this great family (which seems to have had its primeval abode in some distant country to the north-west of India) separated themselves from the main stock and migrated to the westward, the progenitors of the Hindus travelled towards Hindustan, where they perhaps intermarried with some of the tribes which were previously in occupation of the country, and where their original religious ideas were gradually modified, and the system of castes and other institutions and tenets of Brahmanism were slowly developed.

The process of reasoning by which I hope to establish these conclusions is the following. First, I propose to show, by an examination of the languages and literature of India, that the Sanskrit is not (as the Hindus appear to conceive) an immutable form of speech of divine origin, but is different now from what it was when their ancestors first came into India. This will be made apparent by a comparison of the archaic diction of the Vedic hymns with the more modern language of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas; and that this difference is the result of gradual development will be proved by a reference to the natural laws of speech, and to the analogous process which the tongues of other nations have undergone; by arguments drawn from the composition of such books as the Nighaṇṭu, and Nirukta, explanatory of obsolete words and phrases in the hymns, and from the existence of such liturgical commentaries as the Brāhmaṇas, and such speculative treatises as the Upanishads, which presuppose as already antiquated, or at least antecedent, the hymns which they quote, and the sense of which they explain and develope. The difference in age between the various Indian Śāstras will be further briefly adverted to, and established by pointing out the great discrepancy between the religious ideas, forms of worship,[1] and state of manners which they severally represent; the Vedic hymns being shown by all these various lines of proof to be the earliest of all the Indian books, and the others to follow from them by a natural course of growth and expansion. While the

[1] The detailed treatment of this portion of the subject is deferred to a later volume of this work, the fourth.

mutability and the actual mutations of the Sanskrit language are demonstrated by this historical outline of Sanskrit literature, I shall show in some introductory sections, how, through the action of the same phonetic changes as are found to have transformed most of the ancient languages of Europe into their several modern representatives, the older Sanskrit became gradually modified[2] into the Pālī and Prākṛits, of byegone centuries, till, in combination with other elements,—not traceable in its classical literature, but forming, either an original part of the spoken dialect of the Āryan Indians, or a portion of it borrowed from alien sources,—it was ultimately broken down into the modern vernacular dialects of Northern India.

Having thus shown the mutations which the Sanskrit has undergone since its introduction into India, I propose, secondly, to prove, by a comparison of that venerable language with the Zend, Persian, Greek, Latin, and other western tongues, that these forms of speech are all closely related to each other, both in respect of roots and forms of inflection; and this in such a manner as to show them to be sister-dialects, derived, by gradual modification, from some more ancient, and now extinct, parent-language. From these facts, and others derived from Zend and Greek mythology and literature, I shall proceed to argue the probability of a common origin of the different nations,—generally called the Āryan, Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European nations,—by which the above-mentioned languages have been spoken; as well as to evince the strong probability that the progenitors of the Hindus immigrated from the north or north-west into India.

I shall then endeavour to fortify the latter of these conclusions by referring to the indications which are discoverable of a collision between the Indo-Āryans, after their arrival in India, and certain barbarous tribes, speaking a different language, and belonging to a different race, who occupied that country before their immigration, and by sketching a history of their advance to the south and east. These subjects will be illustrated from the data to be found in the Vedic hymns, the most ancient monuments of Indian antiquity, as well as in the other Śāstras of later date.

[2] The objections which have been raised to this statement of the origin of the Pālī, etc., will be considered further on.

CHAPTER I.

THE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN INDIA: THEIR HISTORY AND RELATIONS.

SECT. I.—*The North-Indian Dialects, Ancient and Modern.*

A SURVEY of the languages of Northern India reveals to us the following facts. We find, first, a polished and complicated language, the Sanskrit, popularly regarded as sacred, and in reality of very high antiquity; which is now, however, understood only by a few learned men, and spoken in their schools as the vehicle of discussions on grammar, theology, and philosophy, while it is totally unintelligible to the mass of the people. We find, secondly, a variety of provincial dialects which are employed both by the learned and the unlearned, viz., Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, etc., all bearing a close resemblance to each other, and all composed, in a great measure, of the same roots.

The words of which these vernacular dialects are formed may be divided into four classes. First, such as are pure Sanskrit, as for example *īśvara* (god), *devatā* (deity), *svarga* (heaven), *strī* (woman), *purusha* (man), *jana* (person); secondly, words which, though modified from their original form, are easily recognizable as Sanskrit, such as *log* from *loka* (people), *istrī* from *strī* (woman), *muṇh* from *mukha* (mouth), *bhāī* from *bhrātṛi* (brother), *bhatījā* from *bhrātṛija* (brother's son), *bāhin* from *bhāginī* (sister), *biyāh* from *vivāha* (marriage), *bhūiṇ* from *bhūmi* (earth), and innumerable others in Hindī; thirdly, words which have no resemblance to any vocables discoverable in Sanskrit books, and which we must therefore either suppose to have an origin independent of that language, or to have formed part of the colloquial,

though not of the written, Āryan speech,[1] such as in Hi (father), beṭā (son), peṛ (a tree), chaukī (a chair), chāk (a b khiṛkī (a window), jhāgṛā (a dispute), bakheṛā (the same), āṭ chaṭāī (a mat), and a multitude of other instances. Fourthl derived from Arabic, Persian, or some other foreign language (a man), 'aurat (a woman), hākim (a ruler), hakīm (a p durust (right), roz (day), dariyā (a river), roshanī (light), et

Let us now see what is the history of these vernacul It is clear, for various reasons, that they cannot have exist in their present form. When therefore, and how have created? What do history and the books of Indian gram us on the subject?

If we begin with the Arabic and Persian words which Indian dialects, such as Bengalī and Hindī, contain, we to be universally admitted that words of this kind hav introduced into those languages since the time when the began to invade India. Now it is well known that Ghazni made his first inroad into Hindustan between ei hundred years ago. Before that time, and in fact till wards, when the Mahomedans had penetrated from the far into India, and taken possession of that country, have been scarcely any intermixture of Arabic or Persia the Indian dialects.[2]

[1] This latter alternative supposition was suggested to me by Prof. Au same remark had been previously made by Mr. J. Beames, as will ap quotation which I shall make further on from his "Notes on the Bhojpu Hindī," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1868, p. 499.

[2] We learn, indeed, from the works of the ancient astronomer, Varā that a few astronomical and astrological terms of Greek or Arabic origi borrowed from the Arabian astronomers, and introduced into Sanskrit allude to such words as hōrā, drikāṇa, liptā, anaphā, sunaphā, āpokli which are of Greek origin, and mukāriṇā, mukāvilā, tasdī, taslī, etc., derived from the Arabic. (Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, II., 525 ff., a Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 227, and Indische Studien, II., pp. 25 The following verse of Varāha Mihira proves clearly how much the I nomers were indebted to the Greeks:—

mlechhāḥ hi yavanās teshu samyak śāstram idam sthitam |
rishi-vat te 'pi pūjyante kim punar daivavid dvijaḥ |

"For the Yavanas are Mlechhas; yet among them this science is thoroughl

161—214.

215—357.

217—228.

228—267

267—278

279—28

287—30

301—30

306—32

322—32

329—33

gathered round his court from all the surrounding countrie language of all these people was different. From their bein however, trafficking together, and talking with each oth (Urdū) language became established. . . . At length, language, being gradually polished, attained such a degre ment that the speech of no city can vie with it."

But it is only in the Urdu dialect, which is used by the *and by* those Hindus in the north-western provinces of In *learnt* the Persian language, that Persian and Arabic tensively employed. The words derived from those exist in the Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, and Indian dialects, in the form in which they are gener the Hindus, are considerably fewer in number. By portion of words in those tongues are (as has been alre (1) pure Sanskrit, or (2) corrupt Sanskrit, or (3) w neither be traced in Sanskrit books nor yet are derive or Arabic, and which may therefore be regarded eithe (*i.e.* derived from non-Āryan tribes), or colloquial voc origin.

Several interesting questions arise here; as First, ho we trace the existing vernacular dialects, Bengalī, Hi Guzaratī, etc., in the form in which they are now spoke what has been the process of their formation? and, what source have they derived those words which are able in Sanskrit, as it has been preserved to us in writte

The question regarding the antiquity of the existing is one which I am not prepared to answer with any pre fessor Lassen (Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, pp. 59 f.) have existed since, at least, 1000 A.D. I translate his disquisition, I therefore remark that there are two fam the two classes of dialects derived from Sanskrit: "T rupted Sanskrit, one more ancient, and not completely b to which belong the Pali and the dramatic dialects; and more recent origin, and diffused in our own day over the India, which differs more widely from its parent. The f genuine daughters of the Sanskrit; the latter grand-d

In the preface to the popular Urdu book, the Bāgh o Bahār, we have the following account by the author, Mīr Amman, of Dehli (who states that his forefathers had served all the kings of Hindustan, from Humayūn downwards), of the origin of the Urdu language, which I copy in the Roman character:—

"*Haqīqat Urdu kī zabān kī buzurgon ke munh se yūn sunī hai kih Dillī shahr Hindūon ke nazdīk chaujugī hai. Unhen ke rājā parjā qadīm se rahte the, aur apnī bhākhā bolte the. Hazār baras se Musulmānon kā 'amal hūā. Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznavī āyā. Phir Ghorī aur Lodī bādshāh hūe. Is āmad o raft ke bā'is kuchh zabānon ne Hindū Musulmān kī āmezish pāī. Ākhir Amīr Taimur ne. . . . Hindūstān ko liyā. Unke āne aur rahne se lashkar kā bāzār shahr men dākhil hūā. Is wāste shahr kā bāzār Urdū kahlāyā. . . . Jab Akbar bādshāh takht par baiṭhe, tab chāron ṭaraf ke mulkon se sab qaum qadrdānī aur faiẓrasānī us khāndān lāsānī kī sunkar huzūr men ākar jama'a hūe. Lekin har ek kī gōyāī aur bolī judī judī thī. Ikaṭṭhe hone se āpas men len den saudā sulf suwāl jawāb karte ek zabān Urdū kī muqarrar hūī. . . . Nidān zabān Urdū kī manjte manjte aisī manjī kih kisū shahr kī bolī us se ṭakkar nahīn khātī.*"

"I have heard from the lips of my ancestors the following account of the Urdu language:—The City of Delhi in the opinion of the Hindus has existed during the four Yugas. It was inhabited of old by their kings with their subjects, who spoke their own *bhākhā* (dialect). A thousand years ago the rule of the Musulmans began. Sultān Mahmūd, of Ghaznī, came. Then the Ghorī and Lodī dynasties held sway. In consequence of this intercourse, a certain mixture of the languages of the Hindus and Musulmans took place. At length Amīr Taimūr . . . conquered Hindustān. In consequence of his arrival and residence, the bāzār of the army was introduced into the city, and the bāzār of the city came in consequence to be called Urdū. . . . When king Akbar ascended the throne, all races, learning the liberality of that unequalled family and its patronage of merit,

and even they are revered like Rishis: how much more a Brāhman skilled in astrology!" (Colebrooke's Essays, II., 410.) This trifling exception, however, does not invalidate the assertion made in the text, that it was only after the settlement of the Musulmans in India that Arabic and Persian words came to be used in the dialects of India.

gathered round his court from all the surrounding countrie language of all these people was different. From their bein however, trafficking together, and talking with each oth (Urdū) language became established. . . . At length, language, being gradually polished, attained such a degre ment that the speech of no city can vie with it."

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though it is to some extent doubtful whether these are the daughters of the former, or of their sister dialects. As regards antiquity, the former family are proved by the history of Buddhism, and of the Indian drama, to have come into existence prior to our era; and it may be shown by probable proofs that the latter arose before 1000 A.D. The discussion of the latter question is, however, foreign to our purpose."

Mr. Beames claims for the modern vernacular dialects a high antiquity, and regards them as springing from an ancient Âryan language, which included elements not discoverable in the classical Sanskrit. His observations are as follows:

"I would here further observe that the written Sanskrit has unfortunately attracted the attention of scholars too exclusively. No one who lives long in India can escape having the conviction forced on him that the written language is quite inadequate to account for many forms and facts observable in the modern dialects. These dialects assert for themselves a high antiquity, and are derived, one cannot doubt, from an ancient Aryan speech, which is as imperfectly represented in Sanskrit as the speech of the Italian peasantry of their day was represented by Cicero or Virgil. The process of selection which led the polished Roman to use only stately and euphonious words—a process which is abundantly exemplified in the pages of modern English writers—was doubtless at work among the ancient Brahmins; and the fact that the cognate Indo-Germanic languages preserve words not found in Sanskrit, but which can be matched from the stores of humble and obscure Hindî or Bengalî dialects, is another proof of this fact. The line taken by Professor Lassen, in his valuable Prakrit Grammar, of treating all Prakrit words as necessarily modifications of Sanskrit words, is one which he has borrowed whole from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, and, however excusable in those ancient commentators, seems unworthy of an age of critical research."

It is not, however, necessary for my purpose that I should decide, even approximately, the question of the antiquity of the modern vernaculars. It will be sufficient if I can show that they have been derived by a gradual process of change from other provincial dialects which preceded them; and which, in their turn, have sprung from the Sanskrit, at some stage of its development.

There is no difficulty in conceiving that the Indian vernacular dialects should have undergone great modifications in a long course of ages. The mere fact above adverted to, which every one recognizes, of their having at a particular assignable date admitted into their vocabulary a large influx of Persian and Arabic words, is sufficient to render it probable that they may have formerly experienced other mutations of various kinds.

The circumstance, too, that the people who inhabit the different provinces of northern India make use of different, but kindred, provincial dialects, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., which must, for the most part, at a period more or less remote, have sprung from some common source,[3] is a proof of the tendency to change which is inherent in all spoken language. For as the inhabitants of all these provinces profess, with some modifications, the same creed, receive the same religious books, and are divided into the same or similar castes, and for these and other reasons appear to be descended, though perhaps not exclusively, from one common stock, it is highly probable that their common ancestors must, at one time, have employed one and the same language: and that that language has in process of time undergone various provincial modifications, out of which the several modern vernaculars have been gradually formed.

We shall also see, a little further on, that the differences between the North-Indian dialects (the old Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, etc.) which preceded the modern vernacular tongues, were few and unimportant; whereas the modern vernacular tongues, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, and Guzaratī, differ widely from each other in their forms of inflection and conjugation. This greater divergence between the modern than we find to have existed between the earlier dialects, evinces clearly the tendency to continual alteration, which I have remarked as a characteristic of language in general.

[3] Mr. Beames says (Jour. Roy. As. Soc. for 1868, p. 498): "It is, however, clear that each dialect of Hindī has had an independent existence for centuries, and I think an independent origin." This, however, can of course apply only to forms, not to the words which the dialects, whether Hindī or other, have in common; and which in many cases are diversely modified from the Sanskrit original. And although some of the grammatical forms may be original or invented, and not modified from those of any pre-existing Āryan language, there must be other forms which are merely modifications or developments.

I shall first of all state briefly the facts by which it is proved that the modern vernaculars are not, comparatively speaking, of any high antiquity, but have arisen out of earlier provincial dialects: and then proceed to establish these facts more in detail.

First. In extant Buddhist histories, such as the Lalita Vistara composed in Sanskrit, numerous verses, styled Gāthās, are interspersed, the language of which differs from pure Sanskrit, by the forms of inflection being varied or mutilated. This popularized Sanskrit, or something akin to it, appears to have been at one time the spoken language of India; or, at least, this Gāthā dialect exhibits some specimens of that ancient spoken language, and exemplifies the process by which the ancient Sanskrit, itself at one time a spoken language, became gradually corrupted.

Second. It has been discovered that many inscriptions are extant, engraven on rocks in different parts of India, bearing date apparently between two and three hundred years anterior to the Christian era, in which a language differing both from Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars is used.

Third. There are extant in other countries, such as Ceylon and Burmah, very ancient Buddhist books written in a language called Pālī or Māgadhī, which also is different from the modern vernaculars, as well as from Sanskrit, while it closely resembles the language of the rock inscriptions just alluded to.

Fourth. In ancient Indian dramas such as the Mṛichhakaṭī, Śakuntalā, etc., while kings and Brāhmans are made to speak Sanskrit, various forms of speech called Prākṛit and Apabhranśa are employed for the inferior castes and for women, which in like manner, differ both from Sanskrit and from the existing vernacular tongues.

The four foregoing classes of language have a more or less close affinity to each other; and from the use made of the last three in particular, viz., that used in the rock inscriptions, that found in the Pālī Buddhistical writings, and those employed in the dramas, it is impossible to doubt that either they, or forms of speech closely connected with them, were formerly current, during a long course of centuries, as the actual vernaculars of the periods when they were employed for literary, political, and religious purposes.

But while we thus discover that Pālī and different forms of Prākṛit, such as have been described, were employed in former times, we can find no traces of the modern vernacular dialects, Hindī, Bengālī, or Mahrattī, etc., in their present shape, in the ancient records of that same period; and we must therefore of necessity conclude that these modern vernaculars did not at that time exist, but have been subsequently developed out of the above-mentioned Prākṛit languages or other pre-existent forms of speech; in other words, that the former vernaculars (or Prākṛits) have been gradually altered until they have assumed the form of the modern Hindī, Bengālī, Mahrattī, etc.

As regards the second question started in p. 7, the process by which the modern vernaculars arose out of the earlier modifications of Sanskrit, viz., the manner in which the grammatical forms of the latter, *i.e.* the Prākṛits, were broken down into those of the former, it is not necessary that I should enter into any detailed investigation, although some insight into the process will be afforded by the Comparative Tables which will be given further on. It is sufficient to know that by a particular operation of the general laws of linguistic change, the more recent forms of speech have naturally grown out of the older.

I shall now proceed to supply a more detailed account of those forms of vernacular speech already alluded to, which appear to have preceded the existing varieties, and which are now obsolete. In carrying out this design, it will be advisable to begin with those dialects which seem to be the most recently formed and employed of the four Indian classes of speech which have been before alluded to, viz., first, that found in the Buddhist Gāthās; secondly, that used in the rock inscriptions; thirdly, the Pālī; and fourthly, the dramatic Prākṛits. The last-named class appearing to be the most recent, I shall first subject it to examination, and then proceed to the others.

Sect. II.—*The Prākṛit Dialects employed in the Dramas.*

With the view of ascertaining the relation in which the Prākṛit languages stand to the modern vernaculars of northern India, I have gone cursorily over several of the dramas in which they are employed, such as the Mṛichhakaṭī, attributed to King S'ūdraka, and the Vikra-

morvaśī attributed to Kālidāsa, (both of which, though their precise age be disputed, appear to have been respectively composed, at the latest, about sixteen and fourteen hundred years ago,[4]) together with several others. I have also referred to the examples given in the Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuchi, which is considered by Lassen to have been composed about eighteen hundred years ago,[5] or rather in its commentary. An examination of the Prākṛits which are found in these several works shows that the languages of India were then in a state of transition, and formed an intermediate link between the Sanskrit and the modern vernacular dialects. For whatever opinion we may entertain on the question whether the dramatic Prākṛits were identical with any contemporaneous or earlier vernacular dialects,[6] it is difficult to imagine that they had not a considerable resemblance to some of these. Even if some of the forms of the dramatic Prākṛits were purely literary and unknown in any of the spoken languages, they could scarcely have failed to bear some analogy to those of the latter; as, first, the inventors of those forms could hardly have had the ingenuity to devise entirely novel modifications of speech, or secondly, if they had, their compositions would have been thereby rendered unintelligible. The Prākṛit forms of inflection and declension approach more to the Sanskrit than to the modern vernaculars; but yet exhibit a great

[4] Professor Wilson, reasoning from a variety of considerations, considers the Mṛichhakaṭī to have been probably composed in the interval between 100 B.C. and the end of the second century A.D. (Introduction to the play, pp. 5–9.) The same writer thinks that the Vikramorvaśī, which is regarded as the work of Kālidāsa, is more recent than the Mṛichhakaṭī, but does not assign any probable date (Introd. to drama, pp. 185, 186). Lassen holds that the Mṛichhakaṭī was composed towards the end of the first century A.D., while the Vikramorvaśī and the S'akuntalā (which last is also assigned to Kālidāsa) were composed in the second half of the second century A.D. (Ind. Alt. ii. p. 1160). Weber, on the other hand, in his latest notice of the subject in the Introduction to his Mālavikā and Agnimitra, pp. xxxiii, xl, places the age of Kālidāsa, the author of Vikramorvaśī and S'akuntalā, at the close of the third century A.D. The Mṛichhakaṭī is held by the same author to be not earlier than the second century A.D. (Ind. Stud. ii. 148).

[5] Ind. Alterth., vol. ii. p. 1160.

[6] It is quite conceivable that the Prākṛits employed in the earlier dramas may have continued to be the conventional forms in use in later works of the same kind, even after the provincial vernaculars to which they were most akin had been modified or superseded,—just as Latin, Sanskrit and Pālī continued to be used for literary purposes after they had ceased to be spoken tongues.

breaking down and modification of the former. I will give some instances of this which will make my meaning clearer than any general statements. I do not think it necessary to distinguish here the different kinds of Prākṛit, which will be specified further on.

SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	ENGLISH.
Bhavāmi	Homi	Hūṇ	I am.
Bhavasi	Hosi	Hai	Thou art.
Bhavati	Hodi	Hai	He is.
Bhavanti	Honti	Haiṇ	They are.
Uttishṭha	Uṭṭhehi	Uṭh	Rise.
Prāpnomi	Pāvimi	Pātā-hūn	I obtain.
S'ṛiṇomi	S'uṇāmi	Suntā-hūṇ	I hear.
S'ṛiṇu	Suṇu, *or* Suṇāhi	Sun	Hear (imper.).
Kathaya	Kahēhi	Kah	Tell.
Dadāmi	Dēmi	Detā-huṇ	I give.
Dadāti	Dēdi	Detā-hai	He gives.
Dattam	Diṇṇam	Diyā, Dīn	Given.
Nṛityati	Nāchchai	Nāchtā	He dances.
Rakshāmi	Rakkhāmi	Rakhtā-hūṇ	I keep.
Dhāva	Dhovehi	Dho	Wash.
Brūmaḥ	Bollāmo	Bolte	We speak.
Patāmi	Paṛemi	Paṛtā	I fall.
Nishkāśaya	Nikkālēhi	Nikāl	Expel.
Ghṛitam	Ghiā	Ghī	Ghee.
Mukha	Muha	Muṇh	Mouth.
Kāryyam	Kajjam	Kāj	Work.
Karma	Kamma	Kām	Work.
Karṇa	Kaṇṇa	Kān	Ear.
Twam	Tumam	Tum	Thou or you.
Tubhyam	Tujh	Tujh	To thee.
Yushmākam	Tumhāṇam	Tumhārā	Of you.
Asti	Atthi, *or* Achchhi	Āchchhe (Beng.)	He is.
Santi	Achchhanti	Āchchhen (ditto.)	They are.

It is manifest that in these instances we see the intermediate forms which the words took in Prākṛit before they assumed the shapes in which we now find them in Hindī or Bengalī, *e.g.*, *karma* and *kāryya* became in Prākṛit respectively *kamma* and *kajja*, and finally in Hindī *kām* and *kāj*. The Sanskrit form *rakshāmi* (I keep) re-appears

in the Prākṛit *rakkhāmi*, with the compound consonant *ksh* changed into *kkh*, but with *āmi* the final affix of the first person singular unchanged. In the modern vernacular the former change remains, but the word has undergone a farther modification, the peculiar affix of the first person singular *āmi* having disappeared in the Hindī *rakhtā*, which does not differ from the second and third persons. A fuller exemplification of the points in which the Prākṛits coincide with and diverge from the Sanskrit, on the one hand, and approximate to the modern vernaculars on the other, will be found in the tabular statement subjoined.

The books to which reference has been made in this statement are the following:—Mr. Cowell's Prākṛita Prakāśa of Vararuchi; Lassen's Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ; Delius's Radices Pracriticæ; the Mṛichhakaṭī, Stenzler's edition; the S'akuntalā, Böhtlingk's edition; the Prabodha Chandrodaya, Brockhaus's edition; Mālavikā Agnimitra, Tullberg's edition; and the Vikramorvaśī, Calcutta edition.[7]

[7] Since the first edition of this work appeared, two dramas, the Prasannarāghava of Jayadeva, and the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara, have been printed by Pandit Govinda Deva S'āstrī, in the Journal called "The Pandit," published at Benares, and separate copies of each have been struck off, bearing the dates of 1868 and 1869. Professor Weber has also published, in 1866, a Dissertation on the language of the Jaina work called "Bhagavatī," which is a species of Prākṛit; and in 1870 the text, with a German translation, of the "Saptaśataka of Hâla," as a "contribution to the knowledge of Prâkṛit."

Table No. I.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE SANSKRIT, PRĀKṚIT, AND MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES.[8]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 3. 126	*ghṛitam*	*ghiam*	*ghī*	*ghī*	ghee.
Mṛichh. 3 / Var. v. 25	*dadhi*	*dahīṁ, dahiṁ*	*dahī*	*dahīṁ*	curds.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*mukha*	*muhaṁ*	*muṅh*	*mukh*	mouth.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*badhira*	*vahira*	*bahirā*	*bahirā*	deaf.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*megha*	*meho*	*meṅh*	*megh, ḍhag*	cloud.
Var. v. 19 . .	*vadhū*	*vahū*	*bahū*	*bāyako, baīl*	wife.
Mṛichh. 164. 168. . . .	*sādhu*	*sāhū, śāhū*	*sāhū*	*sāhū, sāvakār*	good: banker.
Var. iii. 3. 17.	*kārya, karma*	*kajja, kammo*	*kāj, kām*	*kāj, kām*	work.
Var. iii. 17. / Var. ix. 17.	*ārye*	*ajje*	. . .	. . .	respectable.
Var. ii. 10. .	*garbhiṇī*	*gabbhiṇ*	*gabbhin*	*gābhaṇ*	pregnant.
Var. iii. 2. 50.	*yogyam*	*joggam*	*jog*	*jogā*	proper.
Var. iii. 2. . .	*rājya*	*rajja*	*rāj*	. . .	kingdom.
Var. iii. 27. / Mṛichh. 31.	*adya*	*ajja*	*āj*	*āj*	to-day.
Vikr. 78. 79.	*vādyamānaiḥ*	*vajjantehiṁ*	*bajānā*	*bajāwiṇeṁ*	to sound.
Var. iii. 3. . .	*ardham*	*addham*	*ādhā*	*ādhā*	half.
Var. iii. 3. 50.	*karṇaḥ*	*kaṇṇo*	*kān*	*kān*	ear.
S'ak. 25. . . .	*kharjūraiḥ*	*khajjūrehiṁ*	*khajūr*	*khajūr*	date tree.
Mṛichh. 104.	*charmmakāraḥ*	*chammārao*	*chamār*	*chamhār*	Chumar.
Var. iv. 1. . .	*kumbhakāraḥ*	*kumbhāro*	*kumhār*	*kumbhār*	potter.
Var. iii. 3. . .	*sarvam*	*sabbam, śabbam*	*sab*	. . .	all.
Mṛichh. 124.	*suvarṇa*	*śovaṇa*	*sonā*	*soneṁ*	gold.
Var. iii. 27. .	*satyam*	*sachcham*	*sach*	*sāch*	true.
Var. iii. 4. / Mṛichh. 44.	*chandraḥ*	*chando*	*chānd*	*chānd*	moon.
Vikr. 23. . . .	*chandreṇa*	*chāndaeṇa*	. . .	. . .	by the moon.
Var. iii. 28. .	*madhyaḥ*	*majjho*	*manjhalā, majholā*	*māj*	middle.
Var. iii. 12. .	*hastaḥ*	*hattho*	*hāth*	*hāt*	hand.
Mṛichh. 7. 120	*vṛiddha*	*vuḍḍha*	*buḍhā*	. . .	old.
Vikr. 107. . .	*vṛiddhām*	*vuḍḍiṁ*	*buḍhiyā*	. . .	old woman.
Vikr. 121. . .	*jyeshṭha*	*jeṭṭha*	*jeṭhā*	. . .	eldest.
Var. iii. 1. 50	*mushṭi*	*muṭṭhi*	*muṭṭhi*	*mūṭh*	fist: handful.
Var. iii. 1. 51 / Mṛich. 28. 142	*śreshṭhi*	*seṭṭhi*	*seṭh*	*śeṭ*	superior, banker.
Mṛichh. 18. 30	*kāshṭhena*	*kaṭṭhena*	*kāṭh*	*kāṭhī*	wood, a pole
Mṛichh. 18. 21	*śushka*	*sukkha, śukkha*	*sūkhā*	*sukhā, sukā*	dry.
Mṛichh. 53. .	*sākshin*	*sakkhi*	*sākhī*	. . .	witness.

[8] This table (except as regards the transliteration of the Indian words), is reprinted nearly as it stands in the first edition, and without a renewed verification of the references in col. 1, the labour of which, I thought, would hardly have been repaid by correction of a few possible inaccuracies.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. i. 20. and iii. 12. . . .	*pustakam*	*pothao*	*pothī*	*pothī*	book.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛichh. 54.	*pushkaraḥ*	*pokkharo*	*pokharā*	*pokhar*	pond.
Mṛichh. 99. Var. iii. 29.	*dakshiṇe*	*dakkhiṇe*	*dakhin*	. . .	south.[9]
Lassen, 363. Mṛichh. 97. 117. . . .	*dakshiṇam*	*dāhiṇam*	*dāhinā*	. . .	on the right hand.[9]
Var. iii. 40. Mṛichh. 99.	*paśchimaḥ*	*pachchhimo*	*pachchim*	. . .	west.
Var. iii. 1. . .	*bhaktam*	*bhattaṁ*	*bhāt*	*bhāt*	boiled rice, rice in husk.
Mṛichh. 104.	*granthi*	*gaṇṭhi*	*gāṇṭh*	*gāṇṭh*	joint.
Var. i. 12. . .	*pishṭam*	*piṭṭham*	*pīṭnā*	*piṭaṇeṁ*	to pound.
Mṛichh. 105.	*pṛishṭhataḥ*	*piṭṭhido*	*pīṭh*	. . .	at the back.
Var. i. 36. . .	*chaitraḥ*	*cha'itto*	*chait*	. . .	name of a month.
Mṛichh. 120 Var. iii. 29.	*kshetra*	*khetta*	*khet*	*śet*	field.
Mṛichh. 94. 95	*mṛittikā*	*maṭṭiā*	*maṭṭī*	*māṭī*	earth.
Var. iii. 40. Mṛich. 71. 150	*paśchāt*	*pachhādo, pachhā*	*pāchhe*	. . .	after.
Var. iii. 2. . .	*nagnaḥ*	*ṇaggo*	*nangā*	*nangā*	naked.
Var. iii. 40. .	*vatsa*	*vachha*[10]	*bachā*	*bachā*	child, etc.
Var. iv. 9. 26 Vikr. 36. .	*vidyut*	*vijjū, vijjulī*	*bijlī*	*wīj*	lightning.
Var. i. 32. iii. 31	*vṛikshaḥ*	*vuchho*[11]	*brichh*	*vṛiksha*	tree.
Mṛichh. 73. 79	*rūkshaḥ*[12]	*rukkha, lukkha*	*rūkh*	. . .	tree.
Var. i. 30. iii. 30	*ṛikshaḥ*	*richchho*	*rīchh*	. . .	a bear.
Mṛichh. 72. Var. v. 35.	*bhrātā*	*bhādā, bhāā*	*bhāī*	*bhāū*	brother.
Mṛichh. 72. .	*ashṭamam*	*aṭṭhamam*	*āṭhwāṅ*	*āṭhwā*	eighth.
Mṛichh. 71. .	*saptamam*	*sattamam*	*sātwāṅ*	*sātwā*	seventh.
Var. iii. 35. Mṛichh. 93.	*pushpam*	*puppham*	*puhap*	. . .	flower.
Var. i. 8. . .	*mayūra*	*moro*	*mor*	*mor*	peacock.
Var. i. 7. . .	*lavaṇam*	*loṇam*	*lon*	*loṇ*	salt.
Mṛichh. 11. 94. and 113. 138	*bhaginīm*	*bahiṇim*	*bahīn*	*bahīṇ*	sister.
Mṛichh. 117.	*śūkaraḥ*	*śūale*[13]	*sūar*	. . .	hog.
Var. i. 28. xi. 17 Mṛichh. 11.	*śṛigālī*	*śiālī, siālī*	*siyāl*	. . .	she jackall.
Mṛichh. 120.	*vīja*	*vīa*	*bīā*	*bīj, bī*	seed.
Mṛichh. 77.	*vaṇik*	*bāṇio*[14]	*baniyā*	*wāṇī*	merchant.

[9] Here it deserves to be specially noted that the Sanskrit word undergoes the same changes in Prākṛit and Hindī according to its two different meanings.

[10] The Persian has the same form, with a *b* instead of the *v*.

[11] Vararuchi gives the form *vachchho*, not *vuchchha*, which I find in the Mṛichh., p. 73.

[12] *Rūksha* is given in Wilson's dictionary as one of the Sanskrit words for a tree; but it may have crept in from Prākṛit. Compare Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*

[13] This word is from the S'akārikā, one of the Apabhranśa dialects. In ordinary Prākṛit it would perhaps be *sūaro* or *śūaro*.

[14] *Vāṇio* Mṛichh., 28 and 50.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 78. .	*kāyasthaḥ*	*kāatthao*	*kāyath*	*kāyat*	Kāyasth.
Lass. p 172. 218. Mṛich. 29.30. 151. Var. iv. 2.	*devālayaḥ* *devakulam*	*deulu*, *devalam*	*dewal*	*dewaḷ*, *deūḷ*	temple.
Var. iv. 1. . .	*rājakulam*	*rāa'ulam*, *rāulam*	*rāwal* (a priest.)	*rāuḷ* (a palace.)	royal family.
Mṛichh. 30. 38. 39. . .	*dyūtakaraḥ*	*jūdiaro*, *jūdiaru*, *jūdialo*	*juārī*	*jugārī*	gambler.
Var. viii. 25.	*sthāna*	*ṭhāṉa*	*thāñw*	*thāṉ*	place.
Var. iii. 33. .	*snāna*	*ṉhāṉa*	*nahān*	*nahāṉ*, *nhāṉ*	bathing.
Var. iii. 33. 61.	*kṛishṉaḥ*	*kaṉho*	*kanhaiyā*, *kānh*[15]	*kanhaiyā*, *kānhobā*	Kṛishṉa.
Var. iii. 3. . Mṛichh. 13.	*grāma*	*gāma*	*gāñw*	*gāñw*	village.
Mṛichh. 97. Var. iv. 25.	*grāmyāḥ*	*gāmeluā*[16]	*gāñwālā*	. . .	villager.
Mṛichh. 69. 96 Lass. 172. 425	*balīvardāḥ*	*ba'illā*	*bail*	*bail*	oxen.
Mṛichh. 6. .	*daridratayā*	*daliddāe*	*dalidratā*	. . .	poverty.
Mṛich. 12. 44. 164. Var. xii. 22. Vikr. 30.	*striyam*, *striyā*	*isthiyam*,[17] *itthiāe*	*istrī*	. . .	woman.
Mṛichh. 18. 23. 58. . . .	*śyāla*	*sālaa*, *sālo*	*sālā*	*sālā*	brother-in-law.
Var. iii. 14. 50. & Mṛichh. 40	*stambhaḥ*	*khambho*	*khambhā*	*khāmb*	pillar.
Var. iii. 29. .	*skandhaḥ*	*khandho*	*kandhā*	. . .	shoulder.
Mṛichh. 43. Mṛichh. 50.	*vahis*, *vāhya*	*vāhila*, *vāhira*	*bāhir*	*bāher*	outside.
Mṛichh. 126.	*vṛiddhe*, *vṛihati*	*vaḍḍhake*, *vaḍḍhakāhim̃*	*baḍā*	. . .	great.
Mṛichh. 131. Var. iii. 39.	*kārshāpaṉam*	*kahābaṉam*, *kahāvaṉo*	*kahāwan*, *kāhan*	. . .	16 paṉas of cowries.
Var. iii. 58. . Mṛich. 73. 134	*dīrghikā*	*digghiā*, *dīhiā*	*dighī*	. . .	oblong pond.
Var. v. 24. .	*haridrā*	*haladdā*, *haladdī*	*haldī*	. . .	turmeric.
Var. ii. 31. .	*yaśas*	*jaso*	*jas*	*jas*	glory.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛichh. 150.	*kshemam*	*kkhemam*	*khem*	*khem*	welfare.
Mṛichh. 175. Var. iii. 26.	*gardabhaḥ*	*gaddaho*, *gaḍḍaho*	*gadahā*	*gāḍhawa*	ass.
Var. iii. 28. 56	*sandhyā*	*sanjhā*[18]	*sānjh*	*sānjh*	evening.
Var. iv. 25. .	*etāvat*	*ettiam*	*itnā*	. . .	so much.
Mṛichh. 44.	*andhakārasya*	*andhaārassa*	*andhiyārā*	*andhār*	darkness.

[15] Kānhpur (city of Kānh, or Kṛishṉa) is the proper name of Cawnpore. When *Kṛishṉa* means *black*, it becomes *Kasaṉo* in Prākṛit, according to Var. iii. 61. The Bālarāmāyaṉa has *kisaṉa*, p. 141, and *kaṉṉa* in p. 244, in the same sense.

[16] See Lassen, p. 425, who says *gāmeluā* = quasi *grāmālayukāḥ*.

[17] This word is in the S'akārikā dialect.

[18] In this and other instances, the rules and examples given would, of course, account, by analogy, for the existence of many other modern vernacular words, of which the earlier

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Vikr. 49. and Lass. 249.[19]	*upādhyā-yasya*	*uajjhāassa, ojhāo*	*ojhā*[20]	. . .	religious teacher.
Var. iii. 18. & Vikr. 9.	*āśćharyam*	*achcheram, achcharīam*	*acharaj*	. . .	wonderful.
Var. xii. 6. Vikr. 103. .	*gṛidhreṉa*	*giddheṉa*	*gidh*	*gīdh*	vulture.
Vikr. 112. . . / Var. v. 32. . .	*mātaram* / *mātā*	*mādaram,*[21] *māam* *māā*	*mā*	*āī, māī*[22]	mother.
Vikr. 112. Vikr. 116.	*pitaram* / *pituḥ*	*pidaram,*[23] *piaram, piduṉo*	*pitā, bāp*	*pitā, bāp*	father.
Mṛichh. 14. 95.116.141 Var. iv. 32.	*gṛiham*	*ghalam, gharam, giham, haraam*	*ghar*	*ghar*	house.
Var. ii. 2. . .	*jīvam*	*jīam*	*jī*	. . .	life.
Var. ii. 2. . .	*sūchī*	*sūī*	*sūī*	*suī*	needle.
Var. ii.2. iii.50	*mārgaḥ*	*maggo*	. . .	. . .	path.
Var. iii. 48. .	*ātmanaḥ*	*āpaṉo,*[24] *appaṉo*	*apṉā*	. . .	self; own.
Mṛichh. 12. 78.103.104 S'ak. 105. . Prabodhach 12. 28. 37. 46. 63. 68.	*ātmā*	*āpā, appā*	*āp*	*āpan*	self; great-souled.
	ātmānam	*appāṉam, āpāṉam*	. . .	. . .	
	mahātmā-nam	*mahāppā-ṉāṉam, mahāppā-ṉam*	. . .	. . .	
Prab. 63. . . Var. iii. 1. .	*sthale*	*thale*	*thal*	. . .	dry land.
Var. iv. 15. S'ak. 21. . .	*aśru*	*aṁsū, assu*	*āṅsū*	*asūṁ, āsu*	tear.
Var. iii. 2. v. 14. vi. 60. .	*agnim*	*aggim*	*āg*	*āg*	fire.
Var. iii. 60. Lassen, 284.	*kriyā*	*kiriā*	*kiriyā*	. . .	ceremony.
Var. iii. 8. . .	*brāhmaṉo*	*vamhaṉo*	*bāmhan*	*bāmaṉ*	Brahman.
Var. iii. 25. .	*garttaḥ*	*gaḍḍo*	*gaḍhā*	. . .	cavity.
Var. i.18. ii.27	*gabhīram*	*gahiram*	*gahirā*	*gahirā*	deep.

Prākṛit form may not now be discoverable in any extant work. Thus the Hindī and Mahrattī word *bāñjh*, a barren woman, is formed from the Sanskrit *bandhyā*, in the same way as *sāñjh* comes from *sandhyā*; and as in the latter case we find the earlier Prākṛit form to have been *sañjhā*, so we may suppose the older Prākṛit form of *bāñjh* to have been *bañjhā*, or *vañjhā*. And the same must have been the case in numerous other instances. [In fact, since the above was written, I have actually found the word *vañjhā*, a barren woman, in Clough's Pali Grammar, p. 37. See also *vañjhjhībhūdā*, Bālarām., p. 225.]

[19] Campbell's Telugu Grammar, note to Introduction, p. 13.

[20] Ōjhā is the designation of a particular tribe of Brahmans. In the Bālarāmāyaṉa, 85 ff., the word has the form *uvajjhāa*.

[21] In Persian *mādar*. [22] Mahrattī of Nagpur. [23] In Persian *padar*.

[24] See Lassen, Inst. Pracr., p. 315. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 660) observes that the form *āptano* or *ātpano*, which occurs in the rock inscription of Girnar, is the intermediate step by which *ātman* was transformed into *appā*, *appano*, etc.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. iv. 31.	*malinam*	*ma,ilam*	*mailā*	. . .	dirty.
Var. i. 9.	*chaturthī,*	*cha,utthī,* *chotthī*	*chauthī*	*chauthā*	fourth.
	chaturdaśī	*cha'uddahī,* *choddahī*	*chaudahwīṅ*	*chaudā*	fourteenth, fourteen.
Var. iii. 44.	*panchadaśaḥ*	*paṇṇāraho*	*pandarahwāṅ*	*pandharā*	fifteenth, fifteen.
Var. ii. 41. Mṛichh. 70.	*shashṭhī*	*chhaṭṭhī*	*chhaṭhī*	. . .	sixth.
Var. ii. 14. 44.	*ekādaśa,* *dvādaśa,* *trayodaśa*	*eāraha,* *vāraha,* *teraha*[25]	*igārah,* *bārah,* *terah*	. . .	eleven, twelve, thirteen.
Lass. 271. 318 Var. vi. 59.	*dvayoḥ*	*doṇham,* *doṇṇam*	*donoṅ*	. . .	of two.
Lassen, 318 Mṛichh. 101 Var. vi. 54.	*dvau, dvābh-* *yām, dvayoḥ*	*due, do, do-* *hiṁ, dosu*	*do*	*don*	two.
Lassen, 319. Var. vi. 56.	*triṇi*	*ṭiṇṇi*	*tīn*	*tīn*	three.
Lassen, 319.	*shaṭ*	*chha*	*chha*	. . .	six.
Lassen, 320.	*viṁśati*	*vīsa,i*	*bīs*	*wīs*	twenty.
Lassen, 320.	*triṁśat*	*tīsaa*	*tīs*	*tīs*	thirty.
Var. iii. 30. 31.	*kshaṇam* *kshamā* *makshikā*	*chhaṇam* *chhamā* *machhiā*	*chhan* *chhamā* *makkhī*	. . . .	moment. patience. a fly.
Var. iii. 52. iv. 1	*srotas*	*sotto*	*sotā*	. . .	stream.
Var. i. 12.	*nidrā*	*ṇiddā*	*nīnd*	*nīd*	sleep.
Lassen, 246. Var. iii. 53.	*tāmram*	*tamvam*	*tāmbā*	*tāmb* (iron rust.)	copper.
Var. iv. 33. Lass. 172. n.	*duhitā, dhīdā*	*dhīā*	*dhiyā, dhī*	. . .	maiden, daughter.
Var. iv. 25.	*dhanavān*	*dhaṇālo*	*dhanwālā*	. . .	rich.
Var. i. 10. iii. 12, Mṛich. 71	*prastāraḥ,* *prastaraḥ*	*pattharo,* *patthāro*	*patthar* (a stone.)	*patthar*	a bed : a. stone.
Var. i. 20. iii. 1	*muktā*	*mottā*	*motī*	*motīṁ*	pearl.
Var. iii. 3. 58 Mṛichh. 93.	*rātri*	*rattī*	*rāt*	*rāt*	night.
Var. ii. 32.	*yashṭi*	*laṭṭhī*	*lāṭhī*	*laṭṭh*	staff, club.
Var. i. 15. 28. iii. 41. Mṛichh. ?	*vṛiśchikaḥ*	*vichchuo,* *vinchhuo*	*bichū, bichī*	*vinchū*	scorpion.
Var. iii. 17. 19	*sūryaḥ*	*sujjo, sūro*	*sūraj*	. . .	the sun.
Var. i. 29. Lass. 293. Vikr. 45.	*prāvṛish*	*pāus*	. . .	*pāūs*	the rainy season.
Var. iii. 35. 38. Lass. 209	*vāshpaḥ*	*vāppho,* *vappho*	*bhāph*	. . .	vapour.
Var. iii. 22.	*nartakaḥ*	*ṇaṭṭao*	*naṭ*	*naṭ*	a dancer.
Var. iii. 24.	*vārtā*	*vattā*	*bāt*	. . .	word.
Lassen, 250. Var. iii. 21.	*paryanka*	*pallanka*	*palang*[26]	*palang*	bed.
Bāl. 132.	*palyankaḥ*	*pallanko*	. . .	. . .	do.
Lassen, 264. Var. iii. 1. 12	*ekastha*	*ekattha*	*ikaṭṭhā*	. . .	collected.

[25] See Prof. Cowell's note on Var. ii. 44.

[26] This word *palang* means in Persian also, a *bed*, as well as a *tiger*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. iii. 12. Mṛichh. 18.	*mastaka* / . . .	*matthaka* / *matthaam*	*māthā*	*māthā*	head.
Lassen, 272. Var. iii. 40.	*matsya*[27]	*machchha*	*machchh*, *machchhlī*	. . .	fish.
Var. x. 10. Lassen, 379. App. 53.	*kanyā*	*kaṇṇā*, *kaññā*	. . .	. . .	girl.
Vikr. 81. 82 Var. vi. 25–53. Cowell, Int. p. xxviii.[28]	*aham*	*aham*, *ham*, *hagge*, *hañi*	*maiñ*, *ham*	*mīñ*	I.
	vayam	*amhe*, *vaam*	*ham*	*amhī*	we.
	mama	*maha*, *majjha*	*mujh*	*mājhā*	mine.
	asmākam	*amhāṇam*	*hamārā*	*amhālā* / *amhāna*	of us, [us, by us, Mahr.]
	tvam, *tvām*	*tumam*, *tumam*	*tum*	*tūñ*	thou.
	tubhyam	*tujjha*	*tujh*	*tuj*	to thee.
	tava	*tuha*, *tujjha*, *tujjhaha*	*tujh*	*tujhā*	thine.
	yūyam	*tumhe*, *tujjhe*	*tum*	*tumhī*	you.
	yushmākam	*tumhāṇa*	*tumhāra*	*tumhāla*, *tumhāna*	of you, [you, by you, Mah.]
Mṛichh. 38.	*kasya*	*kāha*	*kāhe*	. . .	whose?
Var. vi. 6.	*kasyāḥ*	*kissā*	*kis*	. . .	of what woman?
Cowell, Int. xxvii.	*yaḥ*	*jo*	*jo*	*jo*	who.
Var. iv. 16.	*tasmin*	*tahiñ*	. . .	. . .	in this.
Mṛichh. 93. 96.	*yatra*, *tatra*	*jahiñ*, *tahiñ*	*jahāñ*, *tahāñ*	*jethem̃*, *tethem̃*	where, there.
Var. iv. 25.	*kiyat*, *yāvat*	*kettia*, *jettia*	*kitnā*, *jitnā*	*kitiñ*	how much, as much.
Mṛichh. 74.	*kutra*	*kahiñ*	*kahāñ*	*koṭhem̃*	where?
Mṛichh. 4. 51.	*uttishṭha*	*uṭṭhehi* / *utthehi*	*uṭhnā*	*uṭhnem̃*	rise, to rise.
Var. viii. 15. 61	*gṛihṇāti*	*geṇha,i*	*gahnā*	*gheṇem̃*	to take.
Mṛichh. 4. 27. & *pas.* Cf. Delius, p. 41 Kram., in ditto, p. 10.	*pṛichchha* / *pṛishṭā* / *pṛishṭvā* / *prakshyāmi* / *pṛichhati*	*puchchha* / *puchchhidā* / *puchchhia* / *puchchhissam* / *puchchhadi*	. . . / *pūchhnā* / . . . / . . . / . . .	. . . / *pusaṇem̃* / . . . / . . . / . . .	to ask.
Var. viii. 12.	*mriyate*	*mara,i*	*marnā*	*maraṇem̃*	to die.
Var. viii. 18. xii. 17. Mṛic. 66. 103. 134. *pas.* Vikr. 14	*smarāmi* / *smarasi* / *smṛitvā*	*sumarāmi* / *sumaresi* / *sumaria*	*sumaranā*	. . .	to remember.
Mṛichh. 21. 24	*samarpayasi*	*samappesi*	*sompnā*	*sompaṇem̃*	to entrust.
Mṛichh. 14. 131, Vikr. 57. 97. 101 Del. p. 62.	*prāpitā* / *prāptaḥ* / *prāpnomi* / *prāpsyasi*	*pābidā* / *pābide*, *patto* / *pāviya* / *pāvimi* / *pāvihi*	*pāyā* / *pāwtā* / *pāwahi*	*pāvaṇem̃*	to obtain.
Var iii 3.	*prabhavati*	*pabhava'i*	. . .	. . .	he prevails.

[27] *Machcha* also is, however, given in Wilson's dictionary as a Sanskrit form.

[28] [See also Mṛichhakaṭī and Vikramorvaśī, etc., *passim.*]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. vii. 20. 21. viii. 1. Mṛich. 105. 38. 39. 72. 163. . .	*bhavāmi*	*homi*[29]	*hūñ*	. . .	I become, or am.
	bhavasi	*hosi*	*hai*	. . .	thou becomest, etc.
	bhavati	*bhodi*, *hodi*[30] *hojja*, *hojja'i*	*hai*	. . .	he becomes, etc.
	bhavanti	*honti*	*haiñ*		they become, etc.
Prab. p. 44.	*anubhavanti*	*aṇuhavanti*	. . .	. . .	they feel.
Mṛichh. 141.	*anubhavitum*	*aṇubhavidum*	. . .	. . .	to feel.
Mṛichh. 21. 24	*bhavishyati*	*huviśśadi* *huvissadi*	*hōihi*[31]	. . .	he will be.
Var. vii. 12. 13. 14. 15. Lassen, 268.	*bhavishyāmi*	*hossāmi*,[32] *hossam*, *hohāmi*, *hohimi*	*hūñgā*	*hoīn*	I will be.
	bhavishyāmaḥ	*hossāmo*, *hohāmo*, *hohimo*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā*	*hoñge*	. . .	we will be.
Var. vii. 20. 21. . .	*bhavishyati*	*hojja*, *hojjā* *hojjahii*, *hojjāhii*	*hogā*	*hōil*	he will be.
	bhavatu	*hojja,u*, *hojjāu*	*hūjiye*, *hūjiyo*	. . . .	let him be; be (imper.).
Var. vii. 23. 24. . .	*abhavat*, *abhūt*	*huvīa*, *hohīa* .	*bhayā*, *huā*, *hatā*, *thā*	*hotā*	he was.
Var. viii. 2. .	*bhūtam*	*huam* (*hūam ?*)	*hūā*	. . .	been.
Mṛichh. 25. .	*jvālaya*	*jālehi*	*jalānā*	. . .	to burn.
Var. viii. 13 Vikr. 112. Mṛich. 16. 31	*karomi*	*karomi*, *kalemi*, *karemi*	*kartā*	*karitom̃*	I do.
Mṛichh. 132.	*kṛitam*	*kaḍe*	*karā*, *kiyā*	*kela*, *kelā*	done.
Mṛichh. 31. Vikr. 18. .	*kṛitaḥ*	*kulu*, *kao*[33]			
Delius, pp. 27–29. . .	*kurvan*	*karanto*, *kalento*, *karento*, *kubbāṇo*	*kartā*	*karit*	doing.
Delius, pp. 27–29. . .	*nirākṛitya*	*ṇirākariya*	*kōriyā* (Bengalī.)	. . .	having undone [done].
Delius, p. 17 Mṛichh. 105	*dadāmi*	*demi*	*detā*	. . .	I give.
Mṛichh. 66.	*dadāti*	*dedi*	. . .	. . .	he gives.
Var. viii. 62. Mṛich. 95. 37.	*dattam*	*diṇṇam*	*diyā*, *dīn*	. . .	given.
Mṛichh. 127.	*dadatī*	*dentī*	*detī*	. . .	giving (fem.).
Mṛichh. 32. 163. . . .	*mārgayati*	*maggadi*[34] *maggedi*	*māngnā*	*māganem̃*	to ask.

29 From *havāmi*, etc.; see Lassen, p. 176.
30 *Hoi*, Mṛichh. 38. 102.
31 *Hōihi*, provincial for *hogā*.
32 Burnouf, Lotus, 687.
33 Delius seems to think *kulu* may be the Prākṛit imperative.
34 Comp. *maggo* from *mārgaḥ*, antè, p. 18, Var. ii. 2. iii. 50.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 79. 82. 88. . .	*mārgayitum*	*maggidum*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 136	*margamāṇena*	*maggamāṇena*	. . .	. . .	to ask.
Mṛichh. 95. .	*mārgayataḥ*	*maggantassa*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 12. .	*kalpayata*	*kappedha*	. . .	*kāpaṇem̃*	to cut.
Mṛichh. 51. . .	*kalpayitvā*	*kappia*			
Var. viii. 23. Mṛichh. 36. Del. 15. 16.	*jnātvā*	*jāṇia*	*jāniyā* (Bengalī.)	. . .	having known
Var. viii. 56. Delius, p. 24.	*śṛiṇomi*	*śuṇāmi*	*sunnā* (Hindī)	. . .	to hear.
Mṛichh. 37. .	*śrutvā*	*śuṇia*	*śuniyā* (Bengalī.)		
Mṛi. 104. 105.	*śṛiṇu*	*suṇu, suṇāhi*	*sun*	. . .	hear.
Mṛich. 45. 70	*dhāv, dhāvati*	*dhovehi, dhoadi*	*dhonā*	*dhuṇem̃*	to wash.
Mṛichh. 46. .	*svapimaḥ*	*subemha*	*sonā*	. . .	to sleep.
Prasan. 65. .	*supta*	*sutta*	*soā*	. . .	asleep.
Bāl. 178. . .	*svapsyāmi*	*suvissam*	*so,ūnga*	. . .	I shall sleep.
Mṛich. 59. 122 Var. viii. 25	*sthāpayitvā*	*ṭhābia, thābia*	*thāmnā*	*thāmbaṇem̃*	to hold, stop.
Mṛichh. 97. Delius, 19. .	*sthāpayāmi*	*thābemi*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 57. .	*rakshāmi*	*rakkhāmi*	*rakhnā*	*rākhaṇem̃*	to keep.
Var. viii. 47. Mṛichh. 70. 71. Del. 50.	*nṛityati, nṛityate, nṛityan*	*ṇachhai, ṇachchīadi, ṇachhanto*	*nāchnā*	*nāchanem̃*	to dance.
Mṛichh. 71. .	*śikshayantaḥ*	*sikkhantā*	*sikhānā*	. . .	to teach.
Mṛichh. 72. .	*upavishṭaḥ*	*ubaviṭṭhā*	*baiṭhā* (?)	. . .	seated.
Cowell; App. A. p. 99. .	*kathayati*	*kahai*	*kahnā*	*kathaṇem̃*	
S'ak. 45. 34. Mṛich. 4. 80.	*kathaya*	*kahehi, kadhehi*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 80.	*kathayishyāmi*	*kahissam*	. . .	. . .	to tell.
Mṛichh. 36. .	*kathayitum*	*kahidā*	*kahā*	. . .	
Mṛichh. 103.	*kathyate*	*kahijjadi*	. . .	. . .	
Delius, 86. . Vikr. 2. . .	*asti*	*atti, achchi*[35]	*āchhe* (Bengalī.)	*āhe*	he is.
Mṛichh. 99. .	*stha*	*achchhadha*	*āchho* (Beng.)		ye are.
Lassen, 346. Cowell, 184.	*santi*	*achchanti*	*āchhen* (Beng)		they are.
Sūtra 24. in App. A. . Cowell, 99.	*vadati*	*vollaï, volaï*	*bolnā*	*bolaṇem̃*	to speak.
Mṛichh. 105.	*brūmaḥ*	*bollāmo*[36]			
Delius, 67. . Mṛichh. 169.	*labhante*	*lahanti*	*lahate, lete*	. . .	they receive.

[35] Mr. Childers thinks the forms *achchi*, etc., cannot be referred to the Sanskrit root *as*. *Asti*, he says, became *atthi* in Pāli, but the Pāli *achchhati* is, he considers, beyond doubt the present tense of *ās*, and points to an anomalous form *atsati*.

[36] This alteration of *brūmaḥ* into *bollāmo* may perhaps be conceived to have proceeded by the following steps: *barūmaḥ*, *balūmaḥ*, *bollāmo*. Or it is possible that *bol* may be an indigenous non-Sanskrit form, or a vernacular root retained in Prākṛit.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 115.	*kshipatu* (*phel*, to go)	*pheladu*[37]	*phelite*(Beng.)	. . .	to throw.
Mṛichh. 139.	*dūrīkarishyāmi*	*phelāiśśam*	. . .	. . .	I shall remove.
Mṛichh. 112.	*jāgṛita*	*jaggetha*	*jāgnā*	*jāganeṁ*	to wake.
Var. vii. 7.	*gataḥ*	*ga'o*	*gayā*	. . .	gone.
Var. vii. 1. and ii. 24.	*paṭhati*	*paḍhaï*	*paḍhnā*	*paḍhaṇeṁ*	to read.
Mṛichh. 121. Var. viii. 51.	*patāmi*	*paḍemi* *paḍāmi*	*paḍnā*	*paḍaneṁ*	to fall.
Delius, 51.	*patitaḥ*	*paḍido*	*paḍā*	. . .	fallen.
Mṛichh. 120. Delius, p. 22.	*uḍḍayante*[38]	*uḍḍenti* *uḍḍa'enti*	*uḍnā*		to fly.
Mṛichh. 124.	*paridhāsye*	*pahiliśśam*	*paharnā*	*pāndharaṇeṁ*	to put on (clothing).
Mṛichh. 71.	*pibanti*	*pianti*	*pīnā*	*piṇeṁ*	to drink.
Delius, 77. Mṛichh. 170.	*jīvāmi* *jīvantam*	*jīāmi* *jīantam*	*jīnā* . . .	. . .	to live.
Mṛichh. 165.	*nishkāśaya*	*ṇikkālehi*	*nikāsnā* *nikālnā*	. . .	to put out.
Var. viii. 44 Vik. 11. Del. 60. Kram. 10	*varddhate*, *varddhatām*	*vaḍḍhadi* *vaḍḍhadu*	*baḍhnā*	*wāḍhaṇeṁ*	to increase.
Vikr. 44.	*tvarayasva*	*turavāvehi*	*turant* (quickly.)	. . .	hasten.
Var. viii. 4.	*tvarate*	*tuvara'i*	. . .	. . .	he hastens.
S'ak. 43. 168 Vikr. 91. Delius, 79. Hemachandra, Cowell. 173. note.	*paśyāmi* *driśyāmi*[39]	*dekkhāmi*[40]	*dekhnā*	*dekhaṇeṁ*	to see.
	darśaya	*dekhāvahi*	*dikhānā*	*dākhaviṇeṁ*	to cause to see.
Var. viii. 48.	*yudhyate*	*jujjhaï*	*jūjhnā*	*junjhaṇeṁ*	to fight: be killed.
Var. viii. 48.	*budhyate*	*bujjhaï*	*būjhnā*	*bujhaṇeṁ*	to understand.
Var. viii. 25. 26, Mṛich. 73	*dhyai*	*jhā*, *sanjhāadi*	*samajhnā* (?)	*samajaṇeṁ*	to meditate, understand.
Kram. 28. in Delius, p. 10.	*krudh*	*kujjh*	. . .	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 46.	*rushyati*	*rūsa'i*	*risiyānā*	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 50.	*mṛidnāti*	*mala'i*[41]	*malnā*	. . .	to grind, rub.

[37] Perhaps derived from *prer*, to impel. Comp. *pellaṇena* and *vellaṇena*, rendered by *preraṇena*, in the Bālar., p. 203. Both roots are given in the lexicons.

[38] Prof. Aufrecht draws my attention to the fact that, in the Vedas, the root signifying "to fly" is not *ḍī*, but *dī*. See also the intensive form of the verb in *dedīyitavai*, S'atapatha Brahmaṇa, v. 3, 2, 6, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v.

[39] This form may at one time have been in use.

[40] This word occurs on the Lāt of Firoz Shah in the forms *dekhati* and *dekhiye*, and in the form *dekhāmi* in the inscription at Dhauli. See Burnouf, Lotus de la bonne Loi, pp. 666, 669, 671, 676, who supposes *dekhati* may come from an old form *driśyati*, he sees. Mr. Childers thinks, however, it must come from the Sanskrit future *drakshyate*.

[41] See also Kramadīśvara, 39, in Delius, p. 11, where the root *mṛid* is said to become *maṇ* in Prākṛit. In Persian also the verb *mālīdan* means to *rub*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. viii. 531	*sphuṭ*	*phuṭṭaï*, *phuḍaï*	*phūṭnā*	*phuṭaṇeṁ*	to split.
Mṛich. 70. 7. Delius, 59.	*badhyante*	*bajjhanti*	*bajhnā*	. . .	to be bound or caught.
Var. viii. 27.	*khād*	*khā*	*khānā*	*khāṇeṁ*	to eat.
Delius, 29. Mālavikā, 54.	*pārayāmi*	*pāremi*	*pārite* (Bengalī.)	. . .	to be able
Prasanna-rāghava, 45	*prāghuṇasya* *prāhuṇasya*	*pāhuṇassa*[42]	*pāhun* *pāhunā*	. . .	a guest.
Bālarāmāyaṇa 266.	*pakshiṇaḥ*	*pakhkkhiṇo*	*pakheru* *panchhī*		birds.
Bāl. 290.	*kshīra*	*khīra*	*khīr*		milk.
Bāl. 231. 235.	*lakshāḥ*	*lakkhā*	*lākh*		hundred thousand.
Bāl. 45. 307.	*akshi*	*achchhi* *akkhi*	*ānkh*		eye
Bāl. 246.	*kaksha*	*kakkha*			side.
Bāl. 53. 69. 98	*gotra*	*gotta*	*got*		family, clan.
Bāl. 267.	*sūtra*	*sutta*	*sūt*		thread.
Bāl. 165. 167. 297.	*putra*, *putrī*	*putta*, *puttī*	*put*		son, daughter
Bāl. 221.	*kārpāsa*	*kappāsa*	*kapās*		cotton.
Bāl. 142. 178.	*karpūra*	*kappūra*	*kapūr*		camphor.
Bāl. 269. 298.	*dharma*	*dhamma*			virtue
Bāl. 294.	*darpaṇam*	*dappaṇam*			a mirror.
Bal. 267.	*nirvāṇa*	*nivvāṇa*			extinction.
Bāl. 76. 194.	*dugdha*	*duddha*	*dūdh*		milk.
Bāl. 266.	*mugdha* *snigdha*	*mudhdha* *siṇidhdha*			infatuated. affectionate.
Bāl. 236.	*pippala*	*pīpala*	*pīpal*		pīpal tree.
Bāl. 178. Prasannarāgh.	*mishṭā* *mishṭā*	*miṭhṭhā* *miṭṭhī*	*mīṭṭhā*		sweet.
Bāl. 270. 278.	*oshṭha*	*uṭhṭha*, *oṭhṭha*	*honṭh*		lip.
Bāl. 156. 303.	*śvaśureṇa*	*sasureṇa*	*sasur*		father-in-law
Bāl. 153.	*śvaśrū*	*sāsue*	*sās*		mother-in-law.
Bāl. 158.	*śvaśrūṇām*	*sāsūṇam*	*sās*		Do. gen. pl.
Bāl. 182.	*bhrū*	*bhū*	*bhauṅ*		eyebrow.
Bāl. 168. 176.	*snushā*	*suṇā*, *susā*			daughter-in-law.
Bāl. 34. 179. 234. 245. 364.	*śabdaḥ*	*saddo*			sound.
Bāl. 245. 251.	*mudgara*	*mogāra*	*mogra*, *mudgar*		a mallet.
Bāl. 235.	*dhūma*	*dhūsa*	*dhūāṅ*		smoke.
Bāl. 238.	*pādayoh*	*pāesu*	*pāṅw*		at the feet.

[42] The word is translated by *atitheḥ* in Pandit Govinda Deva's edition. But I find the word *prāghuṇa* in Wilson's Dictionary in the sense of guest; and Böhtlingk and Roth give both that and another form *prāhuṇa*. As, however, they do not cite from any very ancient author any passage in which the word is found, and as it is of rare occurrence as compared with *atithi*, it may perhaps have been imported into Sanskrit from Prākṛit. *Pāhuṇa*, in the sense of "guest," is, Mr. Childers informs me, a good Pāli word.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Bāl. 142. 292.	*pakva*	*pikka*	*pakkā*		mature.
Pras. 48.	*mūrkha*	*murukha*	*mūrakh*		fool.
Bāl. 49. 93. 270	*jhaṭiti*	*jhatti*	*jhaṭ*		quickly.
Bāl. 246. 270.	*śirasā*	*sireṇa*	*sir*		head.
Bāl. 77.	*katham*	*kīsa*	*kaisā* (for both)		how?
Prasan. 36. 44.	*katham*	*kahaṁ*			
Prasan. 26.	*vyāghrasya*	*vaghghassa*	*bāgh*		a tiger.
Prasan. 84. Bāl. 76. 238.	*stana*	*tthaṇa, thaṇa*	*than*		female breast, udder.
Bāl. 168.	*jihvā*	*jīhā*	*jībh*		tongue.
Bāl. 276.	*kāṁsya*	*kaṁsa*	*kāṅs*		bell metal.
Var. viii. 6. Bāl. 76.	*ghūrṇat*	*gholanta*	*gholnā* (to mix with a liquid.) (for these four)		rolling.
Bāl. 238.	*ghūrṇanti*	*gholanti*			roll, move.
Bāl. 246.	*ghūrṇati*	*ghuṇṇadi*			turns round.
Bāl. 143.	*chūrṇitam*	*ghullalidam*			pounded, crushed.
Mṛichh. 3.	*āhūya*	*saddābia* [43]	. . .	. . .	having called, summoned.
Mṛichh. 50.	*āhvayāmi*	*saddābemi*	. . .	. . .	I call.
Mṛichh. 54.	*āhvaya*	*saddābehi*	. . .	. . .	call (imper.).
Mṛichh. 54. 141.	*ājnāpayati* *āhvayati*	*saddābedi*	. . .	. . .	he commands, calls.
Mṛichh. 60.	*ākārayishyāmi*	*saddābaïśśam*	. . .	. . .	I shall summon.
Mṛichh. 150.	*āhūyate*	*saddābīadi*			he is called.
Mṛich. 6.	*spṛishṭvā*	*chhibia* [44]	*chhūnā* (?) (to touch)	. . .	having touched.
Mṛichh. 25.	*veśyā*	*gosāviā* [45]			a harlot.

[N.B.—In this and the following list, it will be seen that I have generally given the Hindī and Mahrattī verbs in the infinitive, without reference to the mood or tense of the corresponding word in Prākṛit. The verbs in the Sanskrit column, on the contrary, are always exact renderings of the Prākṛit ones, in tense, number, person, etc.]

[43] This word is, no doubt, as Mr. Childers suggests, from the Sanskrit *śabdāpay* (see above the alteration of *śabda* into *sadda*). The word *śabdāpayet* occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 57, 9, Schlegel's ed., and in ii. 59, 3, of the Bombay ed., where the commentary explains the word by *ākārayet*, "summon." In Gorresio's ed., ii. 59, 6, the verb *āhvayet*, having the same sense, is substituted. Forms like *śabdāpay* are, as Prof. Aufrecht informs me, very common in the later Sanskrit.

[44] A various reading is *bibia*. Mr. Childers thinks *chhibia* comes from the Sanskrit *chhup*, "to touch." This root is given, he tells me, in Clough's list of Pāli verbs in the sense of "to touch;" and the word occurs in the Dhammapada, p. 156, line 1.

[45] This word is, no doubt, derived from *gosvāminī*, the wife of a Gosvāmin, or Goshain; and I am told by a well-informed friend that the word has got the sense of harlot from the indifferent character of some of these female devotees.

It is thus clear from an examination of the Indian dramas, and of the examples furnished by the grammarians who treat of the dramatic dialects (as illustrated in the preceding comparative table), that the words which we find in Prākṛit are in great part identical with those of Sanskrit, but more or less modified in their forms, and that these modifications are, in numerous instances, intermediate between the original Sanskrit words and the still more corrupted forms which we discover in the languages descended from the Prākṛits, I mean, in the modern vernacular dialects.

But, while the great majority of Prākṛit words can, by the application of proper methods, be traced back to a Sanskrit source, there are some others which refuse to yield to the action of even the most powerful tests which criticism can employ, and successfully assert their claim to an origin independent of classical Sanskrit, and which we must therefore conclude either to belong to the vernacular Āryan speech, or to be of non-Āryan derivation.

Another fact then which is made clear by the examination of the dramatic poems and the Prākṛit grammarians is, that the Prākṛit dialects contain a certain number of words which are not discoverable in classical Sanskrit, but which we also find in the modern vernaculars, such as the roots *ḍub*, to sink, *tharhar* (in Hindī *tharthar*), to tremble, *ḍhakk*, to cover or shut, and the nouns *goṛ*, leg, *bappa*, father, etc.[46] The greater portion of the words of this class, which I have discovered, will be found in the subjoined table. [In the present edition I have added, at the foot of the table, a number of new words, some of which, however, I find, may be derived from Sanskrit, but few of which are discoverable in the modern vernaculars.]

[46] See the Rev. H. Ballantine's paper "On the relation of the Mahrattī to the Sanskrit," in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii. p. 369–385. Some of the words considered by Mr. Ballantine to be Mahrattī are, however, Persian or Arabic, such as *mekh*, *baghal*, *manzila*; others, as *khāne*, to eat, are Sanskrit. I add the following remarks from Dr. J. Wilson's "Notes on the Constituent Elements," etc., of the Marāthī language (prefixed to Molesworth's Marāthī Dictionary, 2nd edition), p. xxii. [The Marāthī language] "has two distinct lingual elements, the Scythian (or Turanian) and the Sanskrit." . . . "The Scythian element . . is obviously the more ancient of the two, as far as its present locality is concerned. It is still a good deal in use, especially among the lower orders of the people, and in the business of common life. It claims almost all the words beginning with the cerebral letters, which, as initials, were probably not originally in use in the Sanskrit; almost all the words beginning with the letter *jh*; and a great majority of the words formed from imitative particles, both simple and reduplicated, which are often very expressive, and are not now of an arbitrary character, whatever they might have been before they got established in the

Table No. II.

List of Prākṛit words, chiefly from the Mṛichhakaṭī and the grammarians, which are not found in classical Sanskrit, or are of doubtful origin, with their modern vernacular equivalents, when ascertained.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 119.	*pitṛisambandhi*	*bappa-ke-lake*[47]	*bāp ke* *bāp karke*	*bāp*	father.
Mṛich. 80. 108	*pādam*	*goḍam*	*goḍ*	. . .	foot, leg.
Mṛich. 72. 112	*udara*	*poṭa, poṭṭa*	*peṭ, poṭa*	*poṭ*[48]	belly.
Mṛichh. 35. .	*puṁśchalī*	*chhiṉāliā*	*chhināl*	*chhināl,* *sindal*	harlot.
Mṛichh. 40. .	*stambha*	*khuṉṭa*	*khoṉṭā*	*khunṭā*	peg.
Mṛichh. 31. 36. 167. .	*manushyaḥ*	*goho*	. . .	*goho*	man.
Mṛichh. 123. & n., 299. .	*rasaḥ*	*lakhaliā*	. . .	*lakerī*[49]	a slight taste.
Mṛichh. 175.	*kukkuraḥ*	*huḍe*	. . .	. . .	dog.
Vikr. p. 79. .	*paśya*	*ua*	. . .	. . .	look.
Mṛichh. 100.	*rakshata*	*johaha*[50]	*johnā*	. . .	to watch: look out for.
Mṛichh. 141.	*prakampate*	*thartaredi*[51]	*thartharānā*	*thartharaṉeṁ*	to tremble.
Var. viii. 68. & Kram. in Delius, 11.	*majjati*	*vuṭṭaï, vuttaï,* *khuppaï*	*būḍna*	*buḍaṉeṁ*	to sink.
Mṛich. 162. 317	*majjantam*	*ḍubbantam*	*ḍūbnā*	*ḍūbaṉeṁ*	
Mṛichh. 36. 79. 164. . Prab. 58.	*pidhehi* *pidhatta* *pihitam*	*ḍhakkehi*[52] *ḍhakkedha* *ḍhakkide*	*ḍhaknā*	*ḍhānkaṉ* (a lid or cover) *jhānkaṉeṁ* (to cover)	to cover or shut.

usus loquendi of the people by whom they were originally formed." . . . "The Sanskrit element is that which predominates in the Marāthī, as the inspection of the Dictionary at once shows." . . "Colebrooke expresses it as his opinion that 'nine-tenths of the Hindī dialect may be traced back to the Sanskrit;' and perhaps a similar observation may be justly made as to the proportion of Sanskrit words in the Marāthī, when both primitive and modified forms are taken into the account."

[47] About the affix, *kelake* or *kerake*, see Lassen, p. 118.

[48] In Molesworth's Mahrattī Dictionary, this word is set down as derived from the Sanskrit *peṭa;* but the only sense assigned to this word in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary is that of *basket*.

[49] Stenzler's Mṛichhakaṭī, p. 299.

[50] In Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary the word *jongaṭa* is given as a noun, with the sense of "longing for;" which may possibly be connected with this word.

[51] Prof. Benfey, in his review of the first edition of this volume, in the "Gött. Gel. Anzeigen" for January 23rd, 1861, p. 132, considers this root to be connected with the Sanskrit *tarala*, "trembling," and the participle *tarturāṇa* (from the root *tur*), which occurs in Rig Veda, ix. 95, 3, where it has, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, the sense of "rushing forward."

[52] Wilson and Böhtlingk and Roth give a root *dhakk*, with the signification to

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛich. 118.	*kārayishyāmi*	*ghaḍābaïśśam*	*ghaḍnā*	*ghaḍaṇeṁ*	to fabricate.
95.	*kāraya*	*ghaḍābehi*[53]			
Mṛichh. 122.	*karshāmi*	*vaḍḍhāmi*	. . .	*oḍhaṇeṁ*	to draw. (Stenz. 298.)
Kramad. in Delius.	*nishad*	*ṇumajj*[54]	. . .	. . .	to sit.
	piv	*ghoṭṭ*	*ghūṇṭnā*	*ghoṭaṇeṁ*	to drink, gulp
	khip	*vijj*	. . .	. . .	to throw.
Var. viii. 64.	*krudh*	*jur*[55]	. . .	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 66.	*trasyati*	*vajjaï*	. . .	. . .	to be afraid.
Var. viii. 28. Delius, p. 6.	*gras*	*vis, ghis*[56]	. . .	. . .	to eat.
Var. viii. 20.	*ghrā*	*pā*	. . .	. . .	to smell.
Var. viii. 67.	*mṛij*	*lubh, sup*	. . .	. . .	to cleanse.
Var. viii. 69.	*dṛiś*	*pulaa*	. . .	. . .	to see.
Prasanna-rāghava, 11.13.113. 115.	*vilokayan*	*pulovanto*	. . .	. . .	seeing.
	vilokaya	*pulovehi*	. . .	. . .	see.
Var. viii. 70.	*śak*	*tar, vaa, tīr*	. . .	. . .	to be able.
Mṛichh. 21. .	*sphoṭayishyāmi*	*maḍamaḍāïśśam*			I shall split.[57]

"destroy;" but the *dh* is the dental, not the cerebral, letter. I have withdrawn from the table the word *kāṇelī*, as it is found in Sanskrit as well as Prākṛit sentences in the Mṛichhakaṭī.

[53] This may come from the Sanskrit root *ghaṭ*, "to act."

[54] Delius, p. 12, thinks that these roots may have been disused in Sanskrit.

[55] Prof. Benfey, in the review above quoted, regards this word as connected with the Sanskrit root *jvar*, and the adjective *jvara*, "excited," "in a passion."

[56] See Mr. Cowell's note 5, on p. 73, where he supposes that Delius's reading *ghis* is probably incorrect. In his Index, p. 202, however, Mr. Cowell places a mark of interrogation after *visaï*.

[57] While this table is passing through the press, I have been favoured with the following remarks on some of the words by Mr. R. C. Childers. "Bappa, Bâp—In Siṁhalese *Appá* is 'father,' and *Báppá* 'uncle.' The latter word is a corruption of *bála-appá*, as is shown by the corresponding *Bálammá*, 'aunt.'—Poṭa, Peṭ—I think this may well be the Sanskrit *Peṭa*, compare the various meanings of *Koshṭha*. The Italian for a man's head is *testa*, properly an earthen pot. It is singular that the Siṁhalese for 'belly' is *Baḍa*, which, however, cannot be peṭa; it would rather represent *bhaṇḍa*, but I am very doubtful about its etymology.—Chhiṇâliâ—Clough, in the Siṁhalese dictionary, gives under *Chhinna*, the meaning 'harlot.' Could *náli* be the Sanskrit *nárí*?—Ua, 'look,'—I do not know how this word is used, but might it not be simply an interjection?—Ḍhakkhehi,—The Sanskrit root '*Stag*' is *Thak* in Pâli (*thaketi* 'he covers,' *thakanaṁ*, 'a covering'). But Clough gives 'concealment' as one of the meanings of *ḍhakka*.—Ghaḍâbaiśśam—This must be a causative of '*ghaṭ*': *Ghaṭápeti*, 'he fabricates,' occurs in Pâli (see D'Alwis Intr. p. 35).—Vaḍḍhâmi, 'to draw,'—Compare Turnour's Mahâvaṁsa, p. 160, line 1 and erratum, *Kuntaṁ vaḍḍhetha bho*, 'pull up the lance,' which seems to have been stuck in the ground (see previous page).—Vijj, 'to throw,'—Could this be 'vyadh'? The present tense in Pâli is *vijjhati*.—Vajjai, 'to fear,'—Could this be 'vṛij' (Pâli *vajjati*), in the sense of 'to shrink from'?—Pul, 'to see'—This must be the Siṁhalese *bala-navá* 'to see,' the etymology of which I have not succeeded in tracing."

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 17.	*bhakta*	*chhalli*[58]			boiled rice.
Mṛichh. 43.	*śasya-lampaṭa*	*śaśśa-palakka*	.		a rioter in grain (spoken of an ox).
Mṛichh. 101. 159.	*chintāparaḥ* *chintāyuktaḥ*	*tattilo* (or *tantilo*), *tattilā*			anxious.
Mṛichh. 127.	*bāle*	*vāśu*	. . .	. . .	O young female!
Mṛichh. 134.	*kshālayishyāmi*	*gālaiśśam*[59]	. . .	. . .	I shall wash.
Bāl. 65f. 74 240.	*kānti*	*rincholī*	. . .	. . .	brilliance.
Bāl. 194.	*pankti*	*richolī*	. . .	. . .	a row.
Bāl. 86.	*gaja*	*doghaṭṭa*	. . .	. . .	an elephant.
Bāl. 195. 264.	*śukti*	*sippi*	*sīp, sīpī*	. . .	a shell.
Bāl. 249.	*trasta*	*chamakanta*[60]	*chamaknā* (to glitter, start)	. . .	alarmed.
Bāl. 240.	*miśrita*	*kallabida*	. . .	. . .	mixed.
Bāl. 264.	*patita*	*paloṭṭa*	. . .	. . .	fallen.
Bāl. 198.	*samūhāḥ*	*kaḍappā*	. . .	. . .	assemblages.
Bāl. 203.	*śreshṭha*	*garilla*[61]	. . .	. . .	most excellent.
Bāl. 243.	*nartakī*	*taraṭhṭhī*	. . .	. . .	a dancing girl.
Bāl. 251.	*chūrṇita*	*chuspaṇia*	. . .	. . .	pounded.
Bāl. 276.	*miśram*	*vidurillam*	. . .	. . .	mingled.
Bāl. 246.	*sparśaiḥ*	*jhaḍappehim̃*	. . .	. . .	contacts.
Bāl. 246.	*dutkāraiḥ* *dutkurutaḥ*	*dukkarehim* *dukkanti*	*ṭhokaron se ṭhonkte?*	. . .	they beat with blows?
Bāl. 259.	*lalāṭa*	*ṇiḍola*[62]	. . .	. . .	forehead.
Bāl. 198.	*śobhita*	*changoṭhṭhia*[63]	. . .	. . .	beautified.

[N.B.—See other non-Sanskrit roots, or roots of doubtful origin, used in Prākṛit, in Vararuchi, viii. 18, 21, 23, 34, 35, 39, 40.]

[58] Wilson gives *challi*, with the sense of "rind," "bark."

[59] Here the *ksh* of the Sanskrit may be changed into *g*. The Pāli form, Mr. Childers tells me, is *khālayissāmi*, which he thinks may supply a link between the two words in the Table. But the Bālarāmāyaṇa, p. 48, has *pakkhālaṇa* for the Sanskrit *prakshālana* and the Prasannarāghava, p. 124, has *chchhālaa* for the Sanskrit *kshālaya*.

[60] The word also occurs in p. 243 of the same drama, in the forms *chamakkanta* and *chamakkida*, where it is explained in the commentary by *chamakṛita*, "astonished."

[61] This may possibly be a mistake of the copyist for *gariṭhṭha (garishṭha)*, which occurs in page 224.

[62] Mr. Childers suggests that *ṇiḍola* is probably only an altered form of *lalāṭa*, as in Pāli *nalāta* is a more common form than *lalāṭa*, while metathesis would account for the most important remaining variation.

[63] The Sanskrit lexicons have *changa* in the sense of beautiful; but from what the latter part of the word is derived, I do not see.

It is true that these vernacular words, occurring in the dramas, are few in number; that many vocables, very unlike the Sanskrit, which seem, on a hasty inspection, to be of a different origin, are discovered, on a more careful examination, to be derived from that language by successive steps proceeding according to certain recognized rules of mutation; and that the words, not deducible from the written Sanskrit, which remain, do not bear so large a proportion to those which are of Sanskrit origin, as is the case in the modern vernaculars.[64] This paucity of such words in the dramas is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact that they are polished compositions containing many poetical passages, and were written by Pandits, men familiar with Sanskrit, who would be likely, when they could, to avoid vulgar words and phrases, and to employ vocables of Sanskrit derivation, wherever it was found possible: just as we see the pedantic Pandits of our own time are in the habit of doing.[65] And there can be no doubt that in the provincial dialects, as spoken by the lower classes and by unlearned persons in general at the time when the dramas were composed, many more non-Sanskrit words would be current than we meet with in the dramas. In the same way we find in modern times several modifications of language in use among different sections of the community in the same provinces of Hindustan. The Hindu Pandits, for instance, use a dialect which is full of Sanskrit words; the villagers use fewer Sanskrit and more indigenous words; the lower Mahomedans use a language approaching to that of the Hindu villagers, but with more Persian and Arabic words; while educated Mahomedans introduce into their discourse a large number of Arabic and Persian words and phrases. But the existence of even a small proportion of such non-Sanskrit words

[64] Lassen remarks, p. 286: "The roots of the Prākṛits must be looked for in Sanskrit; and the few words which appear to be of extraneous origin can, for the most part, be traced to Sanskrit, if the investigation is pursued on right principles. At the same time I would not entirely deny that some vocables may have passed from the indigenous languages of India into the Sanskrit as well as the Prākṛit; but such words are certainly not numerous." Lassen may not underrate here the number of purely indigenous words in the Prākṛits, as they are exhibited in the dramas, but his remarks are not certainly correct if applied to the modern vernaculars, in which words not derived from Sanskrit, and which must have come down to them from the vernacular Prākṛits, are very numerous.

[65] Compare the case of English, like that of Dr. Samuel Johnson, full of Latin and Greek derivatives, with other compositions in which Anglo-Saxon predominates.

in the dramas, when taken in conjunction with the corrupted form,—akin to that of the modern vernaculars,—in which we find Sanskrit words employed there, appears sufficient to show that the Prākṛits, such as we see them in the dramas, were, in a more or less modified form, the spoken dialects of their day; and were consequently the precursors of the modern vernacular tongues. As we find in these latter a considerable proportion of words which cannot be traced back to classical Sanskrit, we are led to conclude that these words must have existed in the older vernacular dialects, and have been transmitted from them to the later. The only alternative is that we suppose these non-Sanskrit words to have been invented in modern times, a supposition which is destitute of all probability.[66]

The question, already proposed in p. 7, now recurs, Whence came these words which are met with in the Prākṛit dialects and the still larger number discoverable in the modern vernacular tongues, which are not found in classical Sanskrit? In answer to this question two suppositions have been already made. It has been suggested, p. 7, that these words are either (1) colloquial vocables of Āryan origin (a view which is adopted by Mr. Beames in the passage quoted in p. 8), or (2) that they have been borrowed from the language of non-Āryan tribes with which the Āryans came into contact. For I must here anticipate an assertion which I hope further on to prove more in detail, viz., that there are in India very manifest traces of a variety of races of men differing widely in their origin.

It appears that the ancestors of the higher classes of northern Hindus, who originally spoke Sanskrit and called themselves Āryas, must have had their origin in countries to the north or west of India, and immigrated into Hindustan at an early period. When they arrived there, they found the country already occupied by a race of men called in the Veda and Mahābharata, Dasyus, who spoke a different language from themselves, and with whom they became engaged in continual

[66] Even if it were to be admitted that the Pāli and the scenic dialects were never identical with the spoken vernaculars, this would not neutralize my argument. For the Prākṛits must have been used on the stage, and must therefore have been understood. They could not, however, have been intelligible, if they had not approached closely to some form of spoken language. And the existence of the Pāli, as well as of the Prākṛits, shows both the general tendency of men to break down and modify their languages, and the actual process by which they proceeded in northern India.

warfare. These Dasyus appear to have been partly driven away by the Āryas to the east and south and north, where they took refuge in the forests and mountains, and partly to have been subdued and to have become incorporated in the Āryan communities as their slaves or dependents. Though these earlier inhabitants of India also had, in all probability, immigrated into that country at some period anterior to the invasion of the Āryas, I shall, for the sake of ready distinction, style them the aborigines. These aboriginal tribes may not have been all of one race, and may have arrived in India at different times, but their history is very obscure, and can only be conjectured. So much is clear, that their languages are not all alike. In the south of India we find still existing a set of spoken languages called Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalim, etc., which differ very widely from the vernacular tongues of northern India, viz., the Mahrattī, Hindī, Bengalī, etc. Though the southern languages have now a certain intermixture of Sanskrit words, yet it is clear that this intermixture is only of comparatively recent date, as those languages differ entirely both in structure and in the great bulk of the words of which they are composed from the Sanskrit, and all its derivative languages. The dialects of northern and central India, on the other hand, viz., the Mahrattī, Hindī, Bengalī, etc., are, as we have already seen, mainly derived from classical Sanskrit, though they contain a considerable proportion of words which are evidently of a different origin. These words of non-Sanskrit origin, which we first discover, to a certain extent, in the ancient Prākṛits, and which descended from them to the northern vernaculars, must (1) either have formed a part of the colloquial speech of the Āryas, which did not pass into their literary language; or (2) they have been derived from the language spoken by the aborigines, who had occupied the south as well as north of India before the Sanskrit-speaking race of the Āryas arrived; or (3) they most probably came partly from the one and partly from the other of these sources. Assuming that they spring in part, at least, from a non-Āryan source, we may suppose some such linguistic process as the following to have taken place. After the northern aborigines had been reduced to dependence by the Āryas, and both classes, Āryan and non-Āryan, had coalesced in one community (of which the former composed the upper, and the latter the lower ranks), the languages of both classes (which had

previously been different) would begin to become assimilated and amalgamated; the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas would soon adopt many words belonging to the speech of the aborigines, while the aboriginal race would begin to borrow many words from the Sanskrit, the language of their masters. This process, however, would naturally lead to a great corruption and alteration of the Sanskrit. Many of the compound consonantal sounds in Sanskrit words, such as those in *strī*, *rakta*, *kshatriya*, seem to have been found such as the lower orders of people found it difficult to pronounce, and these compound sounds became accordingly broken up or simplified, or in some way modified. Thus *strī* became *istrī*, *rakta* became *ratta* or *rakat*, and *kshatriya* became *khatriya*, *khattia*, or *chhatriya*. In this manner both languages would become gradually changed, according to processes which are seen in operation in all countries. Caprice, alteration of physical circumstances, differences of education, and those varieties in the organs of speech which are peculiar to different races,—are all found to produce progressive modifications in language. Various forms of Prākṛit would spring up by degrees in different provinces, in which Sanskrit and aboriginal words and forms would be combined, though the more cultivated element, the Sanskrit, has, in either a pure or a modified shape, remained predominant. At the same time the Sanskrit language gradually ceased to be spoken in its then existing form, and becoming the language of books, and of the learned class exclusively, was more and more polished and settled by grammarians; and being exempted from the ordinary causes of alteration, continued thenceforward unchanged: just as was the case with the Latin language. It seems, at the same time, to be very probable that many words of indigenous origin, as well as words which, though of Sanskrit origin, had been modified in the Prākṛits, were incorporated in the Sanskrit; and that in this way the modern vocabulary of that language includes many words and roots which were unknown to it at an earlier period.[67]

[67] Dr. Stevenson says, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal As. Society, for January, 1859: "The Brahmans scattered through all the different provinces of Hindusthan no doubt adopted many of the words of the languages of the tribes among whom they resided, and introduced them into the sacred tongue." Professor Benfey has drawn attention to the introduction into Sanskrit of words which had become modified in the Prākṛits. See Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 1149, note 2; and

SECT. III.—*On the origin and vernacular use of the Scenic Dialects.*

It has been doubted, however, whether the dramatic dialects were ever spoken languages. This view is thrown out as the most likely by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the introduction to his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus," pp. lxv, lxvi.

"There is one question of some interest attaching to our construction of the Prakrit, which merits a fuller inquiry than has been yet given to it, and on which this is not the place to dilate. Does it represent a dialect that was ever spoken, or is it an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language, devised to adapt the latter to peculiar branches of literature? The latter seems to be the most likely; for there would be no difficulty in the present day in writing it, although it is no longer spoken, and highly finished specimens are to be found in plays which are modern productions. The Vidagdha Mādhava, for instance, consists more than half of high Prakrit, and it was written less than three centuries ago. On the other hand, many of the modifications are to be found in the spoken dialects of Hindusthan, and the rules of Prakrit grammar account for changes which, without such aid, it is difficult to comprehend. The simplification of the grammatical construction by the disuse of the dual number, and the reduced number of verbal conjugations, looks also like the spontaneous substitution of practical to theoretic perfection in actual speech, and may tempt us to think the Prakrit was once a spoken tongue. The subject

Benfey, article "Indien" (in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl.), p. 248. A paper on "The Dravidian elements in Sanskrit," by Dr. H. Gundert, has lately appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1869, pp. 517 ff. The author remarks: "It was to be expected *à priori* that a number of Dravidian words must have found their way into Sanskrit. How, further, could the Aryan people have spread itself over the whole of India, without adopting very much from the aboriginal population which they found there, and which has submitted to them partly in a peaceable manner, and partly under compulsion, and yet even to this day only imperfectly?" And in opposition to the Brahmanical grammarians who would derive such words from Āryan roots, or declare Dravidian roots to be Sanskrit, the writer appeals to the nature of the case, and urges that: "where peoples speaking different languages live in constant mutual intercourse, traffic or fight with one another, suffer and enjoy together, they take over much from each other without examination or scrutiny; and this process must have gone on in the earliest times, when their mutual relations were still of a naïf character. We thus expect *à priori* that as the Aryans penetrated southwards, they would become acquainted with new objects under Dravidian appellations, and with them adopt their names."

is interesting, not only in a philological, but in a historical view; for the sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prakrit, and the period and circumstances of its transfer to Ceylon and to Nepal are connected with the rise and progress of that religion which is professed by the principal nations to the north and east of Hindusthan."

Mr. Beames expresses himself still more strongly in the same sense: "In fact, there is much that requires clearing up in the relation between the Saurasenî, Braj, and the Modern Hindî dialects, and until we know more of the colloquial forms of early Prakrit, the mist cannot be dispelled. The Prakrit of the poets is clearly *not* a dialect that ever was spoken. How far it represents the characteristics of any spoken dialect is a question."—(Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1868, p. 498.)

To support the view which has been already expressed of the relation of the modern vernaculars to certain pre-existing Prākṛit, *i.e.* vernacular dialects, it is not necessary to assume that the dramatic Prākṛits are identical with the spoken Prākṛits which existed at or anterior to the periods when the former were used for poetical purposes. In fact, it is clear from what Prof. Wilson says of the composition of dramas within the last few centuries, when the older Prākṛits had been superseded by the existing vernaculars, that the Prākṛits of the dramas have continued to be employed as the traditional dramatic language for females and for the lower classes long after these Prākṛits have, on any supposition, become obsolete. But it is possible that when they were originally so used they may have been identical with some contemporaneous vernaculars. It is, however, sufficient for my purpose to assume that the dramatic dialects were at one period closely akin to some contemporaneous vernaculars. This appears to be sufficiently established by the lists of words which I have given above, and which show that the modern vernaculars have naturally sprung out of forms of speech either identical with or akin to the dramatic Prākṛits. The same point is also proved by the relation in which, as we shall see, the latter stand to the Pāli.

I shall now introduce a quotation from Professor Lassen, who, in his Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, pp. 39, ff., adopts the opposite side of the question from Prof. Wilson and Mr. Beames. His remarks

will also be found to illustrate the process by which the Prākṛits arose out of Sanskrit.

"If the question regarding the origin of these dialects merely refer to the source whence they are derived, it admits of a very easy answer: for, as has been already stated, all the scenic dialects are drawn entirely from the Sanskrit.[68] If, however, the question means by what process these dialects have been drawn from the Sanskrit, it will be more difficult to answer. The difficulty does not consist in these languages containing any forms or words of which the Sanskrit archetypes are undiscoverable: for, on the contrary, both forms and words are deduced from that ancient source by undergoing certain mutations which all languages follow as they become altered and corrupted in the course of time; as, for example, has been the case with all the Germanic and Romanic dialects which have sprung from the Gothic and the Latin.

"The difficulty, however, consists in this, that these dramatic dialects, sprung from the Sanskrit, and bearing the names of different provinces, are different from the provincial languages which have the same name and origin; *e.g.* the principal Prakrit (which appears to have been called Mahārāshṭrī) differs from the modern Mahrattī, and the Saurasenī from the Brajbhākhā. Hence a doubt has been suggested whether the dramatic dialects were formerly the spoken tongues of the people of the several provinces, who at present use a form of speech which, though cognate, is yet different; or whether these dramatic dialects are anything more than artificial adaptations, either of Sanskrit, or of the provincial tongues, to dramatic purposes. The latter opinion has appeared to Wilson the most probable, for this reason, that the modern dialects of the Mahratta country, of Mathurā, and Behar, are different from those which were employed on the stage under the same names. He assigns another reason, viz., that these dramatic dialects can be composed even now. But is not the case precisely the same with the Sanskrit or the Latin? both of which can in our day be written by men who are skilled in them, though they have long ceased to be used in daily life, or to be spoken, except by a few scholars. Wilson's first reason is equally inconclusive: for, to use what I may call an argumentum ad hominem, the learned Pro-

[68] See, however, what has been said on this subject above, in pp. 26, ff.

fessor would scarcely succeed in making himself understood, if he were to address his countrymen in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. His argument would, indeed, be sound, if it could be proved that in the age when the dramatic dialects were first brought upon the stage, the Mahārāshṭrī, or any other form of contemporaneous speech, was different from the dialect introduced into the dramas under the same name. For it must be recollected that succeeding dramatic poets, following the example of their predecessors, did not change the dramatic varieties of speech, but retained them in their original forms; whilst, on the other hand, the popular dialects continued to undergo great alterations, as is the fate of all languages which are subjected to the wear and tear of constant use. These scenic dialects can be taught even now by grammatical tuition, just as the Sanskrit can, though neither the one nor the other can be learned by the Indians from a nurse. All change in the scenic dialects was guarded against (just as in the case of the Sanskrit) from the period when their forms and laws had been fixed by grammarians; and, consequently, the argument drawn from the diversity of the dramatic and modern provincial dialects is of no force, unless it can be shown that the provincial dialects also have remained unchanged, from the commencement to the present day. This, however, can neither be shown, nor was it possible. On the other hand, the existing condition of the provincial dialects cannot be explained unless we suppose them to have had another form, more ancient than the present, and more conformable to the Sanskrit.

"Since, then, it cannot be proved that the provincial dialects were originally different from the scenic, I shall add some arguments by which it will be made probable that the latter (the scenic) were actually current in the provinces from which they derived their names. And, first, I shall make use of the names themselves as an argument: for the names Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, would be absurd if they were not referred to provincial dialects; seeing that the names cannot be deduced from any orders of men so called, nor from any peculiarities in those dialects. The same may be said of the Māgadhī, for though I am aware that the word Māgadha denotes an order of bards, still the Māgadhī dialect is employed on the stage by other classes of men, and the bards themselves derive their appellation from the province which gave its name to the dialect.

"In the next place, I argue that the nature of dramatic poetry renders it scarcely credible that dramas composed in a language different from that of common life should have been exhibited on the stage. This, however, is a different matter from the supposition that the dramatic dialects have subsequently ceased to be spoken, and have become obsolete, while yet they maintained their place on the stage. The same thing holds good of the employment of Sanskrit itself in dramas written in a comparatively modern period.

"If these considerations be duly weighed, it appears to follow that the use of different dialects on the stage was the result of a peculiar condition of Indian life, at the time when the laws of dramatic art were first fixed by the Indian poets.

"To these arguments it must be added that there is so close an affinity between the primary dramatic dialect and the Pali, as to leave scarcely any doubt of their being originally identical. So much is undoubted that the sacred language of the Jains is not different from the primary Prakrit. This language would certainly not have been adopted by the adherents of a sect which is strongly opposed to the Brahmans and their opinions, if the dramatic dialect had had no other foundation than the fertile and subtle genius of the Brahmans. The Jains could, however, have no difficulty in appropriating it to their own uses, if it was the language of daily life. How it happened that the Mahārāshṭrī dialect in particular came to be selected both by the dramatic poets and by the Jains, is a point to be explained from the history of the Indian stage, and of the Buddhist religion, out of which the sect of the Jains sprang. To attempt this here would be out of place.

"The primary argument, however, is to be drawn from the structure of the languages themselves. This structure is the same, as regards principles and general rules, in all the provincial languages of Sanskrit origin, while it is different (though very similar), if the individual forms and the elements of these be regarded. I shall therefore do sufficient justice to the plan I have in view, if I examine more minutely some of these languages, and show what their grammatical character is. In doing so, however, I am prevented by the limits of my book from exhibiting their entire grammar, nor would it better serve the end I have in view if I were to do so. I propose, there-

fore, to inquire into the scheme of declensions peculiar to these languages, which follows the same analogy as the laws of conjugation. I pass over the permutations of sounds, which are too various to be treated here; nor, if I did treat them, would it conduce to my object, which is so to describe the structure of the provincial dialects as to exhibit the differences between them and the dramatic languages. For the changes in their elements undergone by the Sanskrit words which have been received into the modern dialects, follow two very different laws, which, if not carefully distinguished, might be used to demonstrate contrary conclusions. One sort of mutation prevails in those words which had been received into the provincial dialects which were anciently formed, or rather corrupted, from the Sanskrit; such as the Brajbhākhā 'pōthī,' a book, which in Prakrit is 'pōthaö,' and in Sanskrit 'pustaka,' and numerous others, which would lead us to conclude that the same changes in the elements of words have taken place in the modern vernaculars as in the dramatic dialects; and that the forms of words in the former are derived from, and find their explanation in, the latter. This I by no means deny. But there is another kind of words to be found in the modern dialects, which come nearer to the original Sanskrit words than do the forms used in the dramatic Prakrits. The following are some examples from the Brajbhākhā, Panjābī, Mahrattī, and Bengālī:

	Brajbhākhā.	Panjābī.	Mahrattī.	Bengālī.
	Putra,[69] *Putrī*	*Prakās*	*Kartā, Pruthuwī*	*Dīp, Pṛithivī.*
Prakrit	*Putta, Puttī*	*Pakāsa*	*Kattā, Puhavī*	*Dība, Puhavī.*
Sanskrit	*Putra, Putrī*	*Prakāśa*	*Kartā, Pṛithivī*	*Dīpa, Pṛithivī.*

"To these might be added numerous other instances. And if such words alone were regarded, it would not be absurd to conclude that the modern dialects retain a greater number of Sanskrit words in their genuine form than the Prakrits do. But this would be an unsound conclusion; for the modern vernaculars, especially when spoken by men who are learned in Sanskrit, and as they are seen in books written by such persons (from which the manuals, grammars, and lexicons of such dialects which we use, have been derived), are con-

[[69] *Put, son,* is, however, also used in this dialect, as in the phrase, *bāp put, father and son.*—J.M.]

tinually recurring to their sacred and ancient source (the Sanskrit), not only when they want words expressive of recondite ideas, and required for elegance of diction, but also when the vernacular form of the word is more corrupt than learned men would wish to introduce into their writings. Hence it happens that twofold forms of the same Sanskrit words are found in the same provincial language, one more Sanskrit, the other Prakrit; for the parent Sanskrit has never ceased to exercise an influence on the vernacular dialects of India, just as the Latin does on the Romanic tongues; while, on the other hand, the Sanskrit has exercised no influence on the forms of the dramatic dialects from the period when the dramatic poets, and the grammarians following their guidance, had assigned to these dialects certain fixed forms. It has hence resulted that these dramatic dialects have undergone no change whatever, and are just the same in dramas composed within the last three centuries as in the far more ancient Mṛichhakaṭī. For the language of the stage is continually borrowing Sanskrit words, but alters and inflects them according to rules peculiar to itself; the vernacular dialects, on the other hand, continue similarly to borrow words from the Sanskrit, but leave them unaltered,[70] while those words which they had long ago adopted had been altered according to natural laws common to them with the Prakrits. In this way the occurrence of pure Sanskrit words in the vernaculars, such as, *e.g. tīkshṇa, tiraskṛita*, in the Bengalī, is to be explained."—Pp. 39-45.

Professor Lassen then proceeds to examine the forms of declension employed in some of the modern vernaculars. He then goes on to remark as follows:—

[In the modern vernaculars] "we find the structure of the Sanskrit and Prakit declension quite destroyed, the same inflexions applied to the singular and the plural, and a new difference introduced in certain declensions between the direct and the oblique cases. This proves that the provincial declensions are of a later date than those of

[[70] It is also to be observed, that many of the Sanskrit words which have been borrowed and modified in the Pāli and Prākṛit are, in the modern dialects, replaced, as far as the common people are concerned, by words of aboriginal, or, at least, colloquial, origin; such as *beṭā*, instead of *putra*, for son; while words like the latter are used chiefly by Brahmans, and other high-caste persons.—J.M.]

the dialects used in the dramas, which are derived from the Sanskrit by certain fixed rules, and involve only a few innovations. In the provincial inflections there remain, indeed, some traces, partly distinct, partly somewhat obscured, of Sanskrit and Prakrit declension; but in other points there are great innovations which reveal to us a total dissolution of the old grammatical structure, and its reconstruction by means of new instruments.

"As this state of things is perceptible in the whole grammar of the provincial dialects which owe their origin to the Sanskrit, I conclude that they are of later origin than the scenic dialects. Between the Sanskrit language and its existing daughters [the modern vernaculars], there is so great a diversity of grammatical structure as to make it certain that the pristine language cannot have sunk by one fall, so to speak, into that condition in which we find the provincial dialects. It follows of necessity that there must have been an intermediate condition between the pristine and the modern speech. This intermediate condition was no doubt very various, and approached at first more nearly to the Sanskrit, and subsequently to the provincial tongues.

"If we except the Pali [and, I would add, the Gāthā dialect in the Buddhist books, J.M.], the earliest form of the Sanskrit after it began to degenerate and to alter its character is that which we find in the dramas; from which dramatic dialect, therefore, we are to suppose that the first mutation of the Sanskrit, which eventually gave rise to the modern vernaculars, was not very different. I contend that, though not identical, this earliest corruption of Sanskrit was very similar to that which we find in the dramas. If this opinion be correct, there is nothing to prevent our believing that the scenic dialects were formerly the current speech of the different provinces. The names which these scenic dialects have received from the grammarians, and the conditions of dramatic poetry, lead us to the same conclusion.

"Here, however, I conceive I must stop, for I could not adduce detailed arguments to prove this opinion without examining the whole field, both of the scenic and the provincial dialects. I think, however, that I ought distinctly to add that I should not be disposed to dissent from any one who should assert that the scenic dialects were not exactly the pure forms of speech which were contemporaneously

current in the different provinces, but were a little modified, so as better to harmonise with the character of the persons who were to employ them. The principal argument for this conclusion is that two forms are sometimes found to occur in the dramatic dialects, one having a closer resemblance to the provincial language, and another which is softer and, so to speak, more feminine.

"To bring this disquisition to a close: there are two families of degenerate Sanskrit extant; the first more ancient, and not much corrupted, to which class the Pali and the scenic dialects belong; the second of more recent origin, and dispersed at the present day over the [northern] provinces of India, which is more diverse from the parent language. The members of the former family are daughters of the Sanskrit; those of the latter are its granddaughters, though it is in some degree doubtful whether they are daughters of the first family or granddaughters descended from sisters. As regards the age of these two classes, it is proved by the history of the Buddhist religion, and of the Indian stage, that the former arose prior to the commencement of the Christian era; while it can be made out with considerable probability that the latter (*i.e.* the modern provincial vernaculars) were formed before the year 1000 of the Christian era." —Pp. 57–60.

I subjoin some further remarks on the distinction between the older Prākṛits and the modern vernaculars, from the Indische Alterthumskunde of the same author, Vol. ii. pp. 1149, 1150.

"We must draw a distinct line of demarcation between the Indian languages of the middle age (under which denomination we may fittingly class the Pali, the languages of the dramas, and those employed in the oldest inscriptions) and the new Indian, or existing vernacular dialects. The former had not, so to speak, crossed the Rubicon, nor entirely renounced obedience to the laws of their mother-language. They conform, it is true, but little to the ancient phonetic laws, and are regulated for the most part by such as are of a later date; but their grammatical forms, though corrupted and stunted, are inherited immediately from their parent. The modern dialects of India, on the other hand, have almost entirely ceased to obey the phonetic rules of the Sanskrit. They conform in part to the phonetic laws of the Prakrit dialects, but in addition to these the modern

dialects have peculiar phonetic laws of their own, and their words, when not borrowed immediately from the Sanskrit to enlarge their vocabulary, often manifest more extreme contractions, and greater deviations from the original words, than do the corresponding words in the Prakrit. The grammatical forms of the modern dialects are, with rare exceptions, newly constructed; for the case-terminations are chiefly indicated by post-positions, the old personal terminations have, for the most part, entirely disappeared, and the tenses are marked in quite a different manner than in the Prakrit dialects, the past tenses being commonly shown by participles, with the three personal pronouns in the instrumental case. Even the lowest of the dramatic Prakrits, the Apabhranśa, has not transgressed this line of demarcation, and stands much nearer to the Sanskrit than the modern vernaculars do."

SECT. IV.—*Views of the Indian Grammarians on the relation of the Prākṛits to Sanskrit, and on the other elements in their composition.*

Vararuchi,[71] the oldest extant grammarian who treats of the Prākṛit forms of speech, and his commentator Bhāmaha (in his Manoramā), distinctly assert their derivation, mediate or immediate, from Sanskrit. The former describes in his "Prākṛita-prakāśa" four dialects of this description, viz.: 1st, Mahārāshṭrī, or Prākṛit generally so called; 2nd, Paiśāchī; 3rdly, Māgadhī; and 4thly, S'aurasenī.[72] After having in the first nine chapters laid down the rules for the formation of the Prākṛit, properly so called, from Sanskrit, he proceeds to the others; and at the commencement of Chapter X. he lays it down that "the root of the Paiśāchī is the S'aurasenī." *Paiśāchī* | *prakṛitiḥ S'aurasenī* | On which the commentator Bhāmaha remarks that Paiśāchī is the language of the Piśāchas.[73] The Māgadhī also is delared by Vararuchi in Chapter XI. "to be derived from the same S'aurasenī." *Māgadhī* | *prakṛitiḥ S'aurasenī* |[74] The S'aurasenī dialect itself is spoken of at the

[71] See on his age, Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 4. 5; Addenda, p. 65; and Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. p. 1160, where he is declared to have flourished about the middle of the first century A.D.

[72] See Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 7 f.; and Cowell, Prākṛita-prakāśa, p. xvii.

[73] *Piśāchānām bhāshā Paiśāchī* | *asyāḥ Paiśāchyāḥ prakṛitiḥ S'aurasenī* | Cowell, p. 86, and Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 7. 439.

[74] Cowell, p. 89, and Lassen, pp. 8. 391.

commencement of Chapter XII. as derived immediately from the Sanskrit. *S'auraseni| pakritih Sanskritam|*[75] At the end of the Chapter on the S'auraseni, it is stated that "in other points" (which have not been specifically touched upon) "it is like the Mahārāshṭrī dialect." *S'esham mahārāshṭrīvat |*[76] From this and from some other quotations which will be found below, it appears that the ancient Mahārāshṭrī, and the dialect called by way of eminence "the Prākṛit," are the same.[77] In another work called the "Shaḍbhāshā Chandrikā," by Lakshmīdhara, it is stated that the "Prākṛita dialect had its origin in Mahārāshṭra." *Prākṛitam Mahārāshṭrodbhavam |*[78] As the S'auraseni is said to be derived from the Sanskrit, the same must *a fortiori* be true of the Mahārāshṭrī, or principal Prākṛit, as the greater part of Vararuchi's work is devoted to showing how it is formed by modifications of the Sanskrit. And, in fact, at the close of Vararuchi's ninth section on this dialect we have it thus stated in the following Sūtra, the 18th: "The rest is [to be learned] from the Sanskrit:" *śeshaḥ Saṁskṛitāt ||*[79] On which the commentator remarks, "The rest means all that has not been already referred to. The remaining rules for affixes, compounds, taddhitas, genders, etc., must be learned from the Sanskrit." *uktād anyaḥ śeshaḥ | pratyaya-samāsa-taddhita-linga-varṇakādi-vidhiḥ śeshaḥ saṁskṛitād avagantavyaḥ |* The derivation of Prākṛit from Sanskrit is here implied, and, in fact, as has already been intimated, the same thing results from the whole series of rules for forming Prākṛit words, which are nothing but explanations of the manner in which the Sanskrit forms are modified in Prākṛit. The same origin is ascribed to Prākṛit by Hemachandra, who says, *Prakṛitiḥ saṁskṛitam | tatra-bhavaṁ tataḥ āgataṁ vā Prākṛitam |*[80] "It has its origin in Sanskrit. Prākṛit is that which springs, or comes, from Sanskrit." Of the Prākṛits handled by Vararuchi we thus see that three derive their names from three provinces of India, viz., Mahārāshṭra, Magadha, and the country of the S'ūrasenas, the region round

[75] Cowell, p. 93, and Lassen, pp. 8 and 49 of Appendix.

[76] Cowell, p. 96, and Lassen, pp. 8 and 50 of Appendix.

[77] That the Mahārāshṭrī of that period was not the same as the modern Mahrattī appears (I need scarcely say) from the character of the former, as shown in the dramatic works in which the Prākṛits are employed.

[78] Lassen, p. 12.

[79] Cowell, pp. 85 and 176.

[80] Cowell, p. xvii.; Lassen, p. 26.

Mathurā. This, as we have already seen above, p. 37, is considered by Lassen as a strong proof that they were spoken dialects.

Four kinds of Prākṛit only, as we have thus seen, are mentioned by Vararuchi, the oldest authority on Prākṛit Grammar, viz., Mahārāshṭrī (or the principal Prākṛit), Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paiśāchī. Though many other dialectic varieties are referred to by later grammarians, it is not necessary for my purpose to give a detailed account of any of these.

Vararuchi devotes nine chapters, containing in all 424 aphorisms, to the Mahārāshṭrī; one chapter containing 32 aphorisms to the peculiarities of the Śaurasenī; another chapter containing 17 aphorisms to the Māgadhī; and a third chapter containing 14 aphorisms to the Paiśāchī.

It is clear from this mode of treatment alone, that the points in which these four dialects, and especially the Mahārāshṭrī and the Śaurasenī, agree with each other, must be much more numerous than those in which they differ; and this conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the specimens of the several dialects which are extant in the dramas. Accordingly, Professor Lassen remarks (Instit. Prac. p. 377), that "the principal dialect, and the Śaurasenī, coincide in most respects." The technical distinction made between these two dialects by the grammarians is, that the one (the Śaurasenī) is the language used in prose, while the Mahārāshṭri is appropriated to verse (Lassen, p. 384). The same author remarks of the Māgadhī, that it does not depart much further from the Sanskrit than the principal Prākṛit does (p. 387); and that the Indian grammarians are wrong in deriving the Māgadhī from the Śaurasenī, as the former is as directly descended from the Sanskrit as the latter; and that the two derivatives coincide with each other in most respects (p. 437). The Paiśāchī (a dialect employed by barbarous hill tribes) Lassen supposes, in like manner, to have been derived directly from the Sanskrit, but by a process peculiar to itself (p. 447).

In regard to these Prākṛit dialects generally, Lassen remarks (p. 386) as follows: "that the Sanskritic languages of Hindusthan proper were formerly less different from each other than they now are, is to be inferred from the fact, that at that earlier period they had not departed so far from their common fountain."

The following passage, quoted by Lassen, Instit. Linguæ Pracrit., p. 17, from a work called Prākṛitadīpikā, by Chandīdeva, seems also to show that Prākṛit was a language in current use, as well as employed in the dramas: *etad api lokānusārād nāṭakadau mahākavi-prayoga-darśanāt Prākṛitam mahārāshṭradeśīyam prakṛishṭa-bhāshaṇam* | *tathā cha Daṇḍī "mahārāshṭrāśrayām bhāshām prakṛishṭam Prākṛitam̐ vidur" iti* | "This Prākṛit of the Mahārāshṭra country [so called], from its conformity to popular usage, and from its being employed by great poets in dramas and other poems, is the most excellent form of speech. Thus Daṇḍī says, 'The Prākṛit which prevails in Mahārāshṭra is considered the best.'" Rāma Tarkavagīśa, in his Prākṛitakalpataru, declares "the Mahārāshṭrī dialect to be the root of the others;" *sarvāsu bhāshāsv iha hetubhūtām bhāshām mahārāshṭra-bhavām purastāt* | *nirudayishyāmi* (sic) *yathopadeśam̐ srī-Rāma-śarmā 'ham imām prayatnāt* |[81] and affirms that "the Saurasenī is derived from it." *Virachyate samprati S'aurasenī pūrvaiva bhāshā prakṛitiḥ kilāsyāḥ* |[82] The Māgadhī is said to be derived from these two: *Atha iha Māgadhy anuśishyate . . . asyāḥ mahārāshṭraka-S'aurasena-bhāshe pravīnaiḥ prakṛitī nirukte* |[83] These languages, together with the Ardhamāgadhī and the Dākshiṇātya, are called *bhāshās*. The author then refers to the second class, called *vibhāshas*, the dialects called S'akārī or Chaṇḍālikā, S'ābarī, Abhīrikā, Drāviḍā, and Utkalī, which, he says, "though characterized by rusticity (apabhranśatā), are yet not to be ranked in the class of apabhranśas if they are employed in dramas." *S'akkārakoḍra-draviḍādi-vācho 'pabhram̐śatām̐ yadyapi sam̐śrayanti* | *syād nāṭakādau yadi samprayogo naitāsv apabhram̐śatayā tathaishaḥ* |[84] On the other hand, the forms of those *vibhāshas* which are not used in the dramas are reckoned by the author among the *apabhranśa* dialects, under which name he understands the provincial languages, such as the Bengalī, Guzarātī, etc.[85] A third class of languages is called by this author the Paiśāchī.

[81] Prākṛitakalpataru, quoted by Lassen, p. 20.
[82] Ibid., 2nd S'ākhā, 1st Stavaka.
[83] Ibid., 2nd Stavaka.
[84] Ibid., 3rd Stavaka (Lassen, p. 21).
[85] Lassen, p. 22.

The Kāvyachandrikā, a work on poetry, has the following remarks on language:

Tad eva vāñmayaṁ vidyāt saṁskṛitam prākṛitaṁ tathā | apabhraṁśaś cha miśraś cha tasya bhedāś chaturvidhāḥ | saṁskṛitaṁ devatā-vaṇī kathitā muni-pungavaiḥ | tadbhavaṁ tatsamaṁ deśity anekam prākṛitaṁ viduḥ |

"In regard to language, let it be understood that there are four kinds, viz., Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhranśa, and mixed. The Munis call Sanskrit the language of the gods; and consider that there are several kinds of Prākṛit, viz. (*Tadbhava*), that which is derived from, and (*Tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and (*Deśi*) the provincial."[86] On this passage the scholiast remarks:

"*Tadbhavaḥ*" *saṁskṛita-bhavaḥ khaggādi-śabdaḥ* | "*tatsamaḥ*" *saṁskṛita-prākṛitayoḥ samaḥ hiṇḍīra-haṇḍe ityādi-śabdaḥ* | "*deśi*" *iti mahārashṭrīyādi* | "*apabhraṁśas*" *tv Abhīrādi-vākyam* | "*miśrakam*" *nāṭakādikam* |

"The word *tadbhava* means 'derived from Sanskrit,' like the word *khagga*, etc., for *khaḍga*. *Tatsama* means the words which are 'alike in Sanskrit and Prākṛit,' like *hiṇḍīra*, *haṇḍe*, etc.[87] *Deśi* means the Mahārāshṭrī, etc. *Apabhranśa* is the speech of the Abhīras, etc. The mixed dialect is that of the dramas, etc."[88] Here it is to be remarked that though the Mahārāshṭri is generally recognized as the principal Prākṛit, it is in this passage called *Deśi*, or provincial, by the scholiast. To the same effect is the following passage from the Kavyādarśa of Daṇḍī:

Tad eva vāñmayam bhūyaḥ saṁskṛitam prākṛitaṁ tathā | apabhraṁśaṁ cha miśraṁ chety āhur āptāś chaturvidham | saṁskṛitaṁ nāma daivī vāg anvākhyātā maharshibhiḥ | tatsamaḥ tadbhavo deśity anekaḥ prākṛitaḥ kramaḥ | mahārāshṭrāśrayām bhāshām prakṛishṭam prākṛitaṁ viduḥ | sāgaraḥ śukti-ratnānāṁ Setubandhādi-yanmayam (?) | *S'aurasenī cha nāṭī cha Gauḍī chānyā cha tādṛiśī* | *yāti prākṛitam ity eshu vyavahāreshu*[89] *saṁvidhim* | *Abhīrādi-giraḥ kāvyeshv* "*apabhraṁśaḥ*" *iti sthitiḥ* | *śāstreshu saṁskṛitād anyad apabhraṁśatayoditam* |

[86] Kāvyachandrikā, quoted by Lassen, p. 32.

[87] See Prof. Benfey's review of the 1st edit. of this volume in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen for 23rd January, 1861, p. 132.

[88] Scholiast on the same passage, ibid.

[89] Tattaddeśīya-vyavahāreshu naṭakādishu, marginal gloss, quoted by Lassen.

"Writers of authority say that there are four kinds of language: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhranśa, and mixed. Great Ṛishis denominate Sanskrit the language of the gods. There are several orders of Prākṛit, viz., (*tadbhava*) that which is derived from, and (*tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and the provincial (*deśi*). The language of Mahārāshṭra is called the principal Prākṛit, and it is an ocean of pearls and gems, such as the Setubandha, etc. [This line is corrupt; and the above sense is assigned as a conjecture. The allusion appears to be to the ancient Prākṛit poem called 'Setubandha,'[90] though there may also be a reference to the reef of Setubandha, a line of rocks between India and Ceylon, in the vicinity of the Ceylonese pearl fisheries.] The Saurasenī, the Nāṭī (dramatic?), the Gauḍī, and such like dialects, follow the law of the Prākṛit according to their several provincial usages. The speech of the Ābhīras, and other such tribes, when occurring in poems, is called *Apabhranśa*. In books on grammar, whatever differs from Sanskrit is called Apabhranśa."[91]

In his note to the introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, p. 15, Mr. F. W. Ellis remarks as follows on the Shaḍbhāshā Chandrika of Lakshmīdhara, above referred to (p. 54): "The work here noticed is confined to these dialects [the Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchi, Chulikā-paiśāchī, and Apabhranśa], as they now exist in the Nāṭakas [dramas], and treats therefore only of Tatsamam and Tadbhavam terms of Sanskrit origin; it is expressly stated, however, that each possessed its proper Deśyam, or native, terms; and it is probable, as many of these dialects prevailed in countries far distant from each other, that each was connected with Deśyam words of various derivations, in conjunction with which they produced spoken languages, differing considerably from each other. This in fact is declared to be the case with respect to Paiśāchi in the following passage:" *Piśācha-deśa-niyatam Piśāchī-dvitayaṁ viduḥ | Piśācha-deśās tu vṛiddhair uktāḥ | Pāṇḍya-Kekaya-Vāhlīka-Sahya-Nepāla-Kuntalāḥ | Sudhesha-Bhota-Gāndhāra-Haiva-Kanojanās tathā | ete Paiśācha-deśāḥ syus taddeśyas tad-guṇo bhavet* | [*i. e.* Two kinds of Paiśāchī are recognized, which depend on the different Piśācha countries. These are declared by the ancients to be the following, Paṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlīka, Sahya,

[90] See note, p. x. and note 2, p. 26, in Cowell's Prākṛita-prakāśa.

[91] From the Kavyādarśa of Daṇḍī, as quoted by Lassen, pp. 32, 33.

Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudhesha, Bhota, Gāndhāra, Haiva, and Kanojana. These are the Paiśācha countries; and the native of each country has his own particular qualities.] "The two Paiśāchī dialects are said to prevail in all the countries here mentioned, commencing with Pāṇḍyam at the southern extremity of India, and extending to Canoj (Canojana) in the north, . . . and it is added, These are the Paiśāchī countries, and the Deśyam terms of each have their own particular quality." The concluding phrase is more vague in the original than Mr. Ellis has rendered it; but as language is the subject which the author is treating, it is to be presumed that he here alludes to the peculiar character of the different provinces in respect of their varieties of speech.

It is irrelevant to my present purpose to inquire particularly whether the various distinctions adopted by Vararuchi and his successors, of the mediate or immediate derivation of the Prākṛits from Sanskrit, and their classifications of Prākṛit, into that which is properly so called, and Apabhranśa, and Paiśāchī, are merely arbitrary and factitious, or are founded on any rational principles. It is enough that I find the following facts, which are important to the conclusions I am seeking to establish, admitted by the native authorities I have just cited; viz., first, that the Prākṛits are derived from Sanskrit as their source; secondly, that they are composed of a threefold element: *Tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit; *Tadbhavam*, derived from Sanskrit; and *Deśi*, local. As this third element, *Deśi*, is distinguished both from pure Sanskrit and from words derived from Sanskrit but modified, it would appear, thirdly, that it denotes words which were regarded as having an origin different from Sanskrit. Such, at least, is indubitably the sense in which the word *Deśi* is used by Telugu writers.[92]

[92] See Campbell's Telugu Grammar (3rd edit., Madras, 1849), p. 37, where it is said:—"The words of the Teloogoo language . . . . are classed by Sanskrit grammarians under four distinct heads. 1st *Déshyumoo*, or, as it is more emphatically termed, *Utsu Déshyumoo*, the *pure* language of the land; 2nd *Tutsumumoo*, Sanskrit words assuming Teloogoo terminations; 3rd *Tudbhavumoo*, Teloogoo corruptions of Sanskrit words, formed by the substitution, the elision, or addition of letters; 4th *Grāmyumoo*, provincial terms, or words peculiar to the vulgar. To these we may also add *Unyu Déshyumoo*, or words from other countries, sometimes given as a subdivision of the first class, and comprising, according to the definition of ancient writers, words adopted from the dialects current in the Canarese, Mahratta, Guzerat, and Dravida provinces only, but now also including several of Persian, Hindoostanee, and English origin."

To give an idea of the artificial manner in which the Indian critics classify the different Prākṛit dialects, and of the different classes of people to whom they conceive the dramatic writers ought to assign them, I quote a passage from the Sāhitya Darpaṇa:—

Purushāṇām anīchānāṁ saṁskṛitaṁ saṁskṛitātmanām | S'aurasenī prayoktavyā tādṛiśīnāṁ cha yoshitām | āsām eva tu gāthāsu Māhārāshṭrīm prayojayet | atroktā māgadhī bhāshā rājantaḥpura-chāriṇām | cheṭānāṁ rājaputrāṇāṁ śreshṭhināṁ chārdhamāgadhī | prāchyā vidūshakādīnām dhūrtānāṁ syād Avantikā | yodha-nāgarikādīnām dākshiṇātyā hi dīyatām | S'akarāṇāṁ Sakādīnāṁ śākārīṁ samprayojayet | Vāhlīka-bhāshā divyānām drāviḍī Draviḍādishu | Ābhīreshu tathā "bhīrī chāṇḍālī Pukkasādishu | Ābhīrī S'āvarī chāpi kāshṭha-patropajīvishu | tathaivāngārakārādau Paiśāchī syāt Piśācha-vāk | cheṭīnām apy anīchānām api syāt S'aurasenikā | bālānāṁ shaṇḍakānāṁ cha nīcha-grahavichāriṇām | unmattānām āturāṇāṁ saiva syāt saṁskṛitaṁ kvachit | aiśvaryeṇa pramattasya dāridryopaskṛitasya cha | bhikshu-bandhadharādīnām prākṛitaṁ samprayojayet | saṁskṛitaṁ samprayoktavyaṁ lingi-nīshūttamāsu cha | devīmantrisutā-veśyāsv api kaiśchit tathoditam | yad-deśaṁ nīcha-pātraṁ tu tad-deśaṁ tasya bhāshitam | kāryataś chottamādīnāṁ kāryo bhāshā-viparyayaḥ | Yoshit-sakhī-bāla-veśyā-kitavāpsarasām tathā | vaidagdhyārtham pradātavyaṁ saṁskṛitaṁ chāntarāntarā |

"Let men of respectable rank and cultivated minds speak Sanskrit; and let women of the same description use S'aurasenī, except in the metrical parts, where they should talk Mahārāshṭrī. Persons living in kings' palaces should employ Māgadhī, and servants, kings' sons, and magistrates Ardhamāgadhī. The eastern dialect (which the scholiast says is Gauḍī, or Bengalī) should be spoken by buffoons; and the Avantī by crafty persons. Let Dākshiṇatyā (the language of Vidarbha, according to the scholiast) be employed by soldiers and citizens; and S'ākārī by S'akāras, S'akas, and others. The Vāhlīka dialect is the one proper for celestial (?) personages, Drāviḍī for Draviḍas, etc., Ābhīrī for Ābhīras, Chāṇḍāli for Pukkasas, etc., the Ābhīrī and S'āvarī for those who live by cutting wood and gathering leaves, and Paiśāchī, the speech of Piśāchas, for charcoal-burners. S'aurasenī may be used also for female servants of the more respectable sort, for children, eunuchs, and low astrologers; the same, and occasionally Sanskrit, for madmen and sick persons. Prākṛit should be

employed by those who are intoxicated by authority or affected by poverty, by mendicants and prisoners, etc. Sanskrit should be assigned to the better sort of female mendicants, and also, as some say, to queens, ministers' daughters, and harlots. A dialect belonging to the country from which each character of low origin comes should be assigned to him; and the language employed by the superior personages should vary according to their function. Sanskrit should be occasionally assigned to women, female friends, children, harlots, gamblers, and celestial nymphs, with the view of [showing their] cleverness."[93]

The rules here given are quite artificial, as it would be absurd to suppose that different classes of persons living in the same locality, as most at least of the dramatis personæ would do, could each speak different dialects, and that, too, the dialects of other and perhaps distant provinces.

I shall conclude this section by adding the substance of what Professor Lassen says about the Prākṛit dialects in the earlier portion of his work (pp. 22, 25–29).

"The word *prākṛita* comes from *prakṛiti* (procreatrix), 'nature,' and means 'derived;' the several Prākṛit dialects being regarded as derivatives of Sanskrit either directly or mediately. The original language from which any other springs is called its *prakriti*, or source. Thus Hemachandra says, 'Prakrit has its origin in Sanskrit; that which is derived, or comes from the latter, is called *prākṛita*.'[94] The expressions Sanskrit and Prakrit are opposed to each other in another sense, when the former word denotes men of cultivated minds, and the latter those who are uncultivated. The term Prakrit is therefore also applied to vulgar and provincial forms of speech.

"The grammarians concur in considering Mahārāshṭrī as in the strictest sense of the word Prakrit, the principal form or type of Prakrit. The Sauraseni and the Māgadhī approach most nearly to the Mahārāshṭrī, and both derive their appellations from the names of provinces. By these three provincial designations, Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, and Māgadhī, the Indian grammarians appear to have

[93] Sāhitya Darpaṇa in Bibliotheca Indica, No. 53, pp. 172, 173. (See also Lassen, Instit. Linguæ Pracr., pp. 35, 36.)

[94] Hemachandra, viii. 1, Lassen, p. 26; quoted above, p. 44.

understood the local varieties of language employed in those three several provinces, as well as the dramatic dialects severally so called. Vararuchi specifies only one inferior dialect, the Paiśāchī, and understands by it the form of speech employed by the lowest classes of men. This is to be distinguished from the speech of Piśāchas (goblins), which, when introduced on the stage, are said to use a gibberish totally ungrammatical. The word is to be understood as figuratively used to denote the contempt in which the lowest classes were held. Hemachandra mentions a variety of this dialect, the Chūlikā-paiśāchī, which denotes a form of speech lower than even the former. In fact two varieties of Paiśāchī appear to be distinguished by the grammarians,[95] both of them spoken by barbarous tribes, of which the one seems to belong to northern, the other to southern, India. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa also mentions two sorts of Paiśāchī, signifying by this name a rude mixture of language drawn from different idioms.

"The term *apabhranśa* is applied by the grammarians to those dialects which are the furthest removed from the pure Sanskrit original, and have undergone the greatest corruption. Hemachandra specifies two kinds, of which one has most affinity with the principal Prakrit, and the other with the Saurasenī. The older writers assign this dialect to the people who dwell on the shores of the western ocean, especially the Ābhīras. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, departing from the view of the earlier writers, ascribes the varieties of the local and provincial dialects to the *apabhranśa,* as their source. The same author seems also (when he uses (iii. 1) the words *nāgādikramāt,* "according to the manner of those who speak like *Nāgas,* or serpents, etc."), to assign a mythological name to the provincial dialects in the same way as the older writers talk of certain barbarous tribes as Piśāchas. This designation appears to have proceeded from the writers on rhetoric, who assign Sanskrit to the gods: Prakrit is then left for men; while those whom the Brahmans consider to be scarcely deserving of the name of men, Chaṇḍālas, Ābhīras, and such like, are only fit to utter the speech of goblins, or serpents.

"The Prakrit dialects employed in the dramas are rightly asserted by the grammarians to be of Sanskrit origin; for both the grammatical forms and the words, with very few exceptions, as well as the entire

[95] See the passage quoted in p. 48.

structure of the Prakrits, and the character of their syntax, are
derived from the Sanskrit. When, however, the more recent gram-
marians assert the same of the Canarese and other South-In
dialects, they are in error, as, although these languages contain
formed from Sanskrit according to certain rules, their gramma
forms and primary words cannot by any possibility have been d
from that source."

I will hereafter show (when I come to refer more partic
to the South-Indian languages) that the Indian grammarians
south claim for the Telugu, and no doubt for the Tamul, C
and Malayalim, also, an origin quite independent of the Sansk

Sect. V.—*The Pāli, and its Relations to Sanskrit and Pr*

The above tabular comparison of the Prākṛits with the m
naculars, will have abundantly shown, that the latter are de
the former, or from some kindred sources, and that both a
in great part from the Sanskrit, at some period of its histor
mediately, the other more immediately. Although, howev
sufficiently clear, both from the authority of the native gran
and by a comparison of the Sanskrit and the Prākṛits, that th
are derived from the former, yet the later Prākṛits do not re
the derivative form of speech which stands nearest to the Sa
and we are in a position to point out a dialect which approach
more closely to the latter than the Prākṛits do. I mean the P
sacred language of the Buddhists; a language which is extin
India, but in which numerous canonical books of the Bauddha reli
still extant in Burmah and Ceylon, are written.[97]

Though, however, this language has had the singular fate of
now disappeared from its native soil, to become a sacred language
foreign countries, it is yet nothing more than one of the ancien

[96] See Dr. Caldwell's Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian languages, pp. 30, 31; the Introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, 3rd edit., Madras, 1849, pp. xv. ff.; and the Note, in the same work, by Mr. Ellis, to Mr. Campbell's Introduction, pp. 11–22.

[97] If any Brahmanical reader should think of studying these pages, I hope that the connexion of the Pāli language with the Buddhist religion will not deprive it of all interest in his eyes, much less induce him, with the author of the Nyāya mālā vistara, I. 3, 4, to regard it, though of pure Sanskrit original, as polluted, like cow's milk in a dog's skin (*nahi pūtaṃ syād gokshīraṃ śva-dṛitau dhṛitam*), by the unholy contact of these heretics.

vernacular dialects of Northern India. Māgadhī is the appellation which the Buddhists of Ceylon themselves give to it. It is, indeed, true, as we are informed by Mr. Turnour, that the "Buddhists are impressed with the conviction that their sacred and classical language, the Māgadhi or Pāli, is of greater antiquity than the Sanskrit; and that it had attained also a higher state of refinement than its rival tongue had acquired. In support of this belief they adduce various arguments, which in their judgment are quite conclusive. They observe that the very word 'Pāli' signifies, original, text, regularity; and there is scarcely a Buddhist Pāli scholar in Ceylon who, in the discussion of this question, will not quote, with an air of triumph, their favourite verse, *sā Māgadhī mūla-bhāsā narā yāy'ādikappikā* | *brahmāno ch'assutālāpā Sambuddhā chāpi bhāsare.* 'There is a language which is the root (of all languages); men and Brahmans at the commencement of the creation, who had never before heard or uttered a human accent, and even the supreme Buddhos spoke it: it is Māgadhi.'[98] This verse[99] is a quotation from Kachchāyano's Grammar, the oldest referred to in the Pāli literature of Ceylon. The original is not extant in this island."[100] Mr. Turnour, however, is inclined to "entertain an opinion adverse to the claims of the Buddhists on this particular point [the priority of Pāli to Sanskrit]. The general results of the researches hitherto made by Europeans, both historical and philosophical, unquestionably converge," he thinks,

[98] Mahāwanso, Introduction, p. xxii; see also p. xxvii. Mr. Childers translates thus: "The Māgadhī is the original language in which men of former Kalpas, and Brahmas by whom speech has not been heard, and supreme Buddhas speak." The "Brahmas" are, he thinks, the inhabitants of the upper Brahma worlds. The idea entertained by the Buddhists of the superiority of the Pāli to Sanskrit may also be learnt from the following passage of the commentary on the Grammar called Rūpasiddhi, describing the result of the composition of Kachchāyano's Grammar: *ewam sati nānādesa-bhāsā-sakkatādi-khalita-wachanam anākāram jetwā Tathāgatena wuttāya subhāwa niruttiyā sukhena Buddha-wachanam ugganhissanti* | "This being done, men, overcoming the confusion and incorrectness of diction, arising from the mixture of Sanskrit and other dialects of various countries, will, by conformity to the rules of grammar propounded by the Tathâgata (Buddha), easily acquire the doctrine of Buddho."—Mahāwanso, Introd., pp. xxvi, xxvii.

[99] Preserved in the grammar called Payogasiddhi. Turnour, p. [illegible] Mr. Ch[illegible] tells me that the verse does not occur in Kachchāyana.

[100] This grammar is now in the hands of scholars, and part[illegible] been published by Mr. D'Alwis and Dr. Kuhn. Mr. Childers says that it [illegible] the hands of every native scholar, and must have been so in Mr. Turnour's time.

"to prove the greater antiquity of the Sanskrit. Ev… he proceeds, "all works on astronomy, medicine, and on chemistry and mathematics, are exclusively wr… while the works on Buddhism, the historical works of Gōtamo Buddho, and certain philological… pp. … in the Pāli language" (Mahāwanso, Introd., … and… is no question that Mr. Turnour is right. The… Ceylon, who are no philologists, are wrong. … traces of derivation from Sanskrit, in an early … as any of the other northern dialects. Before … proofs of this, I must give some account of t… Pāli was introduced into Ceylon.

The appearance of Buddha as a religi… Hindustan seems to have taken place in t… century before Christ. He is said to hav… the year 588, and to have died in 543 … Mahāw., p. xxix.).[101] In strong contrast t… followers strove to disseminate their new … among all classes of society; and for thi… necessary, the current vernacular dialect… though, at the same time, they may ha… Māgadhī in the composition of their sacred… 492, f.; 1147, f.; Burnouf, Lotus de la B… Buddhist synods were held at different pe…

[101] The grounds for preferring the Cingalese … 544 B.C., to that of the Northern Buddhists, are … vol. ii., pp. 51–61. See especially pp. 60, 61. The … records is, according to Mr. Turnour (Introd., p. x… way:—"The age in which we now live is the Buddh… between the manifestation of one Buddho and the e… extinct]. His religion was destined to endure 5,0… now passed away (A.D. 1837) since his death, and 2,… this fortunate fiction, a limitation has been prescribed… the Buddhistical creed has involved all the historical … *anterior* to the advent of Gotama. . . . The mystifica… ceased a century at least prior to B.C. 588, when Prince … hood, in the character of Gotamo Buddho."

[102] Benfey has expressed a different opinion on one poi… the Buddhist books of Nepal composed in Sanskrit are, … to be probable, merely translations from the Buddhist sou… composed in Pali."

Buddha's death, for the collection and arrangement of the sacred works which expounded the doctrines and discipline of his religion; for the correction of errors and abuses; and for the purpose of propagating the new faith in foreign countries. The revelations of Buddha are stated by his followers "to have been orally pronounced in Pali, and orally perpetuated for upwards of four centuries, till the close of the Buddhistical age of inspiration." They consist of the Pitakattaya [in Sanskrit Piṭakatraya], or the three pitakas, which now form the Buddhistical Scriptures, divided into the Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Sūtra pitakas. A schism having arisen after Buddha's death, the first Buddhist council was held in 543, when the authenticity of this Pāli collection was established, and commentaries upon it, called Aṭṭhakatha, were promulgated. At the second council, in 443 B.C., the authority of the Pitakattaya was again vindicated, and the Aṭṭhakatha delivered on that occasion completed the history of Buddhism for the interval subsequent to the previous council. In the year 309 B.C., the third council was held in the reign of King Aśoka, who was a zealous promoter of Buddhism [Turnour, p. xxix]. Various missions were consequently undertaken.[103] Mahendra, the son of King Aśoka, was sent on a mission to Ceylon, for the conversion of that island.

The following account of his proceedings is given by the native authorities, as abstracted by Professor Lassen (Ind. Alt. ii. pp. 247-253):—Mahendra arrived in Ceylon in the year 245 B.C., was hospitably received by the king of the island, and began his preaching to convert the inhabitants to the religion of Buddha. The king himself embraced the new doctrine. Relics of Buddha were transported to the island from Northern India, and the Bodhi tree, under which Buddha had attained the most perfect knowledge, was transplanted thither from Behar, and, according to the belief of the Buddhists, continues to flourish to the present time. Many miracles attended these transactions. The conversions to Buddhism continued, and many male and female devotees were consecrated to the Buddhist priesthood. Buddhism, thus introduced, has ever since remained the creed of Ceylon; and that island, the head-quarters of Southern Buddhism, and the seed-plot from which it was propagated into Burmah and other parts of Transgangetic India, is regarded in those countries as a holy

103 See Lassen, Ind. Alt., ii., pp. 79, 86, 229, ff., and 249.

land. In Ceylon there exists, as has been alrea tensive Buddhistic literature, which fills up an im of the Brahmans. This literature is, as has bee first, however, the principal sacred records of th have been handed down by oral tradition. M gives the following statement on this subject f rities: The Pitakattaya, together with the Att the era of the third Council, were orally pro Mahendra, the Pitakattaya in Pali, and the At with a further Aṭṭhakatha of his own. These propounded orally by his inspired disciples and s of the period of inspiration, which occurred in and 76 B.C. They were then committed to writi ttaya) in Pali (in which it had before been hande its commentaries in Cingalese. This event is th Mahāwanso, chap 33, p. 207. *Pittaka-ttaya-pāli kathañ cha tam | mukha-pāṭhena ānesuñ pubbe b hāniñ disvāna sattānañ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuñ |* "The wise B times had handed down orally both the text (Pali) of and their aṭṭhakatha. But at that period, perceiving would otherwise be sustained by the people, the Bl and caused them to be written down in books fo stability of the faith." About 500 years later, in t 410 and 432 A.D., Buddhaghosa transferred the Cing into Pāli, as related in the 37th Chapter of the M Pāli versions of the Buddhist scriptures and their those now extant in Ceylon, and they are identicall the Siamese and Burmese versions.

Such are the Buddhist traditions regarding the or their sacred books, viz., the scriptures themselves commentaries, etc., in Cingalese, and their subseque writing. It is to be remarked, however, that so muc as records the oral transmission of these works, is dis Mr. Turnour, who says, p. lvii., "although there c to the belief entertained by Buddhists here, that th perpetuated orally for 453 years before they were

being founded on superstitious imposture, originating perhaps in the priesthood denying to all but their own order access to their scriptures, yet there is no reasonable ground for questioning the authority of the history thus obtained of the origin, recognition, and revisions of these Pali scriptures."

Regarding the introduction of Pāli into Ceylon, different views have been taken. In his "Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ," Professor Lassen remarks as follows (pp. 60, 61):—

"It is clear that the Pali is the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists, *i.e.* of those who departing, for the most part, from the shores of Kalinga, towards the south, carried with them, first of all, the doctrines of Buddhism into Ceylon, and eventually propagated them in India beyond the Ganges."

And again:—

"While the Pali is connected with the emigration of Buddhism to the south, it was itself, without doubt, produced in India. It is by no means clear whether the Buddhists, when they travelled southwards, made use of the Pali language from the first or not; but indeed, as the commencement of the emigration to Ceylon can scarcely be placed earlier than from 628–543 before Christ, the application of the Pali dialect as a vehicle for communicating the Buddhist doctrines can hardly have taken place earlier than that period. How much more recent it may be, I leave to those who may be endeavouring to trace the history of this sect to discover."

In his later work, however, the "Indian Antiquities" (vol. ii., pp. 488–490), Lassen proposes the following theory on the subject, which I translate, with slight abridgements:—

"The Pali language is called by the Buddhists of Ceylon Māgadhī, and it ought consequently to have had its birthplace in Magadha. This, however, cannot have been the case, as, like the majority of the dramatic dialects, it does not possess the peculiarities of the Māgadhī. The Buddhists are also wrong when they declare the Pali to be the root of the Sanskrit, and assert that Kātyāyana restored it to its original perfection by purifying it from all intermixture of Sanskrit and the provincial dialects. We shall therefore have to seek for the birthplace of the Pali elsewhere than in Magadha. We must necessarily assume it to have been once a vernacular dialect, as it is other-

wise impossible to perceive why it should have be
language of the sacred writings. There is, besi
character which is opposed to the supposition that i
tongue. If we compare it with the language of th
tions, we find that, generally speaking, they sta
moved from the Sanskrit; for if the one present
are older, the other again has other forms which
The western inscriptions have, in addition to
the peculiar phonetic rule of changing *tvā* i
[Sanskrit *darśayitvā*] into *dasayiptā*), which
as well as to the dramatic dialects. The
impossible to identify the Pali with the
inscriptions. It is besides to be observed,
principal seat on the western coast, where
vernacular."

Thus, according to Lassen, the Pāli is
Māgadhī, the language of Eastern Hindu
of Western India, as made known by the

"In the absence of any other circumstan
of the Pali (Professor Lassen proceeds), I
jecture on the subject. I assume that Kā
of the country in which he was engaged in
of Malwa. Of the Prakrits employed in t
the one most frequently employed, and i
prose passages. Vararuchi derives it imm
and from it the other dramatic dialects. H
sidered it as the oldest, though he (as well
the dialect called Mahārāshṭrī as the prin
stand the nearest to the Pali, though it is d
are. I conjecture, therefore, that we may re

104 Thus the language of the inscriptions preserves th
in *setthe*, and in *usthāna*; and the *r* in *sarvva*, where t
The inscriptions, too, preserve the Sanskrit dative, for w
Pāli, though the grammarians recognize the existence
ablative in *smā*, as well as *mhā*, and the locative in *smin*
though they are rarely used in composition. In the inscri
the locative has the form *mhi*, while the ablative of wo
pronominal declination of this case has not yet been transfe

which has been preserved of the vernacular language of Western India between the Jumna river and the Vindhya range, a tract which includes Malwa. The Sauraseni would consequently present a later form of this language. From Ujjayani a knowledge of Kātyāyana's work was probably diffused over the Dekhan; and the Cingalese derived their acquaintance with the dialect of which it treated from the country of the Ḍamilas, *i.e.* the Tamilians, or the Cholas. In that country, Dīpankara, surnamed Buddhapriya, composed his new arrangement of that work, the oldest Pali grammar now extant.[105] As the canonical writings in Ceylon were not translated into this sacred dialect till the beginning of the fifth century A.D.,[106] the knowledge of it appears to have been only very slowly diffused towards the south. The grammar just referred to appears to be more ancient than that translation. A more accurate conclusion regarding this portion of the history of the languages of India will perhaps result from a complete investigation of the writings of the Southern Buddhists."

These remarks of Lassen afford, perhaps, scarcely sufficient grounds for denying that the Pāli was introduced into Ceylon from Magadha. The peculiarities which are enumerated by Vararuchi as the characteristics of the Māgadhī, as it existed in his day, such as the substitution of *ś* for *sh*, and *s*, *y* for *j*, *sk* for *ksh*, *l* for *r*, are, after all, of no great consequence, and would perhaps be regarded by learned persons, even

105 "The oldest version of the compilation from Kachchāyano's Grammar," says, Mr. Turnour (Introd. to Mahāw. p. xxv.), "is acknowledged to be the Rūpasiddhi. I quote three passages . . . . The first of these extracts [from the conclusion of the Rūpasiddhi] . . . . proves the work to be of very considerable antiquity, from its having been composed in the Daksina, while Buddhism prevailed there as the religion of the state." This quotation is as follows:—*wikhyātānanda-therawhaya-wara-gurūnaṁ Tambapaṉṉi-ddhajānaṁ sisso Dīpankarākhyo Damila-wasumati dīpa-laddha-ppakāso Bālādichchādi-wāsa-ddwitayam adhiwasan sāsanaṁ jotayī yo soyam Buddha-piyyawho yatī imam ujukaṁ Rūpasiddhim akāsi* | which, with the aid of Mr. Turnour's version, I translate as follows:—"The celebrated teacher Anāndo, who was a rallying point like a standard to Tambapaṉṉi (Ceylon), had a disciple called Dīpankaro. The latter, who had obtained renown in the land of Damila, and was the superintendent of two religious houses, called Bālādichcha, etc., illustrated the religion of Buddha. He was the devotee who bore the appellation of Buddhapiyo, and composed this perfect Rūpasiddhi."

106 This statement of Lassen disagrees with the account given by Mr. Turnour, on native authority (quoted above, p. 57), that the Pitakattaya had been handed down in Pāli from the first. See also the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, pp. 503, ff.

in Magadha itself, rather as vulgar provinciali
characteristics of their language. If so, such varie
be discarded by educated men acquainted with
came to form for themselves a literary language.

The early Buddhist teachers appear to have
travelling over the whole of the central parts o
must have been acquainted with the languag
vinces. When, therefore, they set themselves
were intended for circulation in all these dif
naturally adopt the most correct and appro
were current anywhere within those limits.
in regard to the dramatic compositions of I
the most salient points of every provinc
class derive a considerable part of their s
even exaggerating local peculiarities.

I find it also difficult to concur in Lass
at which the Pāli, or Māgadhī, was introd
and his followers, who were no doubt num
carried with them the language of their n
so, but they may have been the bearers of
that language. For it is not easy to receiv
by the Ceylonese writers (which, as we ha
also rejects,) of the time at which their
committed to writing, or to suppose that
Buddhism, who would at first be ignorant
period of their arrival, have had no record
the new religion which they were introdu
should not have been safely handed down to

M. Eugène Burnouf, in the course of a
instituting between a paragraph extracted
of the books of the Buddhist canon, the Dīgh
passage from a Nepalese Sanskrit work, make
tion on the language in which the former is
it will be observed, that he does not controver
Pāli language from the dialect of Magadha:—

"It is quite possible that these two versions
contemporaneous in India, and have been cur

l of Buddhism, before the events occurred which trans- to Ceylon. The Pali version would be popular among astes and the bulk of the people of Magadha and Oude, nskrit version was used by the Brahmans. Still, we justified in supposing that we possessed in the Pali text version of this passage in its true Māgadhī form, since of the Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, and of the Pali of s to us certain differences between the forms of these Still, while we allow for the degree of artificial regu- ıe cultivation of the Pali in Ceylon may have introduced, that the Pali version of this passage approaches very form which it must have had in Māgadhī."—(*Lotus de* App., p. 862.)

'eber (in the course of a detailed notice of the Lotus de in his Indische Studien, iii., 176, ff.) remarks as follows e:—"This last explanation [that the Pali was elaborated oes not appear to me satisfactory, because a language few persons along with them into a foreign country ins its ancient character unchanged. It is further very whether the cultivation of the Pali commenced in probability speaks rather in favour of the supposition mar of the language was fixed in the country which e." Weber proceeds to observe, that the Cingalese bes the origin of their grammar to India; and thinks ıbtful whether Pāli was used at all in Ceylon before ere of Buddhaghosa in 420 A.D. For though a trans- Sūtras is said to have been made into the Cingalese rlier (which seems to prove that the Pāli was under- g), yet it is improbable, he conceives, that, if it had y studied before Buddhaghosa, the translation of the tthakatha would have been so long deferred. At any the arrival of this teacher appears to have given a new study of Pāli, as is attested by the composition of t... e that language, fifty years later. It is clear, however intains the essential identity of Pāli with the vernacular adha, in the sixth century B.C., as he ... the more ter of the language of the Pāli books, ... Atthakatha

and Tripitaka, as compared with the language of
tions of Aśoka, by supposing that (while the
undergone great alterations in the 300 years which
Buddha's death and the date of the inscription, s
Buddha may have made it a rule to retain, as th
dialect in which Buddha himself spoke, his
discourses which actually emanated from
him, as well as of all the narratives of which

I quote two other authorities on the sub
tion of Pāli into Ceylon. The first is Pro
as follows, in the Preface to the Kammavā
edited by him, and translated into Latin):
believe that the Pali was introduced by th
carried thence into Transgangetic India.
existed between the continent of India
period, and the mention of this island in t
Six Brahmanical kings are enumerated
they lived before the age of Aśoka, mu
another language. That this was the case
of words which have been transferred from
the Cingalese language, and which appear
consequence of that previous intercourse t
made. Thus we find in Cingalese, *karna*, no
enmity, the use of the visarga, which ha
Pali, as well as the vowels *ri*, *rī*, *lri*, *lrī*."
find from the Cingalese books, that the B
bringing with them the Pali language, in the
the contemporary of Aśoka, who reigned
probable that the Pali was called Māgadh
mission of Aśoka's son Mahendra to introduc
In fact, a comparison of the Pali with the lang
which have descended to our own time, leave
forms of speech are most closely connected.
tively little removed from the Sanskrit, since
elision of letters practised, nor, with few exce
letters commuted into *h*, as in the Prakrit."

The other authority I shall quote is Professor

is article on India (in Ersch and Gruber's German Ency-
. 194):—
ace exterior to India, where Buddhism became first estab-
state religion (about 240 years before Christ) under the
spices of Aśoka, Emperor of India, was Ceylon. It is
be assumed that at that period all which was of importance
ject of Buddhism, was brought to Ceylon in the form in
en existed. Besides, so close a connexion existed between
the head-quarters of the Indian empire, viz., the regions
e Bay of Bengal (Bengal itself and the adjoining provinces),
ylonese took at least a passive share in the development of
Hence their books appear to me to be authorities of the
nsequence. It is further to be observed that these works
d in Pali, which is the sacred language of the Buddhist in
in the countries converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese,
was the predominating popular dialect of central India."
nother passage, to a similar effect, from p. 250 of the same
although there, at the close, the author speaks doubtfully
vation of Pāli from the province of Magadha, and of the
of Buddhism into Ceylon from the shores of the Bay of
is not to be understood as throwing any uncertainty on the
f Pāli or of Buddhism with Northern India in general.
cterizes the Pāli as "the sacred language of the Buddhist
und in Ceylon and Transgangetic India, . . . which
oth by internal and external indications to have been the
dialect of central India, and which was diffused along with
st religion in the countries above named, where it soon
e same sacredness in the eyes of the Buddhists, which
ossessed, and still possesses, for the Brahmans. This
he continues, "(though distinct proof cannot yet be adduced
rtion), is one of the very oldest of the Indian vernaculars,
eady in popular use at the period of the rise of Buddhism—
bably the dialect of a considerable, I mean the weste m,
Bengal. It was from this point, from Bengal or Kaling
ling to the Ceylonese account, Buddhism was introduce
.: and yet again this conjecture becomes certain, owing
that the language of Magadha, which was then only

little to the north of the Bay of Bengal, and wh
scription in Cuttack seems to have been compose
to have extended towards the south, varies esse
in several particulars." Again, in p. 246, the
Pali, as varying in many particulars from
and approximating to the principal Prakrit of

But it matters little in what particular
Pāli to have originated, whether in Maga
further to the westward: as the fact remai
that, perhaps with some modifications, it r
Prākṛitic dialects of northern India.

The Buddhist writers assert, as we have
is not derived from the Sanskrit; but the
primitive language from which all oth
Buddhist grammarians were no doubt led
favour of the dialect which they or their
the depository of their sacred literature;
the Sanskrit, which was venerated by t
Even Mr. Clough says (Pāli Grammar, A
out determining the question, "it has lo
whether the Pali or Sanskrit be the more a
and contents himself with the remark tha
was the popular dialect of the native cou
Magadha, before the powerful sect, found
from the continent of India, an event prior t

The following is the conclusion at which I
after a long investigation of the subject in
chāyana's Grammar (published at Colombo, in

"When, therefore, we consider the high stat
the Pali had in very early times attained as a
ness, elegance and harmony, combined with its
comparative simplicity, both verbally and gramm
ship to the oldest language of the Brahmans, fron
dialect has been *Sanskritized*,—its claims to be c
hārika-vāk of the Brahmans to which the *Rig V*
currence with some of the Indo-European langu
which differ from the Sanskrit,—its identificati

original Prākrita dialect, which was 'similar to the Sanskrit,'—the absence of any statement in old Brahman writers to the effect that that Prākrita dialect was a derivative of the Sanskrit,—the great improbability of a derivative being denominated the [Prakriti] Prākrita,—the palpable inaccuracy of the definition by which in modern times it is called the 'derived, the vulgar, or the ungrammatical,'—the absence in it of many a peculiarity which distinguishes derivative tongues,—and the probability that it had issued from the same ancient seat Bactria or Punjab) from whence the Sanskrit itself had taken an asterly direction,—I believe it may be concluded that the Pāli and hè Sanskrit are, at least, two dialects of high antiquity, contempoaneously derived from a source of which few, if any, traces can be iscovered at the present day."

In a review of Mr. D'Alwis's work in the Journal of the German iental Society for 1865, vol. xix., pp. 658, ff., Prof. Weber notices us the remarks of that writer:—

"The long investigation which the author then institutes (pp. iii–cxxxii) regarding the antiquity of the Pāli and its relation the Sanskrit conducts him rightly to the conclusion that both ects were 'contemporaneously' evolved from one source (vi Vedic language). He here shows himself to be a warm, patri irer of the Pāli, but allows himself to be car y by this feeling beyond the proper limits into a depreciatio Sanskrit, and specifically to assumptions respecting its p rary formation, which must appear to the European reader hi iar," etc. "Nevertheless, we owe even to this part of his l cknowledgment that he has striven to the best of his po ge and sketch the results and views both of native and Eu rs, and that he has in general succeeded well in doing so. It w in fact no longer be denied that it is better to understand the Prākṛita in the sense of 'natural,' 'original,' 'normal,' 'common,' al,' and in the signification perhaps secondarily deduced therefrom of 'common,' 'low,' than in the sense of 'derived' (sanskritam r yasya) assigned to the word by the grammarians." And yet

order to make this clause more intelligible, I quote Mr. D'Alwis's interpretation of the word Prākṛita from an earlier page of his introduction, p. xcii, where thus: "Prakriti is therefore that which is natural, or the nature itself of a

the assumption that the Pāli, and so the Prākṛit, a
Sanskrit, deserves the preference over the conv
D'Alwis appears here and there to be not indisposed has b
as being the most ancient Prākṛit which and in
us, stands higher in point of originality Sanskrit,
Sanskrit. For it is clear that the Sanskrit th
system and flexions, stands much closer to
and the Pāli than the latter does,[108] and has co
right than it to be regarded as the represent
guage. A perplexing circumstance connect
one which leads to many sorts of mistakes
nately no proper name for that stage of t
the foundation of both the 'sister dialects,'
the Sanskrit, i.e. for the Vedic vulgar spe
and vyāvahārika are not sufficiently pregna

thing—that which is pre-eminent—that which is
anything—'not made.' Hence it is clear that the
word Prākṛita,—indeed that which was originally a
'common acceptation,'—was 'original,' 'root,' 'nat
fore at first meant the original Indian language, as d
'the ungrammatical,' and the Sanskrit, signifyi
'together,' and kṛita 'done' = 'altogether,' or 'com
that 'which has been composed or formed by art
highly cultivated or polished,' and regularly inflecte
sition to this view of the sense of the word prākṛit
of it given above in p. 44, and Lassen's explanation,
Prof. Weber's Ind. Literaturgeschichte, in the Journal
for 1853, p. 605. Prof. Roth thus expresses himse
(according to the derivation which seems to me the c
has its foundation in another thing, 'the derived,'
expression is one formed by grammarians, and has
grammarians say e.g. saṁhitā pada-prākṛitis; the
foundation the words, i.e. that form of speaking and
the end and beginning of the words which follow or
brought into harmony with the general phonetic la
foundation the single words conceived in their original
thus prākṛitā in relation to the word-text, the pada-pāṭha
for a scientific purpose. I would understand the word p
when it is applied to the dialects." In Böhtlingk and R
sense "customary," "common," is assigned to the word prā
while of the dialect so called it is said: "The 'common'
the people, which the grammarians derive from Sanskrit."

[108] This, however, can afford us no reason to deny that t
served older forms than the Sanskrit. [Note of Prof. Weber

[illegible] the Pali is derived from the Sanskrit, according to [illegible] [illegible] modifications [illegible] in the [illegible] of the words and in their terminations and inflexions [illegible] that there is no grammatical form to be found [illegible] in Sanskrit; [illegible] to the influence of any foreign language [illegible] the modifications to which the Pali [illegible] subjected the [illegible].

"When the Pali, as a derivative from Sanskrit, is compared with other dialects having the same origin, it is found to approach far more [illegible] than any of those others to that common source. It stands, and [illegible] first step of the ladder of departure from Sanskrit, [illegible] the series of dialects which break up that rich and [illegible] language. But it appears that the Pali, which contained in itself the germs of [illegible] already greatly developed, was arrested in its progress [illegible] at once, and fixed in the condition in which we now find it, [illegible], in a state of almost immediate connexion with the language from which it proceeded. In fact the greater part of the words which form the basis of the one, are found without modification in the other; those which are modified can all be traced to their Sanskrit root; in short, no words of foreign origin are to be found in Pali."

Again:—

"We shall not enter into new details regarding the manner in which the Pali has been derived from the Sanskrit. The laws which have guided the formation of that language are the same which we find at work in other idioms in different ages and countries; these laws are general, because they are necessary. Whether we compare the lan-

guages which are derived from Latin with the
later Teutonic dialects with the ancient language
or the modern with the ancient or th
dialects of India with the ancient Greek, shall se
developed, the same laws applied. we orga
parent languages are seen to exist in The bu
alteration. More commonly they will be part, fou
and to have been replaced, the case-terminati
tenses by auxiliary verbs. The processes
but the principle is the same; it is alw
reason of this be that a synthetic langu
become the speech of barbarians who do n
and therefore suppress its inflections, and
or whether it be that when abandoned to
necessity of its cultivation, it tends to dec
representative signs of ideas and relation
composes and subdivides the ideas and th
Pali appears to have undergone this la
Sanskrit, not such as it would be spoken
whom it would be new; but pure San
modified in proportion as it becomes popu
preserves its declension, instead of repla
modern dialects of India do. One form o
pass for the commencement of the analytic
found in the parent language. A great n
be cited to prove that the modifications,
Sanskrit, are of the same kind as those
other tongues, has made in the Latin. Th
sonants, which in Italian makes *letto* from
tus, is one of the principles of Pali."

The Pāli, in the precise form in which we
books, could scarcely have been a vernacular
exhibits a variety of refinements which could
ployed in common speech; but seem likely to
the language of composition, or introduced after
be the spoken tongue of the followers of Bud
consecrated to the service of religion and literatu

mar of the Sanskrit itself became regulated by more fixed and rigid rules, after it had been removed from the deteriorating influences of vernacular use. Such a peculiarity is the use of interpolated, or the retention of otherwise disused, consonants to obviate the inharmonious sounds which would arise from the collision of vowels. No less than nine letters, y, v, m, d, n, t, r, l, and g, are employed for this purpose, as is shown in the following examples, viz.:

1.	*y*	— na	+ imassa	becomes	nayimassa.
2.	*v*	— ti	+ angikam	„	tivangikam.
3.	*m*	— lahu	+ essati	„	lahumessati.
4.	*d*	— atta	+ attham	„	attadattham.
5.	*n*	— ito	+ āyati	„	itonāyati.
6.	*t*	— tasmā	+ iha	„	tasmātiha.
7.	*r*	— sabbhi	+ eva	„	sabbhireva.
8.	*l*	— cha	+ abhiññā	„	chalabhiññā.
9.	*g*	— putha	+ eva	„	puthageva.[100]

This peculiarity of attention to euphony is common to the Pāli with the Sanskrit; and though the means they use are for the most part

[100] Clough's Pāli Grammar, p. 11. On this subject I translate the following remarks made by Dr. Kuhn in a review of the first edition of this volume, in his *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung* u.s.w. vol. iii. p. 241, f.; "As regards the interpolation of euphonic letters treated of in p. 82, I cannot entirely agree with the author when he claims them for the written language alone: the greater part of them show that they are by no means what are called interpolations, but the old *auslaut*" (i.e. concluding consonant) "which the preceding words had in an earlier stage of the language. I have briefly treated of them in the first volume of these Beiträge, p. 126, and here only repeat that I now regard only the y and the v in na-y-imassa, and ti-v-angikam as real euphonic interpolations; and that I look upon the latter as having proceeded from y." I subjoin a translation of the remarks referred to by the writer as having been previously made by him in the 1st vol. of the Beiträge, p. 126:—"A comparison with the Sanskrit shows that only a few of these apparently interpolated consonants are due to an actual interpolation, as the others are remains of an earlier condition of the language. The Pali has almost entirely rejected the final mutes, and the few cases in which such are found are to be regarded as exceptions. When for instance *etad eva* is found in place of the ordinary *etam eva*, this is an archaism which Lassen rightly explains by the close juxtaposition of the following *eva* to the preceding *etad*. In the same way we are to explain *tasmāt iha* from the Sanskrit *tasmād iha*, *sabbhir eva* from *sadbhir eva*, *chhalabhiññā* from *shalabhijñās*, which as a technical designation preserved the old form (see Turnour's Mahavānso, p. 31, 1, and elsewhere), *puthageva* from *prithag eva*, *pageva* from *prāg eva*. Of the remaining instances *nayimassa*, *tivangikam*, and *itonayati* are in[deed] to be regarded as cases of consonantal interpolation, whilst *lahum essati* and *attadattham* may still remain doubtful. Clough further states (p. 14), that m is sometimes introduced as an augment before both vowels and consonants; that *chakkhum anichcham* (Sanskrit *chakshur anityam*) stands for *chakkhu anichcham* and *avañsiro* for *ava siro*; but in the first case, as in that of *lahum* ... perhaps anoth[er] ...

different, yet in neither case could the refinements e
have been practised in the language of ordinary
other characteristics (borrowed from the Sanskrit)
have been very common in the vernacular dialects
supposed to have been contemporary with it;
desiderative, and nominal verbs; like *jighachchh*
pabbatāyati, he resembles a mountain; *puttiyati*

Fausböll observes in his introduction to th
that the antiquity of that work is proved
language, which approaches closely to the
its oldest forms, and differs widely from the

explanation is possible, whilst in the second case, t
appears decidedly wrong, as the final mute of the
Nevertheless, Clough's rule appears to be correct,
some other examples of this interpolation. Thus i
nāmañ katwā janapadañ bahuñ, unless perhaps *te-*
yakkhehi wijite manne ime; and in p. 52, line
not only against the interpolation of *m*, but also
a of *yatra*." It is to be observed that the sam
calling it) of more than one letter (as in *yatha-r-*
in the language of the Gāthās in the Lalita vistar
on. This shows that the process did not begin in

The following are instances collected from th
insertion of consonants between vowels which m
similar character which have been adduced in the t

REFERENCES.		SANSKRIT.
Lalita vistara,	428.	*vartishye 'sya*
"	63.	*yathā eva*
"	195.	*tvayā iha*
"	154.	*avamānanam, akhilāḥ*
"	220.	*sa upagataḥ*
"		*śabdānubhāvena*
"	215.	*śrutvā idam*
"	355.	*muchye itaḥ*
"	239.	*lābhā ehi*
"	370.	*svake ātmani*
"	398.	*tatra asi*
"	471.	*tava upaime*
"	430.	*drishtvā imām*
	3.	*sva ushnīsha*

110 Some desiderative verbs and nouns must, howe
in the Prākrits; as we find in the modern vernaculars
origin in desideratives. Thus the Hindī *bhūkh*, hunger,
a Prākrit corruption of *bubhukshā*. The Hindī *piyās*, th
from *pipāsā*, though it may also have been compounded o

and of the commentary of Buddhoghosa. Thus we find in the Dhammapada such forms as these, viz., the nominative of the present participle in *am*, as *gaṇayam*, *rodam* (instead of *gaṇayanto*, etc.); the third person plural of the present middle in *āre* as *sochare*, *upapajjare*; and the dative form of the infinitive, as *netave*, *pahātave*, which is usually found only in the Vedas, etc. It is clear from this that the Pāli appears in various phases of greater or less antiquity.

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with the following notices of of Vedic forms which occur in Pāli:—"Besides the infinitive in *tave*, used after verbs, expressing wish or desire, as well as *tum*, the Pāli uses, in agreement with the Prākṛit and Mahratta an indeclinable participle in *tvāna*, and contracted, *tūna*. *Katvāna* or *kātūna gachchhati* =*kṛitvā gachchhati*. ["Having done he goes."][111] These forms agree with ancient forms which are mentioned by Pāṇini as Vaidic, namely *pītvānam*=*pītvā*, *ishṭvīnaṁ devān*=*ishṭvā devān*, Pāṇini vii. 1, 48. Yāska Nirukta vi. 7, assumes that *asme* can stand for all cases of *vayam*. The Pāli declines *amhe*=*asme* in all cases. Nom. *amhe*, acc. *amhe* or *amhākam* (=*asmākam*), instr. *amhebhi* or *amhehi*, gen. *amhākam*.

"Further, the Pāli has preserved the instrumental in *ebhis*. It says *buddhebhi* or *buddhehi* = *buddhaiḥ*; *bhi* or *hi* in all declensions; for the declension of *go*, it has in the gen. pl. *gavaṁ* or *guṇṇaṁ* or *goṇāṁ*, the last form being the Vaidic *goṇāṁ*. Neuters in *a*, *i*, *u*, like *phala*, *aṭhṭhi* (*asthi*), *madhu*, have either the regular plur. nom. acc. *phalāni*, *aṭṭhīni*, *madhūni* or *phalā*, *aṭṭhī*, *madhū*, just as in the Vedas.

"There is one more modern form that is found in the Veda. The Pāli has *assa* (*asya*) or *imassa* (*imasya*), so also the Prākṛit *imassa*, etc. Now we find in Rig Veda, viii. 13, 21, *imasya pāhi andhasaḥ* for *asya*. This is more curious than to find in the Matsyapurāṇa *imair vidvāṁsaḥ* for *ebhir vidvadbhiḥ*."

Notwithstanding the introduction of various refinements into the Pāli, after it became the sacred language of the Buddhist religion, there can be no doubt, as Burnouf considers (Lotus, App. 862), that it substantially represents to us the language which was vernacular in Behar, and in all the central parts of Northern India, at the epoch when Buddhism was first introduced, *i.e.*, in the third, fourth, and fifth

[111] Some further specimens of this form will be given in the Tables which follow.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
1.	aham.	aham.	1. mayam.	vayam.
			amhe.	amhe.
2.	mam.	mam.	2. amhākam.	ṇo.
	mamam.	mamam.	amhe.	amhe.
3.	mayā.	me.	3. amhebhi.	amhehiṃ.
		mae.	amhehi.	
4.	mama.	me.	4. } amhākam.	amhāṇam.
6.	mayham.	mama.	6. }	
	amham.	majjha.		
	mamam.	maha.		
5.	mayā.	matto.	5. amhebhi.	amhāhinto.
			amhehi.	amhāsunto.
7.	mayi.	mayi.	7. amhesu.	amhesu.
		mamammi.		

The second personal pronoun, as it appears in both dialects will be given in a following Table.

The Pāli verb seems to be far more complete than the Pākṛit. The following are some of its principal tenses, as compared with those of the latter: (Clough, p. 100, ff.; Cowell, p. xxix.)

PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
Parasmai-pada, or active mood.		Ātmane-pada, or middle-mood.	
Singular.	*Singular.*	*Singular.*	*Singular.*
1. pachāmi.	1. pachāmi.	1. pache.	(wanting.)
	pachāmi.		
2. pachasi.	2. pachasi.	2. pachase.	2. pachase.
3. pachasi.	3. pachadi.	3. pachase.	3. pachade.
	pachaï.		pachae.
Plural.	*Plural.*	*Plural.*	*Plural.*
1. pachāma.	1. pachāmo.	1. pachāmhe.	(wanting.)
	pachimo, etc.		
2. pachatha.	2. pachaha.	2. pachavhe.	ditto.
	pachitthā.		
3. pachanti.	3. pachanti.	3. pachante.	ditto.

The Pāli has also, like the Sanskrit, a potential mood, and three past tenses, which in the parasmai-pada or active mood, are as follows:

Singular.	*Plural.*	*Singular.*	*Plural.*
I. Potential.		II. Reduplicated perfect.	
1. pacheyyāmi.	1. pacheyyāma.	1. papacha.	1. papachimha.
2. pacheyyāsi.	2. pacheyyātha.	2. papache.	2. papachittha.
3. pache.	3. pacheyyum.	3. papacha.	3. papachu.
pacheyya.			
III. Imperfect.		IV. Third preterite.	
1. apacha.	1. apachamhā.	1. apachim.	1. apachimhā.
2. apacho.	2. apachattha.	2. apacho.	2. apachittha.
3. apachā.	3. apachū.	3. apachi.	3. apachum.
			apachimsu.

In Prākṛit, on the other hand, few traces appear to remain of any past tenses at all. Mr. Cowell says, p. xxix, "The only tenses of the active voice which remain seem to be the present, the second future, and the imperative." In the 23rd, 24th, and 25th aphorisms of Chapter VII., and in the 17th aphorism of Chapter VIII. of Vararuchi, however (Cowell, pp. 162, 163), mention is made of a past tense, of which the instances, *huvīa*, *hohīa*, *āsi*,[112] 'he was,' *hasīa*, 'he laughed,' *kāhīa*, 'he did,' are given. Few instances of the past tense in Prākṛit, however, seem to occur in the dramas; but it is inconceivable that in the Prākṛit dialects which were currently spoken in the long interval between the disuse of the Pāli and the rise of the modern vernaculars (in both of which we find past tenses), there should have been no grammatical forms in daily use for expressing past time. It is not, however, necessary to pursue this subject further: as the details and explanations which I have already furnished, together with the tables which follow, are amply sufficient to show the place which the Pāli and the Prākṛit dialects respectively occupied in the history of North-Indian speech.[113]

[112] The form *āsa*, "was," occurs in Hāla's Saptaśataka 128, p. 114, of Weber's edition.

[113] The following note in p. 107 of the first edition should have been placed in p. 55 of the present edition, as an addition to note 101.

[Professor Müller considers the data—derived from Buddhist sources—on which the death of Buddha is placed in 543 B.C., and on which the occurrence of any Buddhist synods before the one in Aśoka's time, is asserted, to be fictitious and unsatisfactory. Though he does not try to bring down Buddha's death below 477 B.C., he regards all the Buddhist dates before Chandragupta as merely hypothetical. See his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," received while this Section was in the press, pp. 260–300.]

Table No. III.

Containing a List of words which are identical, or nearly so, in Pāli and Prākṛit.

[The authorities for the Pāli words in these Lists are the Dhammapada, a Pāli work edited by Fausböll, the Pāli Grammar of the Rev. B. Clough (Ceylon, 1824), Burnouf and Lassen's Essai sur le Pali, Spiegel's Kammavākya, and Anecdota Palica, containing the Rasavāhinī, etc., and Turnour's Mahāwanso (Ceylon, 1837). The authorities for the Prākṛit words are partly given in the previous List, No. I., p. 15, ff. In the present edition the lists have been greatly enlarged, and parallel words from the Gāthā dialect in the Lalita Vistara (Lv.) are occasionally introduced. The Pāli column has had the advantage of being revised by Mr. Childers, and the additional Prākṛit words are taken from the Bālarāmāyaṇa (Br.) the Prasannarāghava (Pr.), and the Saptaśalaka (Sś.) A good many Prākṛit words, for which no Pāli equivalents have been found, are left in the list; as they will at least show the mutations which the Sanskrit undergoes in the former dialect.]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 43. Clough, 15. Mrichh. 44. Var. xii. 22.	*strī*	*istri, istrī, istriya, istrikā*	*itthī, itthi*	*itthī, itthiyā*	a woman.
Clough 39. Var. iii. 10.	*dṛishṭi*		*diṭṭhi*	*diṭṭhi*	sight.
Bālarāmā-yaṇa, 215.	*dṛishṭa*		*diṭṭha*	*diḍa*	seen.
Br. 210. Clough, 39.	*vṛishṭi*		*vuṭṭhi*	*viṭṭhi*	rain.
Br. 78.	*sṛishṭi*		*saṭṭhi*	*sishṭhī*	discharge.
Br. 238, 245, 248, 267, 287. Pr. 44.	*pṛishṭha*		*piṭṭhi, piṭṭha*	*puṭhṭhi, puṭhṭha, piṭhṭha, vaṭhṭha, vaṭṭa, veṭha*	the back.
Br. 178. Pr. 41.	*mishṭā*			*miṭhṭhā, miṭṭhī*	sweet (fem.)
Dham. 5.	*śṛeshtha*		*seṭṭha*	*seṭṭha*	best.
Br. 79, 113, 144. Cl. 37.	*jyeshṭha*		*jeṭṭha*	*jeṭṭha, jeṭhṭha*	eldest.
Br. 113, 223, 225.	*kanishṭha*		*kaniṭṭha*	*kaniṭṭa, kaniṭṭha, kaniṭhṭha*	youngest.
Br. 6, 122, 225.	*varishṭha*			*variṭhṭha*	best.
Clough, 39. Var. iii. 10.	*tushṭi*		*tuṭṭhi*	*tuṭṭhi*	satisfaction.
Br. 224.	*garishṭha*			*gariṭhṭha*	heaviest.
Clough, 27.	*mushṭi*		*muṭṭhi*	*muṭṭhi*	the fist.
Br. 56, 194, f.	*dushṭa*		*duṭṭha*	*duṭhṭha*	wicked.
Br. 270.	*dashṭa*		*daṭṭha*	*daṭhṭha*	bitten.
Br. 34.	*nivishṭa*		*niviṭṭha*	*niviṭhṭha*	entered, placed.
B. & Las. 166.	*śishṭaḥ*		*siṭṭho*	*siṭṭho*	instructed.
Br. 6.	*dishṭyā*		*diṭṭhā*	*diṭhṭhiā*	by good luck.
Pr. 20.	*pravishṭa*		*paviṭṭha*	*paviṭhṭha*	entered.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKRIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 86.	*sushṭha*		*suṭṭhu*	*suṭhṭhu*	well.
Br. 203, 270.	*nishṭhura*		*niṭṭhura*	*niṭhṭhura*	severe.
Br. 179, 242, 294.	*goshṭhī*			*goṭhṭhī*	assembly.
Br. 270, 278. Clough, 2.	*oshṭha*		*oṭṭha*	*oṭhṭha*	lip.
Br. 259, 270.	*daṁshṭrā*		*dāṭhā*	*dāḍhā*	tusk.
Mrich. 18, 30.	*kāshṭha*		*kaṭṭha*	*kaṭṭha*	wood.
Dham. 3. 50.	*vṛiksham*		*rukkham*	*rukkham*, *ukkham*	tree.
Pr. 84. Br. 155, 219.	*vṛittānta*		*vuttanta*	*vuttanta*	intelligence.
Pr. 114 f, 125. Br. 216.	*vṛittānta*			*uttanta*	intelligence.
Pr. 84, Br. 53, 56.	*saṁvṛitta*		*saṁvaṭṭa*	*saṁvutta*	happened.
Pr. 303.	*nivṛitta*		*nivatta*	*nivutta*	ceased.
Pr. 44.	*vṛishabha*		*usabha*	*vusaha*	bull.
Pr. 91.	*tṛina*		*tiṇa*	*tuṇa*	grass.
Mrichh. 3,126.	*ghṛita*		*ghata*	*ghia*	ghee.
Pr. 19.	*prakshyāmi*		*pucchissāmi*	*putsissam*	I shall ask.
Var. i. 29. Lass. 293. Vikr. 45. Śs. ind. 244.	*prāvṛish*		*pāvusā*	*pāusa*	rainy season.
Br. 157, 163. Var. i. 27.	*vṛiddha*		*vuddha*, *vuḍḍha*, *buḍḍha*	*buḍḍha*, *viddha*, *vaddha*	old.
Dham. 52. Var. i. 27.	*smṛiti*		*sati*	. . .	recollection.
Mrich. 94 f.	*mṛittikā*		*mattikā*	*maṭṭiā*	earth.
Br. 131.	*ṛitu*		*utu*	*ridu*	season.
Br. 199.	*kṛitānta*			*kayanta*	fate.
Mṛich. 14, 95, 116, 141, Var. iv. 32. Br. 178, 164 f.	*gṛiha*		*gaha*, *ghara*	*ghala*, *ghara*, *giha*, *haraa*	house.
Pr. 303.	*gṛihiṇī*		*gharaṇī*	*gharinī*	wife.
Pr. 33, 35, 38, 41.	*gṛihiṇītva*			*ghariṇittaṇa*	state of a wife.
Dham. 13.	*gṛihī*		*gihī*	*giha* (house)	householder.
Dham 46.	*artham*		*attham*	*attham*	meaning.
Dham. 47.	*sarva*		*sabba*	*sabba*, *savva*	all.
Dham. 1.	*pūrva*		*pubba*	*pubba*, *puvva*	first.
Br. 169, 231, 238.	*śīrsha*		*sīsa*	*sīsa*	head.
Br. 168, 235, 262, 270.	*dīrgha*		*dīgha*	*dīha*	long.
Br. 126, 198, 267, 293.	*mārga*		*magga*	*magga*	road.
Br. 7, 36, 70.	*sarga*, *nisarga*		*sagga*, *nisagga*	*sagga*, *ṇisagga*	section. nature.
Dham. 23.	*svarga*		*sagga*	*sagga*	heaven.
Br. 10. Cl. 2.	*varga*		*vagga*	*vagga*	class.
Br. 199.	*durga*		*dugga*	*dugga*	inaccessible.
Br. 293.	*nirgama*		*niggama*	*ṇiggama*	going out (noun).

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 55, 76, 178, 276. Pr. 134.	*garbha*		*gabbha*	*gabbha* / *gabhbha*	womb.
Pr. 34.	*nirghosha*		*nigghosa*	*nighghosa*	sound.
Pr. 33. Br. 69, 87, 198. 288.	*ardha*		*addha*, *aḍḍha*	*addha*	half.
Pr.48. Br.267, 298. Bur. and Lass. 166.	*dharma*		*dhamma*	*dhamma*	righteousness
Br. 94.	*karma*		*kamma*	*kamma*	work.
Dham. 43.	*karmakāra* / *charmakāra*		*kammakāra* / *kammāra* / *chammakāra*	*chammāra*	blacksmith; leather cutter
Br. 64, 72, 94.	*nirmāṇa*		*nimmāna*	*ṇimmāṇa*	construction.
Br. 7.	*charmachakshuḥ*			*chammachakkhū*	leather-eyed.
Br. 246.	*kūrma*		*kumma*	*kumma*	tortoise.
Pr. 126.	*avatīrṇa*		*otiṇṇa*	*avatiṇṇa*	descended.
Br. 200.	*uttīrṇa*		*uttiṇṇa*	*uttīṇa*	crossed.
Pr. 46, 48.	*tarkayāmi*		*takkemi*	*takkemi*	I reason.
Pr. 12, 48. Br. 238, 245.	*karṇa*		*kaṇṇa*	*kaṇṇa*	ear.
Br. 200.	*sampūrṇa*		*sampuṇṇa*	*sampuṇṇa*	full.
Br. 298.	*parṇa*		*paṇṇa*	*paṇṇa*	feather.
Br. 264.	*Tāmrāparṇī*		*Tambapaṇṇi*	*Tambavaṇṇī*	Ceylon.
Br. 142, 198. Bur.&Ls. 166.	*varṇa*		*vaṇṇa*	*vaṇṇa*	colour.
Br. 291.	*suvarṇa*		*suvaṇṇa*, *soṇṇa*	*suvaṇṇa*	gold.
Br.	*udgīrṇa*			*udgiṇṇa*	vomited.
Br. 240, 243.	*kīrṇa*		*kiṇṇa*	*kiṇṇa*	crowded.
Br. 147, 200, 278.	*chūrṇa*		*chuṇṇa*	*chuṇṇa*	crushed.
Br. 267.	*nirvāṇa*		*nibbāna*	*ṇivvāṇa*	extinction.
Br. 209, 289, 307.	*kīrtti*		*kitti*	*kitti*	renown.
Br. 198, 278.	*marttaṇḍa*			*mattaṇḍa*	the sun.
Br. 129, 198, 287.	*nirvighna*		*nibbigga*	*ṇivviggha* / *ṇivvighgha* / *ṇivvigghgha*	without obstacles.
Br. 241.	*nirjhara*		*nijjhara*	*ṇijjhara*	a cascade.
Br. 154.	*nirvāhana*		*nibbāhana*	*ṇivvāhaṇa*	effecting.
Br. 153 ff.	*duryaśaḥ*			*dujjasa*	bad repute.
Br. 86, 179.	*darpa*		*dappa*	*dappa*	pride.
Br. 216.	*upasarpāmaḥ*		*upasappāma*	*uvasappamha*	we approach.
Br. 5, 179.	*kandarpa*			*kandappa*	the god of love.
Br. 129, 194.	*darpaṇa*		*dappana*	*dappaṇa*	a mirror.
Br. 142, 178.	*karpūra*		*kappūra*	*kappūra*	camphor.
Br. 221.	*kārpāsa*		*kappāsa*	*kappāsa*	cotton.
Br. 218.	*paraspara*			*paroppara*	mutual.
Br. 239.	*kūrpara*		*kappara*	*kuppara*	elbow, knee.
Br. 236.	*karkara*			*kakkara*	limestone.
Br. 239.	*śarkarā*		*sakkhara*	*sakkara*	gravel.
S'ak. 25.	*kharjūra*		*khajjūrī*	*khajjūra*	date tree.
Br. 240.	*kardama*		*kaddama*	*kaddama*	mud.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 243.	*paryasta*		*pallattha*	*pallattha*	thrown down
Br. 208.	*nirlūṇa*			*ṇillūṇa*	cut.
Pr. 144. Br. 52.	*durlabha*		*dullabha*	*dullaha*	difficult to obtain.
Pr. 16, 48. Dham. 56.	*samarpita*		*samappita*	*samappida*	entrusted.
Br. 178.	*muhūrta*		*muhutta*	*muhutta*	moment.
Br. 136, 215.	*vārtā*		*vāttā*	*vattā*	intelligence.
Br. 242, 266, 147.	*sārtha*		*sattha*	*sattha*	a band of travellers.
Br. 198.	*tīrtha*		*tittha*	*tittha*	place of philgrimage.
Br. 234.	*sammarda*			*sammadda*	friction.
Br. 265, 267.	*vimarda*			*vimadda*	
Br. 181, 194.	*parvata*		*pabbata*	*pavvada*	mountain.
Br. 179.	*Pārvatī*		*Pabbatī*	*Pabbadī*	Pārvatī.
Br. 113, Pr. 114, 137.	*ārya*		*ariya, ayya*	*ajja*	respectable person.
Br. 94.	*sammārjita*		*sammajjita*	*samajjida*	cleansed.
Br. 209.	*garjita*		*gajjita*	*gajjida*	thundered.
Cl. 19. Br. 73.	*chandra*		*chanda*	*chanda*	moon.
Br. 36, 130 f, 148, 299. Clough, 27.	*granthi*		*ganṭhi*	*ganṭhi*	a knot.
Br. 113, 144, 223. Mrichh. 72. Var. v. 35.	*bhrātā, bhrātuḥ*		*bhātā*	*bhāda, bhāā, bhāduṇo*	brother (nom. and gen.).
Br. 238.	*graha*		*gaha*	*gāha*	taking.
Br. 308.	*śighra*		*sīgha*	*siggha*	quickly.
Br. 149.	*yātrā*		*yātrā*	*jattā*	journey.
Br. 34, 52.	*chitra*		*chitta, chitra*	*chitta*	variegated.
Br. 8, 53, 69, 86, 98, 267.	*gotra*		*gotta*	*gotta*	family, clan.
Br. 86.	*kshuraprā*		*khurappā*	*khurappā*	a kind of arrow.
Pr. 122.	*bhadra*		*bhadda, bhadra*	*bhadda*	good.
Br. 145, 198.	*tatkāla*		*takkāla*	*takkāla*	that time.
Br. 86, 98. Pr. 10, 21.	*sahasra*		*sahassa*	*sahassa*	a thousand.
Br. 121.	*vaktra*		*vatta*	*vakka*	mouth.
Pr. 140.	*vakra*		*vaṅka*	*vakka*	crooked.
Pr. 14.	*chakra*		*chakka*	*chakka*	wheel.
Br. 20, 120, 198, 245. Pr. 16.	*chakravartti*		*cakkavatti*	*chakkavaṭṭi, chakkavatti*	emperor.
Br. 198. Dham. 59.	*srotas*		*sota*	*sota, sotta*	stream.
Br. 5, 71, 293. Cl. 52. Bur. & Las. 165.	*patra, pātra*		*patta*	*patta*	leaf, vessel.
Br. 132.	*sāmagrī*		*sāmaggī*	*sāmagg*	implements.
Br. 87, 243. B. & Las. 85.	*rātra, rātri*		*ratta, ratti*	*ratta, ranti*	night.
Br. 67, 75.	*netra*		*netta*	*ṇetta*	eye.
B. & Las. 91. Br. 24, 247.	*mitra*		*mitta*	*mitta*	friend.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GATHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 35, 65, 75.	*mātra*		*matta*	*metta*	measure.
Br. 270.	*bhrukuṭī*			*bhiuḍī*	frown.
Br. 71, 182.	*bhrū*		*bhū*	*bhū*	eyebrow.
Br. 209.	*mantra*		*manta*	*manta*	advice.
Br. 221.	*yantra*		*yanta*	*yantra*	an engine.
Br. 20.	*abhra*		*abbha*	*abhbha*	cloud.
Br. 221, 267.	*sūtra*		*sutta*	*sutta*	thread.
Pr.21. Br.165, 167,174,297.	*putra*		*putta*	*putta*	son.
Pr. 65.	*jāgrat*		*jāgaram*	*jagganta*	waking.
Pr. 45.	*prāghuṇasya*		*pāhuṇassa*	*pāhuṇassa*	guest (gen. sing.)
Br. 156, 279.	*aśru*		*assu*	*asu*	a tear.
Br. 26. Cl. 51.	*vyāghrasya*		*vyagghassa*	*vaghghassa*	tiger (gen. s.)
Br. 267.	*krodha*		*kodha*	*kodha*	anger.
Br. 113, 126.	*vikrama*		*vikkama*	*vikkama*	valour.
Br. 67,88,113.	*parākrama*		*parakkama*	*parakkamma*, *parakkama*	valour.
Br. 55, 113.	*vibhrama*		*vibbhama*	*vibbhama*	flurry.
B. & Las. 166.	*nigraha*		*niggaha*	*niggaha*	control.
Br. 64.	*pariśrama*		*parissama*	*parissama*	toil.
Br.21,113,276	*miśra*		*missa*	*missa*	mixed.
Br. 278.	*viśrāma*		*vissama*	*vissāma*	rest.
Br. 94.	*grāma*		*gāma*	*gāma*	village.
Br.279.Dh.44.	*prāṇa*		*pāṇa*	*pāṇa*	life.
Br. 294.	*adri*		*addi*	*addi*	a mountain.
Br. 189, 202, 237, 290.	*samudra*		*samudda*	*samudda*	the ocean.
Br. 220, 223, 267.	*nidrā*		*niddā*	*ṇiddā*	sleep.
Br. 165.	*daridra*		*dalidda*	*daridda*, *dalidda*	poor.
Br. 297.	*Rudra*		*Rudda*	*Rudda*	Rudra.
Br. 142.	*mudrā*		*muddā*	*muddā*	a seal.
Dham 24. Var. iii. 3.	*priyam*		*piyam*		dear.
Br. 48. Pr. 13, 46, 119. Clough, 26.	*agni*		*aggi*, *aggini*, *gini*	*aggi*	fire.
Br. 218.	*budhna*			*buddha*	bottom.
Dham. 25. Var. iii. 2.	*nagna*		*nagga*	*ṇagga*	naked.
Br.82,126,130	*bhagna*		*bhagga*	*bhagga*	broken.
Br. 137.	*vijnāna*		*viññāṇa*	*viṇṇāṇa*	knowledge.
Br. 293.	*jnāna*		*ñāṇa*	*jāṇa*	
Br. 227.	*ājnā*		*āṇā*, *āññā*	*aṇṇā*	command.
Br.168,176. Sś. ind. 255.	*snushā*		*sunisā*, *suṇhā*	*suṇā*, *susā*, *soṇhā*	daughter-in-law.
Br. 281.	*patnīnām*		*patānīnam*	*padīṇam*	of wives.
B. & Las. 166.	*jnātam*		*ñātam*	*ṇātam*	known.
Br. 35,80,145.	*kārya*		*kāriya*	*kajja*	work.
Bur. 58, 157. Pr. 46.	*rājya*		*rajja*	*rajja*	kingdom.
Dh. 44, Cl. 10.	*vidyā*,		*vijjā*,	*vijjā*	knowledge.
Br. 86, 202.	*avidyā*		*avijjā*	*avijjā*	ignorance.
Dham. 62.	*madhya*		*majjha*	*majjha*	middle.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 33.	*dhyānam*		*jhānam*	*jhānam*	contemplation
Br. 262, 264. Pr. 137.	*vidyādhara*			*vijjāhara*	a sort of deity.
Mahāv. 182. Br. 50. Lv. 204.	*vidyut*	*vidyu*	*vijju, vijjutā*	*vijju, vijjulī*	lightning.
Br. 136.	*vaidyatva*		*vejjatta*	*vejjattaṇa*	profession of a physician.
Br. 131, 269. Pr. 32, 55, 114, 134, 144 Dham. 58.	*adya*		*ajja*	*ajja*	to-day.
Br. 125. Pr. 32.	*udyāna*		*uyyāna*	*ujjāna*	a garden.
Br. 147, 262.	*niravadya*		*niravajja*	*ṇiravajja*	blameless.
Br. 147.	*vādyat* / *vādyamāna*		*vajjamāna*	*vajjanta*	sounding.
	udbhidyamāna		*ubbhijjamāna*	*ubbhijjanta*	being split.
	nibadhyamāna		*nibajjhamāna*	*ṇivajhjhanta*	being stopped
Br. 58, 169, 181, 198.	*Vindhya*		*Viñjha*	*Vinjha*	Vindhya mountains.
Clough, 37.	*bandhyā*		*vañjhā*	*vanjhā*[114]	barren woman.
Br. 226.	*bandhyībhūta*			*vanjhjhībhūda*	become barren.
Br. 245.	*adhyavasya*			*ajhjhavasia*	having striven
Br. 144. 150.	*Ayodhyā*			*Aojjhā*	Ayodhyā.
Br. 135.	*sandhyā*		*sanjhā*	*sanjhā*	evening.
Kam. 3. Var. ii. viii. 25, etc. Br. 185 ff.	*upādhyāya*		*upajjhāya* / *upajjha*	*uvajjhāa* / *uajjhāa, ojhāa*	religious teacher.
Br. 69.	*nidhyāyantī*			*ṇijjhāantī*	meditating.
Br. 121.	*aparādhyati*		*aparajjhati*	*aparajjhaï*	he offends.
Br. 20, 105.	*sādhvasa*			*sajjhasa*	fear.
Br. 168, 180, 216 f.	*yuddha*		*yujjha*	*jujjha*	battle.
Br. 105.	*yujyate*		*yujjati*	*jujjadi*	it is proper.
Br.	*pratyūsha*		*pachchūsa*	*pachchūsa*	morning.
Br. 71.	*pāṇḍitya*		*paṇḍichcha*	*paṇḍichcha*	learning.
Dham. 3, 24. Var. iii. 27.	*pretya*		*pechcha*		after death.
Br. 20, 100, 182	*satya*		*sachcha*	*sachcha*	true.
B. & Las. 167.	*kṛitya*		*kichcha*	*kichcha*	duty.
Br. 181, 198, 278, 291.	*nitya*		*nichcha*	*nichcha*	continual.
Br. 98, 147.	*rathyā*		*rachchhā*	*rachchhā*, *ratthā*	road.
Var. i. 15, 28. iii. 41.	*vṛiśchika*		*vichchhika*	*vichchua*, *vinchua*	scorpion.
Dham. 55, 74. Br. 6, 22.	*paśchāt*		*pachchhā*	*pachchhā*	after.
Br. 287.	*paśchima*		*pachchima*	*pachchhima*	west.
Br. 6, 53. Var. iii. 18.	*āścharya*		*achchhera*	*achchhera* / *achcharia*	wonderful.
Br. 242. Vikr. 9.	*āścharya*		*achchhariya*	*achcharīa* / *achchharia*	wonderful.

[114] See above, p. 17, note 18.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GÂTHÂ.	PÂLI.	PRÂKRIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 87.	*niśchita*		*nichchhita*	*nichchhida*	ascertained.
Br. 218.	*apsarasaḥ*		*achchharā*	*achchharāūṁ*	nymphs.
Br. 202.	*apsarobhiḥ*		*achchharāhi*	*achchharāhiṁ*	by nymphs.
Br. 43, 64, 144. Pr. 47, 113.	*asti, astu*		*atthi, atthu*	*atthi, atthu*	is; let there be.
Pr. 20, 47.	*nāsti*		*n'atthi*	*ṇātthi*	is not.
Br. 122.	*vastuni*		*vatthuni*	*vatthuṇi*	thing (loc.).
Br. 154.	*avastambha*			*avaṭṭhamha*	stoppage.
Br. 154, 191.	*vistareṇa*		*vitthārena*	*vitthareṇa*	diffusion (instr.).
Br. 238, 243.	*vistaranti*		*vittharanti*	*vittharanti*	they spread.
Pr. 19.	*mastakāni*		*matthakāni*	*matthaāïṁ*	heads.
Br. 76, 238. Pr. 84.	*stana*		*thana*	*thaṇa*	breast.
Br. 49, 76.	*stanita*		*thanita*	*thaṇida*	sounded.
Dham. 65. Br. 158. Pr. 26, 36, 110.	*hasta*		*hattha*	*hattha*	hand.
Clough, 29. Br. 266.	*hasti*		*hatthi*	*hatthi*	elephant.
Pr. 12. Br. 278.	*sthala*		*thala*	*thala*	ground.
Dham. 55. Br. 71, 56, 278, 294.	*sthāna*		*ṭhāna*	*ṭhāṇa*	place.
Br. 164.	*susthāna*			*suṭṭāna*	a good place.
Br. 131.	*sthānastha*		*ṭhānaṭṭha*	*ṭhānattha*	standing in the place.
Br. 220.	*adhishṭhāna*		*adhiṭṭhāna*	*ahiṭhṭhāna*	support
Br. 164, 178. 220.	*sthita*		*ṭhita*	*ṭhida, thida, ṭida*	standing.
Br. 157.	*prasthita*		*paṭṭhita*	*patthida*	proceeded.
Br. 238.	*prasthāna*		*paṭṭhāna*	*ppaṭhṭhāṇa*	departure.
Br. 97.	*anushṭhita*		*anuṭṭhita*	*aṇuṭhṭhida*	practised.
Br. 209, 263.	*adhishṭhita*		*adhiṭṭhita*	*ahiṭṭia* *adhiṭhida*	governed.
Br. 199.	*upasthita*		*upaṭṭhita*	*uvaṭhṭhida*	arrived.
Dham. 27. Var. iii. 11.	*asthi*		*aṭṭhi*	*aṭṭhi*	a bone.
Br. 220.	*avasthā*		*avaṭṭhā*	*avatthā*	condition.
Br. 293.	*sthira*		*thira*	*thira*	firm.
Br. 154.	*susthita*		*suṭṭhita*	*sutthida*	well placed.
Br. 217, 218.	*saṁsthita*		*saṇṭhita*	*saṇṭhia*	placed.
	utthita		*uṭṭhita*	*uḍida*	risen.
Br. 198, 268, 296.	*Agastya*			*Agatthi*	name of a ṛishi.
Br. 52.	*Pulastya*			*Pulattha*	a proper name.
Var. i. 20. iii. 20.	*pustaka*		*potthaka*	*potthaa*	book.
Br. 236.	*prastara*			*patthara*	a stone.
Dham. 9. Var. iii. 27. Br. 96.	*mṛityu*		*machchu*	*machcha* (mortal)	death.
Br. 112, 150, 153, 310. Pr. 35. Dham. 50.	*vatsa*		*vachchha*	*vachchha*	a child.
Sś. 249 (index)	*vatsala*			*vachchhala*	affectionate.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 35.	*vātsalya*			*vachchhattaṇa*	affection.
Dh.28.Br.195.	*matsya*[115]		*machchha*	*machchha*	a fish.
Br. 228.	*udgāraiḥ*		*uggārehi*	*uggārehiṁ*	vomitings.
Br. 182.	*udghāṭana*		*ugghaṭana*	*ugghaṭṭaṇa*	opening.
Br. 125. Sś. 236.	*grīshma*		*gimha*	*gimha*	hot season.
Dham. 41.	*tushṇīm*		*tuṇhī*	*tuṇhīm*	silent.
Br. 48. Bur. & Las. 166.	*ushmā*		*umhā*,[116] *usmā*, *usumā*	*umhā*	heat.
Dham. 59, 61.	*tṛishṇā*		*taṇhā*, *tasinā*	*taṇhā*	thirst.
Br. 125, 135.	*ushṇa*,		*uṇha*	*uṇha*, *uṇṇa*	hot.
Sś. 233.	*anushṇa*			*aṇunha*	not hot.
Dham. 16. Br. 141.	*kṛishṇa*		*kaṇha*	*kaṇha*,[117] *kisaṇa*, *kasaṇa*	black.
Br. 67, 125.	*pakshmala*		*pakhuma*, *pamha* (eyelash).	*pamhala*	with long eyelashes, or filaments.
Pr. 137.	*vismaya*		*vimhaya*	*vimhaa*	astonishment.
Pr. 47, 124.	*jyotsnā*		*juṇhā*	*joṇhā*	light.
Sś. 238.	*jyautsnā*			*jauṇha*	lustrous.
Br. 231, 245.	*khaḍga*		*khagga*	*khagga*	sword.
Pr. 33, 37, 46.	*jalpa*		*jappa*	*jappa*	chatter.
Br. 265, 278.	*kalpa*		*kappa*	*kappa*	wish.
Br. 265.	*analpa*		*anappa*	*aṇappa*	not little.
Br. 158, 167.	*valkala*		*vakkhala*	*vakkala*	bark.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛi. 54. Dh.71	*pushkara*		*pokkhara*	*pokkhara*	pond.
Br. 234.	*pushkala*			*pukkala*	excellent, much.
Mṛich. 18, 21.	*śushka*		*sukkha*	*sukkha*, *śukkha*	dry.
Br. 54, 80.	*dushkara*		*dukkara*	*dukkara*	difficult.
Br. 202.	*anugraha*		*anuggaha*	*aṇuggaha*	kindness.
Br. 34, 82.	*pāṇigrahaṇa*		*pāṇiggahaṇa*	*paṇiggahaṇa*	hand-taking, marriage.
Br. 246.	*hastagrāha*		*hatthaggāha*	*hatthaggaha*	hand-taking.
Br. 36.	*nāmagrahaṇa*		*nāmaggahaṇa*	*ṇāmaggahaṇa*	name-taking.
Br. 20.	*S'ankaraprasāda*			*Sankarappasāda*	S'ankaras' favour.
Br. 198.	*prabhāprasara*			*pabhāppasara*	diffusion of splendour.
Br. 10.	*pārśvaprasara*			*pāsappapsara*	diffusion of, or from, the side.
Dham. 29. Var. iii. 32.[118]	*aśmanmayam*		*amhamayam*	. . .	stony.
Br. 279.	*nishkaruṇa*		*nikkaruṇa*	*ṇikkaruṇa*	merciless.

[115] The form *machchha* is also given as correct Sanskrit in Wilson's Dictionary, as well as by Böhtlingk and Roth; but it may have been introduced from Prākṛit.

[116] Mr. Childers regards *umhā* as a doubtful Pāli form.

[117] See p. 15, note 17, above. *Kaṇha* means in Prākṛit the God Krishṇa.

[118] The rule here quoted strictly applies only to the mutation of *shma* and *sma*, and does not mention *śma*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 156, 281. Var. iii. 35,38. Lassen, 209.	*vāshpa*		*bappa*	*vāppha*, *vappha*, *vāha*	moisture.
Var. iii. 35. Br. 293. Dham. 10.	*pushpa*		*puppha*	*puppha*	flower.
Br. 285.	*nṛitya*			*ṇaṭṭa*	dancing.
Br.247.Ra.27.	*nṛitya*		*nachcha*	*ṇachcha*	dancing.
Br. 147.	*nṛityat*		*nachcham*, *nachchanto*	*ṇachchanta*	dancing (part.).
Br. 248.	*nartitum*		*nachchitum*	*nachchidum*	to dance.
Br. 242. Pr. 12, 38.	*sphurat*		*phuram*, *phuranta*	*phuranta*	throbbing.
Br. 209.	*visphurita*			*vipphuria*	quivered.
Br. 235.	*visphuranti*			*vipphuranti*	quiver.
Br.235. Pr.13.	*sphulinga*		*phulinga*	*pphulinga*	a spark.
Br. 242.	*saṁsphuṭita*			*sampphuḍida*	blossomed.
Br. 204.	*sphāra*			*phāra*	quivering.
Br. 218.	*āsphālya*			*āpphālia*	having touched.
Br. 202.	*sparśa*, *pariśparśa*		*phassa*	*phaṁsa*, *paripphaṁsa*	touch. touch.
Br. 310.	*parisyanda*			*paripphanda*	dropping.
Br. 245.	*utprerita*			*uppherida*	sent up.
Br. 262.	*parisphuranti*			*paripphuranti*	they quiver.
Pr. 10.	*sphaṭika*		*phaḷika*	*phaḍia*	crystal.
Br. 195, 268.	*skandha*		*khandha*	*khandha*	shoulder.
Var. iii. 14, 50. Mṛich.40.	*stambha*		*thambha*	*khambha*	a post.
Br. 153. Sś. 254.	*śvaśrū*		*sassu*	*sāsue*, *sāsū*	mother-in-law.
Br. 158.	*śvaśrūṇām*		*sassūnam*	*sāsūṇām*	of mothers-in-law.
Br. 156, 163, 303.	*śvaśurā*		*sasura*	*sasura*	father-in-law
Br. 142, 209, 292.	*pakva*		*pakka*	*pakka*, *pikka*	mature.
Br. 143, 263.	*jvālā*		*jālā*	*jālā*	flame.
Br. 235.	*prajvalanti*		*pajjalanti*	*pajjalanti*	they burn.
Pr. 119.	*prajvālaya*		*pajjālehi*	*pajjālehi*	burn (*causal imperative*).
Br. 48.	*jvālāli*			*jālāli*	?
Br. 213. 215.	*svāminī*		*sāminī*	*sāmiṇī*	mistress.
Br. 216.	*tvarita*		*turita*	*turia*	quick.
Pr. 48.	*tattva*			*tatta*	truth.
Br. 238.	*aśva*		*assa*	*assa*	horse.
Br. 147.	*svachha*			*sachchha*	clear.
Br. 6.	*dvidhā*		*dvidhā*, *dvedhā*	*dudhā*	in two ways.
Br. 168.	*jihvā*		*jivhā*	*jīhā*	tongue.
Br. 203.	*mālya*		*mālya*	*malla*	garland.
Pr. 48.	*puṇya*		*puñña*	*puṇṇa*	merit.
Br.200. Pr.45.	*śūnya*		*suñña*	*suṇa*, *suṇṇa*	empty.
Bur. & Lass. 166.	*araṇya*		*arañña*	*araṇṇa*	forest.
Clough, 36. Var. x. 10.	*kanyā*		*kaññā*	*kañjā*	a girl.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 247.	*svādīkṛita*		*sādīkata*	*saddīkada*	sweetened.
Br. 230, 244.	*divya*		*dibba*	*divva*	divine.
Br. 22, 64, 144, 162.	*yogya*		*yogga*	*jogga*	fit.
Br. 72, 85, 100, 105.	*śishya*		*sissa*	*sissa*	disciple.
Br. 100, 120, 139, 229.	*anya, anyathā* *anyataḥ*		*añña* *aññathā*	*aṉṉa, aṉṉadhā* *aṉṉado*	other, otherwise, etc.
Br. 276.	*kāṁsya*		*kaṁsa*	*kaṁsa*	bell metal.
Br. 132. Rasav. 17.	*palyanka* *paryanka*		*pallanka* *pariyanka*	*pallanka*	bed.
Br. 155.	*śalya*		*salla*	*salla*	dart.
Br. 68, 76, 246.	*tiryak*		*tiriyaṁ*	*tirichchha*	oblique.
Pr. 65. Dham. 6, 56.	*supta, gupta*		*sutta, gutta*	*sutta, gutta*	asleep, protected.
Pr. 21, 46, 114.	*prāpta*		*patta*	*patta*	obtained.
Br. 279.	*vidhvaṁsana*		*viddhaṁsana*	*vidhdhaṁsaṉa*	destruction.
Br. 198, 259.	*vilupta*		*vilutta*	*vilutta*	disappeared.
Br. 240.	*vilipta*		*vilitta*	*vilidda*	smeared.
Dham. 54.	*tapta*		*tatta*	*tatta*	burnt.
Br. 218, 245.	*kshipta*		*khitta*	*khitta*	thrown.
Clough, 39.	*tṛipti*		*titti*	*titti*	satisfaction.
Br. 76, 154, 198	*samutpatti* *utpanna*		*samuppatti* *uppanna*	*samuppatti* *uppaṉṉa*	birth. born.
Br. 243.	*samutposhita*		*samupposita*	*samupposida*	cherished.
Br. 217.	*utkshipya*		*ukkhippa*	*ujjhia*	having thrown upwards.
Br. 228.	*janma*			*jamma*	birth.
Br. 236.	*pippala*		*pipphala*	*pīpala*	ficus Indica.
Br. 198.	*sikta*		*sitta*	*sitta*	sprinkled.
Br. 227.	*vaktukāma*		*vattukāma*	*vattukāma*	wishing to speak.
Br. 113, 120.	*punarukti*		*punarutti*	*puṉarutti*	repetition.
Dham. 54.	*bhukta*		*bhutta*	*bhutta*	eaten.
Var. iii. 1.	*bhakta*		*bhatta*	*bhatta*	rice boiled or in husk.
Br. 195, 227, 264, 298.	*muktā* *mauktika*		*muttā*	*motā, muttā* *mottia*	pearl.
Clough, 39. Var. iii. 1.	*yukti* *mukti*		*yutti* *mutti*	*jutti* *mutti*	propriety. redemption.
Pr. 35, 91. Br. 10, 24, 168, 170, 195, 231.	*mukta*		*mutta*	*mukka*	freed.
Br. 35, 98, 141.	*yukta*		*yutta*	*jutta*	fit.
Br. 67, 204.	*rakta*		*ratta*	*ratta*	red, blood.
Br. 75.	*sakta*		*satta*	*satta*	attached.
Mṛichh. 120. Var. iii. 29.	*kshetra*		*khetta*	*khetta*	field.
Br. 87.	*abhiyoktum*		*abhiyuñjitum*	*abhijujjidum*	to accuse.
Br. 76, 238, 242, 259, 294. Pr. 45.	*akshi*		*achchhi, akkhi*	*achchhi*	eye.
Br. 307.	*akshi*			*akkhi*	eye.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 238, 244, 259.	*vakshaḥsthala*			*vachchha-tthala*	breast.
Br. 199, 134, 294. Pr. 11, 41	*Lakshmī*		*Lakkhī*	*Lachhī, Lachchhī*	goddess of fortune.
Br. 113.	*yashṭi*		*yaṭṭhi, laṭṭhi*	*lachchhi*	a club.
Br. 76, 243.	*vikshobha*		*vikkhobha*	*vichchhoha*	agitation.
Br. 49, 93. Pr. 10, 35.	*prekshasva*		*pekkhassa, pekkha*	*pekkha*	look (thou).
Br. 68, Pr. 21.	*prekshasva*			*pechchha*	look (thou).
Br. 220.	*prekshya*		*pekkhiya*	*vekkhia*	having looked
Br. 48, 198, 226.	*prakshālana*		*pakkhālana*	*pakkhālaṇa*	washing.
Pr. 35, 124.	*prakshālitam*		*pakkhālitam*	*pachchāliam*	washed.
Br. 139.	*avakshipāmi*		*okkhipāmi*	*avakkhivāmi*	I distract.
Br. 202, 221, 250.	*ṛiksha*		*ikka, achchha*	*rikkha*	a bear.
Pr. 19.	*nikshipyante*		*nikhipīyanti*	*ṇikhkhipyanti*	are thrown
Br. 92.	*lakshya*			*lakkha*	a mark. [out.
Br. 67, 77, 86 Cl. 51. Pr. 46	*kshatriya*		*khattiya*	*khattia*	a kshatriya.
Br. 199.	*laksha*		*lakkha*	*lakkha*	100,000.
Br. 48, 69, 71. Pr. 84.	*khaṇa*		*khaṇa, chhana*	*khaṇa*	a moment, festival.
Clough. 38.	*kshamā*		*khamā*	*khamā*	pardon.
Bur. & Lass. 166. Br. 112.	*lakshaṇa*		*lakkhaṇa*	*lakkhaṇa*	a mark.
Br. 180.	*kshīṇa*		*khīṇa*	*khīṇa*	decayed.
Br. 86, 141, 266.	*paksha*		*pakkha*	*pakkha*	side, wing.
Br. 20, 52. Pr. 19.	*rākshasa*		*rakkhasa*	*rakkhasa*	a Rākshasa.
Br. 52.	*rakshā*		*rakkhā*	*rakkhā*	deliverance.
Pr. 19.	*rakshitvā*		*rakkhitvā*	*rakkhia*	having delivered.
Pr. 12, 84.	*dakshiṇa*		*dakkhiṇa*	*dakkhiṇa*	south.
Br. 249.	*dakshiṇa*		*dakkhiṇa*	*dāhiṇa*	right (side).
Br. 198.	*sākshin*		*sakkhī*	*sakkhi*	witness.
Br. 290.	*kshīra*		*khīra*	*khīra*	milk.
Br. 221.	*kshauma*		*khoma*	*khoma*	of linen.
Br. 121.	*akshara*		*akkhara*	*akkhara*	letter.
Br. 246, 248.	*kaksha*		*kaccha*	*kakkha*	side.
Br. 215.	*chakshushaḥ*		*chakkhuno*	*chakkhuṇo*	of the eye.
Br. 103, 165 f.	*śikshita*		*sikkhita*	*sikkhida*	learnt.
Br. 75.	*vikshepa*		*vikkhepa*	*vikkheva*	perplexity.
Bur. & Lass. 167.	*moksha*		*mokkha*	*mokkha*	deliverance.
Dham. 46.	*kshema*		*khema*	*khema*	prosperity.
Dham. 23.	*antarikshe*		*antalikkhe*		atmosphere.
Br. 7, 179, 234 245. Pr. 34, 90	*śabda*		*sadda*	*sadda*	sound.
Br. 66, 121, 266. Pr. 10, 35, 41.	*mugdha*		*muddha*	*muddha*	bewildered.
Br. 76, 194. Pr. 10, 41.	*dugdha*		*duddha*	*duddha*	milk.
Br. 290.	*dugdha*		*duddha*	*duda*	milk.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 10. Br. 72, 266.	*snigdha*		*siniddha*	*siṇiddha*	affectionate.
Pr. 36.	*vidagdha*			*vidaddha*	clever.
Br. 20.	*labdha*		*laddha*	*laddha*	obtained.
Br. 131.	*lubdha*		*luddha*	*luddha*	covetous.
Br. 67, 226, 278, 287. Pr. 134.	*paryanta*		*pariyanta*	*peranta*	limit.
Br. 176.	*prānta*		*pānta*	*peranta*	vicinity.
Var. i. 8.	*mayūra*		*mayūra, mora*	*maūra mora*	peacock.
Var. i. 7.	*lavaṇa*		*lavana, lona*	*loṇa*	salt.
Mṛichh. 120.	*vīja*		*bīja*	*vīa*	seed.
Mṛichh. 77.	*vaṇik*		*vāṇija*	*bāṇia, vāṇia*	merchant.
Mṛichh. 78.	*kāyastha*		*kāyaṭṭha*	*kāathaa*	kāyasth.
Mṛich. 296, 151. Lass. 172, 218.	*devālaya devakula*		*devālaya*	*devala*	temple.
Var. iv. 1.	*rājakula*		*rājakula*	*rāaūla, rāula*	royal race.
Mṛichh. 30, 38 f.	*dyūtakara*		*jūtakara*	*jūdiara jūdiaru jūdiala*	gambler.
	snāna		*nahāna sināna*	*ṇhāna*	bathing.
Var. iii. 33.	*vahni*			*vaṇhi*	fire.
Br. 289.	*Vishṇu*			*Viṇhu*	Vishṇu.
	ślakshṇa		*saṇha*	*saṁha*	gentle.
	tīkshṇa		*tikhiṇa, tiṇha*	*tikkha, tiṁha*	sharp.
Mṛichh. 6.	*daridratā*		*daliddatā*	*daliddadā*	poverty.
Var. v. 24.	*haridrā*		*haliddā*	*haladdā, haladdī*	turmeric.
Var. iii. 25.	*gartta*			*gaḍḍa*	hole
Var. iv. 31.	*malina*		*malina*	*maliṇa, maïla*	dirty.
Var. iii. 30.	*makshikā*		*makkhikā*	*machchhiā*	a fly.
Var iv. 33.	*duhitā*		*duhitā*	*dhūdā*	daughter.
	dhīdā		*dhītā*	*dhīā*	maiden.
	dhanavat		*dhanavā*	*dhaṇāla*	wealthy.
Var. iv. 25.	*śabdavat*			*saddāla*	sounding.
	mālāvat			*mālāilla*	having a garland.
Var. iii. 17, 19. Clough, 19.	*sūrya*		*suriya*	*sujja, sūra*	sun.
Var. iii. 12.	*mastaka*[119]		*matthaka*	*matthaa*	head.
Mṛichh. 18.	*samasta*		*samattha*	*samattha*	all.
	stuti		*thuti*	*thuī*	praise.
Br. 195, 264.	*śukti*		*sutti, sippī*	*sippi*	shell.
Br. 259, 270,	*lalāṭa*		*lalāṭa, nalāṭa* (fem.)	*lalāḍa, ṇiḍola*	forehead.
Br. 66.	*Draviḍa*		*Ḍamila*	*Damiḍa*	the Draviḍa country.
Br. 242. Lv. 372.	*kamalinī pushkariṇī*	*paḍinī*[120]	*puṇḍarīkinī*	*puḍaïṇī*	lotus-pond.

[119] This word has been repeated by mistake. See p. 82.

[120] According to another reading, *pushkariṇī*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 245.	*peśalā* (*vyaktā*?[121])		*vyattā*	*veaṭṭī*	clever.
Lalitavista. 355 f., and n. 2, p. 402.	*adambhī*, *anāścharyavān vā*	*achchhambhī*	*achchhambhī* [122]		without arrogance, or without wonder [according to the commentary.] Undaunted. [In Pāli].
B. & Las. 99.	*purushaḥ*		*puriso*	*puriso*	man.
B. & Las. 86.	*avakāśaḥ*		*okāso*	*okāso*	leisure.
B. & Las. 166.	*manushyaḥ*		*manusso*	*manusso*	man.
Lv. 153.	*avalambhate*	*olambate*	*olambati*		he hangs.
Lv. 245.	*ālambayata*, *avalambayata*?	*olambayātha*			hang.
Lv. 272.	*ābhāsitā*, *avabhāsitā*?	*obhāsitā*	*obhāsitā*		illuminated.
Lv. 270.	*prasvāpitāḥ* *avasvāpitāḥ*?	*osvāpitā*			put to sleep.
Lv. 292.	*prasvāpanam* *avasvāpanam*?	*osvāpanam*			putting to sleep.
Lv. 292, 456.	*praṇamantaḥ* *avanamantaḥ*?	*onamanta*	*onamanto*		bowing down.
Lv. 300, 338.	*avaruhya*	*oruhitvā* *oruhyā*	*oruhitvā* *oruyha*		having descended.
Pr.	*sambhāvayāmi*		*sambhāvemi*	*sambhāvemi*	I conjecture.
Br. 58.	*sampādayāmaḥ*		*sampādema*	*sampādemha*	we fulfil.
Pr. 44.	*āropayasi*		*āropesi*	*āroveśi*	thou stretchest.
Pr. 34.	*nirūpayāmaḥ*			*nirūvemha*	we fix.
Pr. 126.	*āliṅgayāmi*		*āliṅgayāma*, *āliṅgema*	*āliṅgemi*	I embrace.
Br. 221.	*sajjayata*, *ānayata*		*sajjetha* *ānetha*	*sajjeha* *ānedha*	prepare ye. bring ye.
Br. 112.	*dhārayasi*		*dhārayasi* *dhāresi*	*dhāresi*	thou upholdest.
Lv. 324.	*dhārayanti*	*dhārenti*	*dhārayanti* *dhārenti*	*dharenti*	they hold.
Br. 20, 88.	*mantrayathaḥ*		*mantetha*	*mantedha*	ye advise.
Br. 121. Lv. 157.	*niyamanti* *vineshyati*	*vinenti*	*vinenti*	*ṇimenti*	they restrain. he, they, lead, or will lead.
Br. 221.	*uttambhayata*			*uttambheha*	support ye.
Lv. 352.	*darśayanti*	*darśenti*	*dassenti*		they show.
Br. 36.	*śithilayāmi*			*siḍhilemi*	I slacken.
Lv. 148.	*nivartayati*	*nivarteti*	*nivatteti*		he stops.
Lv. 84, 157, 180, 204.	*āyānti*	*enti*	*enti*		they come.
	upayanti	*upenti*	*upenti*		they approach.
Lv. 14, 186, 189	*chodayanti*	*chodenti*	*chodenti*		they impel.
Lv. 214.	*sthāpaya*	*sthape*, *sthapehi*	*ṭhapehi*		place thou.

[121] One of the senses assigned in Wilson's Dictionary to *vyakta* is "wise, learned."

[122] Mr. Childers thinks this word is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *astambhin*, "not paralysed with fear." The word "*achambhā* is well known in Hindī, where it means "astonishment."

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Lv. 223.	*pūraya*	*pūrehi*	*pūrehi*		fill thou.
Lv. 90.	*yashṭidhā-rakān*	*ishṭikān*			mace-bearers.
Lv. 158, 181.	*na api*	*nāpi*	*nāpi*		not even.
Lv. 231, 288.	*tathā'pi*	*tathāpi*	*tathāpi*		nevertheless.
Lv. 421.	*punar api*	*punopi*	*puna pi* / *puno pi*		again, so.
Pr. 19, 39. Pr. 89. Br. 94.	*kim api*		*kim pi*	*kiṁ pi, kim vi* / *kimpi*	anything.
Pr. 19, 151.	*kim iti*		*kin ti*	*kiṁ ti*	what, so.
Pr. 84.	*kasminn api*		*kasmiṁ pi*	*kassiṁ pi*	in any.
Pr. 47. Lv. 227, 304.	*tvaṃ api*	*tubhyampi* / *vayampi*	*tvam pi*	*tumaṁ vi*	thou, we, so.
Pr. ? Lv. 387.	*ayam iti*	*ahaṁ ti*	*aham pi*	*imotti*	this, I, so.
Br. 198.	*mitratva*			*mitrattaṇa*	friendship.
Br. 79.	*bālatva*			*bālattaṇa*	childhood.
Lv. 231, 302.	*vidvadbhiḥ*	*vidubhiḥ*	*vidūhi*		by learned men.
Br. 87.	*manasā*		*manasā,* / *manena*	*maṇeṇa*	with the mind
Br. 246, 270.	*śirasā*		*sirasā, sirena*	*sireṇa*	with the head
Lv. 148, 204.	*nabhasi*	*nabhe*	*nabhasi,* / *nabhe*		in the heaven

NOTE.—For the greater part of the words in Table II. pp. 27–29 above, Mr. Childers knows no Pāli equivalents, nor for the following additional words which I have noted in the Bālarāmāyana and Prasannarāghava, viz., *kadraṇo* "monkeys" (Br. 238), *nilukkana* "abode," *nilukkanta* "issued forth" (Br. 266 f.), *vellira* "moving" (Br. 203), *halahavallāvā* "whispers" (Br. 150), *visaṭṭa*, *visaṭṭanta*, *visaṭṭanti* "clear," "blown," or "blowing (as a flower)," and "they issue forth," (Br.). I find in the Br. 221, a verb *ḍhosha*, rendered in the comm. by *vahata*, "carry ye," = the Hindī *ḍhonā*, "to carry a load," and in the Lalita Vistara 261, a noun *osa*, dew, = Hindī *os*, which has the same sense. These two words belong to Table II. p. 27, ff.

Table No. IV.

The following Table of ordinals and numerals will show that in some cases the Pāli and Prākṛit words are identical; but that in most cases the Pāli words are nearer to the Sanskrit than the corresponding Prākṛit words are.

In the cases where the Prākṛit words are omitted, I have been unable to supply them.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 4. Mṛichh. 98. Lassen, 209.	*prathamaḥ*	*paṭhamo*	*paṭhumo, paḍhamo*	first.
Dham. 6. Mṛichh. 69.	*dvitīyaḥ*	*dutiyo*	*dudio*	second.
Dham. 8. Mṛichh. 69.	*tṛitīyah*	*tatiyo*	*taïo*	third.
Dham. 35, Bur. & Las. 90. Var. vi. 58.	*chatvāraḥ*	*chattāro*	*chattāro*	four.
Dham. 11. Var. i. 9. Mṛich. 69.	*chaturthaḥ*	*chatuttho*	*cha,uttho, cha,uṭṭho*	fourth.
Dham. 14. Mṛich. 70.	*panchamaḥ*	*panchamo*	*panchamo*	fifth.
Bur. & Las. 87. Las.	*shaṭ*	*cha*	*chhā*	six.
320. Dham. 16. Mṛi. 70.	*shashṭhaḥ*	*chhaṭṭho*	*chhaṭṭho*	sixth.
Dham. 18. Mṛichh. 71.	*saptamaḥ*	*sattamo*	*sattamo*	seventh.
Dham. 21. Mṛichh. 72.	*ashṭamaḥ*	*aṭṭhamo*	*aṭṭhamo*	eighth.
Dham. 23. Mṛich. 100	*navamaḥ*	*navamo*	*ṇavamo*	ninth.
Dham. 26. Lass. 320.	*daśamaḥ*	*dasamo*	*dasamo*	tenth.
Dham. 28. Var. ii. 14.	*ekādaśan*	*ekādasa*	*eāraha*	eleven.
Dham. 30. Var. ii. 14.	*dvādaśan*	*dvādasa, bārasa*	*vāraha*	twelve.
Dham. 32. Var. ii. 14.	*trayodaśan*	*terasa, telasa*	*teraha*	thirteen.
Dham. 76. Var. i. 9, and ii. 14.	*chaturdaśan*	*chatuddasa, chuddasa, choddasa*	*cha,uddaha*	fourteen.
Dham. 38. Var iii. 44.	*panchadaśan*	*pañcadasa, pannarasa*	*paṇṇaraho*	fifteen.
Dham. 39. Lass. 320.	*shoḍaśan*	*soḷasa*	*solaha (?)*	sixteen.
Dham. 42. Lass. 320.	*saptadaśan*	*sattarasa*	*sattaraha (?)*	seventeen.
Dham. 45. Lass. 320.	*ashṭādasan*	*aṭṭhārasa*	*aṭṭhāraha*	eighteen.
Dham. 48.	*ūnaviṁśati*	*ekūnavīsati*	. . .	nineteen.
Dham. 51. Lass. 320.	*viṁśati*	*vīsati*	*vīsa,i*	twenty.
Dham. 54, 76.	*ekaviṁśati*	*ekavīsati*	. . .	twenty-one.
Dham. 56, 76.	*dvāviṁsati*	*dvāvīsati, bāvīsati, dvāvīsaṁ*	. . .	twenty-two.
Dham. 59, 76.	*trayoviṁśati*	*tevīsati, tevīsā*	. . .	twenty-three.
Dham. 64.	*chaturviṁśati*	*chatuvīsati*	. . .	twenty-four.
Dham. 68.	*panchaviṁśati*	*panchavīsati*	. . .	twenty-five.
Dham. 75.	*shaḍviṁśati*	*chhabbīsati*	. . .	twenty-six.
Dham. 76.	*chatvāriṁśat*	*chattāḷisaṁ*	. . .	forty.

Table No. V.

Comparative list of particles and pronouns, etc., in Pāli and Prākṛit, with a few corresponding words in the Gāthā dialect.

REFERENCES.	SANSKṚIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 20, 149.	*atha*		*atha*	*aha*	now.
Cl. 74, Br. 282.	*athavā*		*athavā*	*adhavā*	or.
Br.48, ff. Cl.68.	*itaḥ*		*ito, ato*	*ido*	hence.
Br. 20. Cl. 69.	*iha*		*iha, idha*	*idha*	here.
Br. 35, 92, 121, 139, 157, 169, 178. Cl. 69. Pr. 43.	*atra*		*ettha*	*ettha*	here.
Pr. 35.	*atra*			*etta*	here.
Pr. 113, Cl. 68 f.	*atra*		*atra, attha*	*attha*	here.
Pr. 19.	*atra*			*atto*	here.
Br. 156. Pr. 119. Clough 69.	*yatra*		*yatra, yattha*	*jattha*	where.
Br. 96, 149, 238.	*tatra*		*tatra, tattha*	*tattha*	there.
Br. 98, 149. Lv. 153, 191 f. Cl. 69.	*tatra*	*tahi*	*tahim̃, taham*	*tahim̃*	there.
Br. 246.	*tadā*			*tahim̃*	then.
Br. 180, 213, 145, 148, 200, 210, 235. Lv. 56, 61, 464.	*yathā*	*jihmi, jihma, jaha*	*yathā*	*jahā, jahă, jaham̃, jadhā*	as.
Br. 150.	*yat*		*yam̃*	*jadhā*	that.
Br. 181, 210, 223.	*tathā*		*tathā*	*tahă*	so.
Br. 148, 278.	*tathā*			*tadhā*	so.
Br. 86, 122.	*yataḥ*		*yato*	*jado*	whence.
Br. 297.	*yataḥ*			*jatto*	whence.
Pr. 47.	*tataḥ*		*tato*	*tado*	thence.
Br.88, 148. Pr.20.	*yadi*		*yadi*	*jadi*	if.
Br. 70, 229. Pr. 17, 47.	*yadi*			*jaï*	if.
Br. 189.	*yadi*			*jahim̃*	if.
Br. 77.	*yathechchham*		[*yathicchitam̃* is used.]	*jahijjam*	as desired.
Br. 238.	*yathechchham*			*jahichchham*	as desired.
Br. 34, 97. Pr. 20, 34.	*katham*		*katham̃*	*kaham̃*	how ?
Br. 92, 154, 163, 167.	*katham*			*kadham*	how ?
Br. 77.	*katham*			*kīsa*	how ?
Br. 139, 169. Pr. 112.	*kva*	*kahim̃*(Lv. 262, 283.)	*kuhim̃, kuham*	*kahim̃*	where ?
Pr. 40. Cl. 69.	*kva*		*kva, kutra, kuttha*	*kaha*	where ?
Br. 86.	*kutaḥ*		*kuto*	*kudo*	whence ?
Br. 88.	*kim*		*kim̃*	*kī*	why ?
Br. 295. Cl. 52.	*katara*		*katara*	*kadara*	which ?
Br. 20.	*kati*		*kati*	*kadi*	how many ?
Br. 5, 181.	*tat*		*tam̃*	*tam*	that.
Br. 34, 36, 65, 73 f, 113, 276, Pr. 19.	*tat*		*tam̃*	*tā*	that, therefore.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 19, 47.	*tarhi*		*tadd* (*tarahi*)	*tā*	then.
Br. 35, 79, 182.	*yat*		*yam̃*	*jam*	what.
Cowell, xxviii. Br. 70. Pr. 44. 122. Lv. 190, 196.	*tvăm*[123]	*tuma*	*tvam, tuvam*	*tumam*	thou.
Pr. 41.	*tvām*		*tam, tavam, tvam, tuvam*	*tumam*	thee.
Pr. 38.	*tubhyam*		*tava, tuyham, tumham*	*tuha*	to thee.
Br. 120, 181. Br. 35, 113.	*tava* *te* (*tava*)	*ti*	*tava, tuyham, tumham*	*tuha, tumma, tumha, tujjha, te, de*	of thee.
Br. 56, 181, 224, 145, 165, 170, 177, 153.	*tvayā*		*tvayā* *tayā*	*tue, tumaĕ, tăĕ, tume, te, de, tīe*	by thee.
Pr. ? Pr. 124.	*tvayi*		*tayi*	*tumammi, tumhi, taī*	in thee.
Pr. 40. Lv. 173, 396.	*yūyam*	*yushme, yushmi*	*tumhe*	*tumhe, tujhe*	you.
Cowell, xxviii.	*yushmān*		*tumhākam, tumhe*	*tujjhe, tumhe, vo*	you (accus.)
	yushmābhiḥ		*tumhebhi, tumhehi*	*tujjhehim̃, tumhehim̃, tummehim̃*	by you.
	yushmat		*tumhebhi, tumhchi*	*tumhāhinto* *tumhāsunto*	from you.
	yushmākam		*tumhākam*	*vo, bhe, tuj-jhāṉam̃, tum-hāṉam̃*	of you.
	yushmāsu		*tumhesu*	*tujjhesu, tumhesu*	in you.
Br. 283. Pr. 41, 138.	*tasyāḥ*		*tissāya, tissā, tassā, tāya*	*tissă, tīe, tāē*	of her.
Pr. 134.	*tayā*		*tāya*	*tāē*	by her.
Pr. 45, 47.	*ayam*		*ayam*	*imo*	this (masc.)
Pr. 26, 47, 120, 125. Br. 36, 55, 66, 72, 100. Lv. 396.	*asya, imasya* (*vedic*)	*imasya*	*assa, imassa*	*imassa, se*	of this (masc.)
Pr. 120. Br. 35. Lv. 454.	*anena*	*ena*	*anena, imiṉā*	*imiṉā*	by this (masc.)
Pr. 38.	*anayā*		*imāya*	*imāë*	by this (fem.)
Br. 65, 67, 70.	*asmin*		*asmim̃, imasmim̃, imamhi*	*imassim̃*	in this (masc)
Pr. 13.	*eshām*		*esam̃, esānam̃, imesam̃, imesānam̃*	*imāṉam*	of these.
Pr. 36.	*ebhiḥ*		*ebhi, imebhi, ehi, imehi*	*imehim̃*	by these.
Pr. 134.	*kasyāḥ*			*kīe*	of whom ? (f.)

[123] A comparative statement of the first personal pronoun will be found further on in the text.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 35.	*idam*		*idam, imam*	*iṉam*	this (neuter).
Br. 5.	*etat*		*etam, etad*	*edam*	this.
Br. 50.	*ete*		*ete*	*ede*	these (masc.)
Br. 44 f.	*etāḥ*		*etā, etāyo*	*edāo*	these (fem.)
Br. 57.	*te*		*ne, te*	*de*	they.
Br. 35.	*etāvat*		inst. *ettāvatā*, "so far"	*edaha*	so much.
Br. 213.	*etāvat*		*etto* and *ettako* (adj.) "so much"	*ettia*	so much.
Pr. 19.	*iyanti*			*ettiāiṁ*	so much (pl. neuter).
Br. 29, 293.	*yena*		*yena*	*jeṉa*	by which or whom,
Br. 8.	*yasmin*		*yasmiṁ, yamhi*	*jassiṁ*	in which or whom.
Br. 87.	*yeshām*		*yesaṁ*	*jāṉam*	of whom.
Br. 56.	*teshām*		*tesam, tesānam* *nesam, nesānam*	*tāṉam*	of them.
Br. 55.	*sadṛiśa*		*sadisa, sādisa*	*sadisa*	like.
Br. 35, 113, 289. Pr. 12, 16, 44.	*sadṛiśa*		*sārisa*	*sarisa*	
Br. 65, 76, 80, 292. Pr. 41.	*sadṛiksha*		*sādikkha, sarikkha*	*sarichchha*	
Br. 35.	*īdṛiśa*		*īdisa*	*īdisa*	like this.
Pr. 43, 46.	*īdṛiśa*		*īrisa*	*īrĭsa*	
Pr. 16, 19, 48.	*īdṛiśa*		*edisa, erisa*	*erĭsa*	
Br. 53, 57, 164, 218.	*kīdṛiśa*		*kīdisa*	*kīdĭsa*	like what.
Br. 88. Pr. 113.	*kīdṛiśa*		*kīrisa*	*kīrisa, korisa*	like what?
Pr. 91.	*tādṛiśa*		*tādisa, tārisa*	*tārisa*	like that.
Pr. 112.	*anyādṛiśa*			*aṉṉārisa*	like another.
Br. 299.	*asmādṛiśam*		*amhādisa*	*amhārisa*	like us.
Br. 120. Clough, 70.	*idānim*		*dāni, idāni, etarahi*	*eṉhiṁ*	now.
Br. 77, 138. Pr. 25. Dham. 29.	*ātmānam* *ātmānam*		*attānam, ātumānaṁ*	*attāṉam* *appāṉam*	himself.
Karpūramanjarī, in Bālar. p. 5.	*ātmā*		*attā*	*appā*	
Br. 122.	*māhātmya*			*māhappa*	greatness.

Table No. VI.

The following Table exhibits a list of Pāli words, some of which retain unaltered the Sanskrit form, while others are modified, but sometimes less than in Prākṛit.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 31, 55, 58. Clough, 21. Var. v. 36.	*rājā*		*rājā*	*rāā*	king.
Dham. 12. and Var. i. 17.	*jihvā*		*jivhā*	*jīhā*	tongue.
Clough, 39. and Var. ii. 32.	*yashṭi*		*yaṭṭhi, laṭṭhi*	*laṭṭhi*	staff.
Dham. 40. Var. ii. 27. & Mṛich.	*sādhum*		*sādhum* / *sāhum*	*sāhūm*	good.
Dham. 51. and Var. v. 35.	*pitā*		*pitā*	*piā*	father (nom.)
Dham. 52. and Var. v. 34.	*pitaram*		*pitaram*	*piaram*	father (accus.)
Rasa. 15.	*pitrā*		*pitarā*	*piduṇā*	father (instr.)
Dham. 26, 52, 71. & Var. iii. 8.	*brāhmaṇaḥ*		*brāhmaṇo*	*vamhaṇo*	Brahman.
Dham. 72. & Var. i. 18.	*gambhīra*		*gambhīra* / *gabhīra*	*gahira*	deep.
Dham. 20, 24. & Var. iv. 5.	*jīvitam*		*jīvitam*	*jīvam, jīam*	life.
Dham. 27. Br. 242, 251.	*andhakāreṇa*		*andhakārena*	*andhaāreṇa*	darkness.
Dham. 28. Mṛichh. 43, 69.	*balīvardaḥ*		*balivaddo*	*baliddo, ba,illo*	ox.
Dham. 34. & Var. iii. 39.	*kārshāpaṇaḥ*		*kahāpaṇa*	*kahāvaṇo*	16 paṇas of cowries.
Dham. 44.	*samādhim*		*samādhim*[124]	. . .	meditation.
Dham. 46. and Var. iv. 15.	*yāvatā*		*yāvatā*	*jāva, jā*	as much.
	tāvatā		*tāvatā*	*tāo, tā*	so much.
Dham. 22, 68. Mṛichh. 11. Var. iv. 12.	*bhadram*		*bhadram,* / *bhaddam*	*bhaddam*	good.
Clough, 40. Br. 234, 267.	*śūkarī*		*sūkarī*	*sūarī*	a sow.
	śūkara		*sūkara*	*sūyara, sūara*	a boar.
Clough, 7. Var. ii. 27. v. 25, 27.	*madhu*		*madhu*	*mahu*	honey.
Dham. 36. Prabodha. 58. Pr. 38, 40.	*sukham*		*sukham*	*suham*	happiness.
Clough, 37. Var. ii. 27. Br. 156.	*sabhā*		*sabhā*	*sahā*	an assembly.
	gāthā		*gāthā*	*gāhā*	a verse.
Clough, 42. and Var. v. 32.	*mātā*		*mātā*	*māā*	mother (nom.)
	mātaram		*mātaram*	*māam*	mother (acc.)
Rasa. 22. Clou. 45. Var. ii. 27.	*mukham*		*mukham*	*muham*	face.

[124] I cannot say whether the Prākṛit form of this word is *samādhi* or *samāhi*, or any third form different from either.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Burn. & Lass. Var. ii. 2.	*lokaḥ*		*loko*	*loo*	world.
	gajaḥ		*gajo*	*gao*	elephant.
	rajatam		*rajatam*	*raadam*	silver.
Ditto, Var. i. 27.	*kṛitam*		*katam*	*kaam*	done.
Ditto, Var. iii. 58.	*trailokyam*		*telokkam*	*telloam*	the three worlds.
Ditto, Var. ii. 2.	*jīvam*		*jīvam*	*jīam*	life.
	vachanam		*vachanam*	*vaaṇam*	word.
Do., Var. ii. 2, 46.	*divasaḥ*		*divaso*	*divaho, diaho*	day.
Ditto, Var. i. 41.	*yauvanam*		*yobbanam*	*jovvanam*	youth.
Mahāvanso, p. xxvi. Mṛich. 44.	*samskṛitam*		*sakkatam*	*sakkadam*	Sanskrit.
Mahāvanso, 207 Var. i. 20.	*pustakam*		*potthakam*	*potthao*	book.
Rasa. 40. Pr. 97. Br. 143.	*bhaginī*		*bhaginī*	*vahiṇī, bahiṇī, bhaiṇī*	sister.
Mahāv. 250. Var iii. 26.	*gardabhaḥ*		*gadrabho*	*gaḍḍaho*	ass.
Rasa. 32. Var. i. 20.	*muktā*		*muttā*	*mottā*	pearl.
Rasa. 33. Mṛich. 16, 43, 44, 50. Br. 35, 221.	*dvāra*		*dvāra*	*duāraa, dūvāra, dūvāra*	door.
Br. 130, 284.	*śākhī*		*sākhī*	*sāhī*	a tree.
Br. 70.	*rekhā*		*rekhā*	*rehā*	a line.
Br. 113.	*sakhī*		*sakhī*	*sahī*	female friend
Br. 48, 76, 156, Pr. 36.	*śikhā*		*sikhā*	*sihā*	crest.
Br. 93, Pr. 10, 12.	*śikhara*		*sikhara*	*sihara*	summit.
Br. 73, 96, 156. Pr. 38.	*śekhara*		*sekhara*	*sehara*	crest.
Br. 52. Pr. 35, 38.	*śikhaṇḍa*		*sikhaṇḍa*	*sihaṇḍa*	peacock's tail
Pr. 12, 41.	*lekhā*		*lekhā*	*lehā*	a writing.
Pr. 36.	*nakha*		*nakha*	*ṇaha*	nail.
Pr. 36, Br. 6, 10, 92.	*likhita*		*likhita*	*lihida*	written.
Br. 221, 278.	*parikhā*		*parikhā*	*parihā*	ditch.
Br. 287.	*mekhalā*		*mekhalā*	*mehalā*	girdle.
Br. 215, 225.	*megha*		*megha*	*meha*	cloud.
Br. 50.	*sangha*		*saṅgha*	*saṁha*	assemblage.
Dham. 7, 66. Var. iii. 65. Mṛichh. 107.	*laghu*		*lahu*	*lahu*	light.
Br. 71, 199. Pr. 14.	*ratha*		*ratha*	*raha*	chariot.
Pr. 36.	*athavā*		*athavā*	*ahavā*	or.
Pr. 137, Br. 242, 297.	*mithuna*		*mithuna*	*mihuṇa*	pair.
Br. 308.	*Mithilā*		*Mithilā*	*Mihilā*	name of city.
Br. 298.	*atithi*		*atithi*	*adihi*	guest.
Br. 238.	*adhara*		*adhara*	*ahara*	lower lip.
Pr. 39, Br. 158. Br. 151, 153.	*vadhū*		*vadhū*	*vahū, vadhū*	wife.
Pr. 34, 39, Br. 70.	*madhura*		*madhura*	*mahura*	sweet.
Br. 244, Cl. 7, 51.	*madhu*		*madhu*	*mahu*	sweet.
Br. 10.	*vibudha*		*vibudha*	*vibuha*	wise man.
Br. 278.	*panchavidha*		*panchavidha*	*panchaviha*	fivefold.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKRIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 198, 221, 243.	*vividha*		*vividha*	*viviha*	various.
Br. 238.	*vidhura*		*vidhura*	*vihura*	agitated.
Br. 199.	*jaladhi*		*jaladhi*	*jalahi*	sea.
Br. 86, 203 f.	*rudhira*		*rudhira*	*ruhira*	blood.
Br. 250.	*dadhi*		*dadhi*	*dahi*	curds.
Br. 228.	*vadhira*		*badhira*	*bahira*	deaf.
Br. 289.	*mahīdhara*		*mahīdhara*	*mahīhara*	mountain.
Br. 167.	*ārādhaṇa*		*ārādhana*	*ārāhaṇa*	worship.
Br. 72, 292. Clough 7, 24.	*phala,* *saphala*		*phala,* *saphala*	*hala, sahala*	fruit, fruitful.
Pr. 137.	*rabhasa*			*rahasa*	speed.
Pr. 11.	*śobhante*		*sobhanti*	*sohanti*	they shine.
Pr. 36.	*abhilashanti*			*ahilasanti*	they desire.
Br. 123.	*labhate*		*labhati*	*lahaï*	he receives.
Br. 79, 156, 242, 259.	*vallabha*		*vallabha*	*vallaha*	beloved.
Br. 219.	*upalabdham*			*ualahium*	to understand.
Br. 73, 93, 297.	*vṛishabha*		*usabha*	*vusaha*	bull.
Br. 202, 218.	*kshobha*		*khobha*	*khoha*	shaking.
Br. 224.	*vibhinna*		*vibhinna*	*vihiṇṇa*	divided.
Br. 238.	*surabhi*		*surabhi*	*surahi*	fragrant.
Br. 276.	*dundabhi*		*dundubhi*	*dunduhi*	drum.
Br. 198.	*nābhi*		*nābhi*	*ṇāhi*	navel.
Br. 237.	*śaila*		*sela*	*sella*	mountain.
Br. 86, 145.	*vairi*		*veri*	*veri*	enemy.
Br. 221, 240.	*taila*		*tela*	*tella*	oil.
Br. 264.	*dāha*		*dāha, ḍāha*	*ḍāha*	burning.
Pr. 104.	*sūchī*		*sūchi*	*sūī*	needle.
Br. 243.	*sūchita*		*sūchita*	*sūida*	indicated.
Br. 217 f.	*chhurikā*		*chhurikā*	*chhuriā*	knife.
Br. 150, 155.	*hṛidaya*		*hadaya*	*hiaa*	heart.
Br. 238.	*pādayoḥ*		*pādesu*	*pāesu*	at the feet.
Br. 235.	*dhūma*		*dhūma*	*dhūsa*	smoke.
Br. 199.	*padātikasya*			*pāïkassa*	footman (gen.)
Br. 245, 251.	*mudgara*		*muggara*	*mogāra*	mallet.
Pr. 44.	*kubja*		*khujja*	*khujja*	bent.
Br. 125.	*śosha*		*sosa*	*sosa*	drying up.
Br. 50.	*ghosha*		*ghosa*	*ghosa*	noise.
Var. iii. 62. Lv. 228.	*mlāna, glāna*	*gilāna*	*milāta, gilāna*	*milāṇa*	withered, wearied.
Var. iii. 62. Lv. 269.	*klānta*	*kilānta*	*kilanta*	*kilānta*	wearied.
Var. iii, 62. Lv. 51, 60 f, 188.	*kleśa*	*kileśa*	*kilesa*	*kilesa*	trouble.
Dh. 50. Pr. 41. Br. 36, 122, 278.	*sneha*		*sneha, sineha*	*siṇeha*	affection.
Cl. 39. Pr. 12. Br. 129, 175 f.	*śrī*	*siri*	*sirī*	*sirī*	splendour.
Dham. 44.	*hrī*	*hiri*	*hirī*	*hirī*	shame.
Pr. 12. Var. iii. 62.	*harsha*			*harasa, harisa*	joy.
Pr. 113, 114, 238. Lalitavistara, 65, 235, 239, 399.	*svapna*	*supina*	*supina, soppa*	*siviṇa*	sleep.
Pr. 44, 48.	*mūrkha*			*murukha*	fool.
Pr. 35.	*vismṛita*			*visumarida*	forgotten.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 163, 278.	*smaraṇa*			*sumaraṇa*	recollection.
	smṛitvā		*sumariya*	*sumaria*	having recollected.
Br. 198.	*utkarsha*		*ukkamsa*	*ukkarisa*	eminence.
Br. 246.	*karshanti*		*kaḍḍhanti*	*karisanti*	they draw.
Br. 20, 126, 276.	*varsha*		*vassa*	*varisa*	rain.
Br. 210.	*varshitum*		*vassitum*	*varisidum*	to rain.
Br. 296.	*varshartuh*			*vāsāratto*	rainy season.
Br. 144. Lv. 198.	*bhāryā, nāryaḥ*	*nāriyā*	*bhariyā, nāriyā*	*bhāriā*	wife, of a woman.
Br. 310.	*S'atrughna*			*Sattuhaṇa*	proper name.
Cl. 8. Lv. 56, 92, 132, 181, 188.	*ratna*	*ratana*	*ratana*		gem.
Clough, 45, 51. Lv. 157.	*padma*	*paduma*	*paduma*		lotus.
Mṛichh. 30.	*gṛihāṇa*		*gaṇha*	*geṇha*	take thou.
Pr. 37, 87. Br. 236.	*parihṛitya*		*pariharitvā*	*pariharia*	having removed.
Pr. 134.	*angīkṛitya*			*angīkaria*	having assented.
Pr. 64.	*militvā*			*milia*	having met.
Br. 216. Pr. 84.	*samuttīrya, uttīrya*	*uttaritvā*	*samuttaritvā, uttaritvā*	*samottīria, uttaria*	having crossed.
Lv. 438.	*parāhatya*	*parāhania*			having smitten.
Br. 87.	*chintayitvā*	*chintiyā*	*cintetvā, cintiya*	*chintia*	having reflected.
Br. 87.	*anusandhāya*			*aṇusandhia*	having ascertained.
Br. 235.	*avamatya*		*avamānetvā, avamāniya (causal)*	*avamaṇia*	having despised.
Br. 7, 261.	*atikramya*		*atikkamitvā, atikkamma*	*adikkamia*	having attacked.
Br. 241.	*utpāṭya*		*uppāṭetvā*	*uppāḍia*	having rooted up.
Br. 96.	*uchyate*		*uchchate, vuchchati*	*uchchadi*	it is said.
Br. 9.	*varṇyate*		*vaṇṇīyati*	*vaṇṇīadi*	it is related.
Br. 6.	*paṭhyate*		*paṭhīyati*	*paḍhīadi*	it is read.
Br. 229.	*uttīryate*		*uttarīyati*	*uttarīaï*	it is crossed.
	vibodhyate			*vivohīaï*	it is understood.
	nimajjyate			*ṇimajjīaï*	it is sunk.
Br. 113.	*sandhīyate*		*sandhīyati*	*sandhijjaï*	it is joined
Br. 120.	*vijnāpyate*		*viññāpiyati*	*viṇṇavīadi*	it is informed.
Br. 35.	*vistāryate*		*vitthāriyati*	*vittharaï*	it is extended.
Pr. 44.	*bhajyate*			*bhanjīadi*	it is broken.
Br. 259.	*niveśyantām*		*nivesiyantu*	*nivesīantu*	let them be placed.
Br. 22, 36, 121.	*vijnāpayāmi*		*viññāpemi*	*viṇṇavemi*	I inform.
	vijnāpayati		*viññāpeti*	*viṇṇavedi*	he informs.
Br. 263.	*pūryamāṇa*		*pūramāna*	*pūrijjamāna*	being filled.
Br. 241, 263.	*dahyamāna*		*dayhamāna*	*dahijjanta*	being burned.
Br. 135.	*ramaṇīya*		*ramaṇīya, ramaṇiyya*	*ramaṇijja*	pleasant.

Table No. VII.

The following Table contains a list of verbs and participles, in which it will be observed that the Pāli forms generally depart less from the Sanskrit than the Prākrit ones do.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
B. & Las. 125. Del. 24. Br.101	*śriṇumaḥ*		*suṇoma*	*suṇamha*, *suṇimo*	we hear.
B. & Las. 125.	*śriṇoshi*		*suṇāsi, suṇosi*	. . .	thou hearest.
Cl. 109. Del. 24.	*śriṇoti*		*suṇoti*	*śuṇādi*	he hears.
B. & Las. 125. Delius, 24.	*śriṇotu*		*suṇātu*, *suṇotu*	*suṇādu*	let him hear.
B. & Lass. 121. Var. vii. 16, 17. Cowell, xxx. Delius, 24.	*śroshyāmi* *śroshyati*	*śruṇishyi* *śuṇishyati*	*sossāmi*	*sochchham*, *sochchhissam*, *suṇissam*	I, he, will hear.
B. & Lass. 131. Delius, 24.	*śrutaḥ*		*suto*	*sudo*	heard.
Dham. 15, 19. Rasa. 29. Del. 4. Var. iv. 23. Lv. 65 f. &c.	*śrutvā*	*śrutvā*, *śrutya*, *śuṇitya*, *śuṇitvā*, *śruṇitvā*, *śruṇitvā*	*sutvā*, *sutvāna*, *suṇitvā*	*suṇia, sō,ūn*	having heard.
Rasa.17. Del.24.	*śrotum*		*sotum*	*suṇidum*	to hear.
Pr. 14, 28. Br. 200, 234, 284, 287.	*śrūyate*	*śriṇute*	*sūyati*	*suṇīadi*, *suṇīaï*	he is heard.
	śrūyante	*śravanti*	*sūyanti*	*suṇijjanti*	they are heard
Br. 122.	*śrūyantām*		*sūyantu*	*suṇīadu*	let them be heard.
Br. 179.	*śrūyate*			*nisuṇi*	he is heard.
Br. 202.	*śrūyamāṇa*		*suyamāna*	*suṇijjanta*	being heard.
Br. 163.	*śrūyamāṇā*			*suvantī*	being heard (fem.)
Br. 280.	*śrāvayatu*		*sāvetu*	*suṇāvedu*	let him cause to hear.
Br. 166.	*śuśrūshaṇa*		*sussūsā*	*sussūsaṇa*	obedience.
B. & Las. 125. Delius, 17.	*dadāmi*	*dadāmi*, *dadāmī*	*dadāmi*, *demi, dajjāmi*	*demi*	I give.
Dham. 44. Cl. 134,135. Del.17	*dadāti*		*dadāti, deti* *dajjati*	*dedi, deï*	he gives.
B. & Las. 127.	*adāt*		*adāsi, adā*	. . .	he gave.
B. & Lass. 121. Var. vii. 16. Del. 17.	*dāsyāmi*		*dassāmi*	*dāham*, *da,issam*	I will give.
Cl.25. Del. 17.	*dadat*		*dadam, da-danto, dento*	*dento*	giving.
Dh. 43. Br. 179.	*dadataḥ*	.	*dadato*	*dentassa*	of one giving.
Dham. 44. Var. viii. 62.	*dattam*		*dinnam*	*dinnam*	given.
Br. 22, 153, 218, 277. Lv. 89, 108, 215, 270.	*dehi*	*dehi, dadahi* *dadahī*, *dadāhi*	*dehi*	*dehi, dejja*	give thou.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 67, 75, 137.	*dīyatām,*	*dīyatu*	*dīyatu, diyyatu*	*dijjadu*	let it be given
	dīyantām		*dīyantu, diyyantu*	*dijjantu*	let them be given.
Delius, 17.	*datvā*	*detī, dadia, dadiya*	*datvā*	*daïa, deïa, daūṇa*	having given
Rasa. 34.	*bhavitum*		*bhavitum, hotum*	*bhavidum*	to be.
Lv. 293. Dh. 42. B. & Las. 122. Del. 26.	*bhava*	*bhohi*	*bhava, hohi*	*hohi, hoï*	be (thou).
B. & Las. 161.	*bhavatu*		*hotu, bhavatu*	*bhodu, hodu*	let him be.
Dham. 44, 67. Cl., 8, 102. Var. viii. 3.	*bhavati*	*bhoti, bhavi*	*bhavati, hoti*	*bhodi, hodi, hoï, pabhava,i* (he overcomes).	he becomes.
Dham. 54, 61. B. & Las. 86.	*bhavanti*	*bhonti*	*bhavanti, honti*	*bhonti, honti*	they are.
Rasa. 22.	*prabhavāmi*	*prabhāmi*	*pabhavāmi, pahomi*	*pabhavami pabhavāmi*	I overcome.
Clough, 103.	*bhūyatām*		*bhūyatām*	. . .	let it be (passive.)
B. & Lass. 130.	*bhavan*		*honto, bhavam bhavanto*	. . .	being.
Dh. 11, 32. Del. 26. Var. viii. 2.	*bhūtaḥ*		*bhūto*	*bhūdo, hua*	been.
Rasa. 15. Del. 26.	*bhūtvā*	*bhavia, bhavitvā*	*hutvā*	*bhavia*	having been.
Cl. 15. Var. vii. 23	*abhavat*		*abhavi*	*huvīa*	he was.
B. & Las. 127. Var. vii. 24. Lv. 187.	*abhūt*	*abhūshi*	*ahosi, ahu*	*hohīa*	he was.
B. & Lass. 127.	*abhūvan*	*ababhūvan*	*ahosum*	. . .	they were.
	asthāt		*aṭṭhāsi*	. . .	he stood.
B. & Lass. 129.	*sthātum*		*ṭhātum*	. . .	to stand.
Dh. 60. Cl. 25. Del. 19. B. & L. 125. Var. vi. 63.	*tishṭhanti*		*tiṭṭhanti*	*ṭiṭṭhanti, chiṭṭhanti*	they stand.
Br. 219. Lv. 261.	*bhavishyāmi*	*bheshyi*	*bhavissāmi*	*bhavissam*	I shall be.
Br. 149, 179. Pr. 140, 142. Lv. 62, 127, 238	*bhavishyati*	*bheshyati bhavi*	*bhavissati hessati*	*bhavissadi havissadi*	he shall be.
Br. 20.	*paribhava*			*parihava*	excel thou.
Pr. 83, 140. Br. 86, 269.	*paribhūta*		*paribhūta*	*parihūda*	excelled.
	prabhūta		*pahūta*	*pabhūda*	strong.
	anubhūta			*aṇubhūda*	perceived.
Br. 169. Lv. 291.	*uttishṭha*	*utthi*	*uṭṭhaha*	*uṭṭhehi*	rise thou.
Lv. 396, 406.	*utthāya*	*utthi, utthihitvā*	*uṭṭhāya uṭṭhahitvā*		having risen.
Lv. 355.	*uttishṭhet*	*utthihet*	*uṭṭhaheyya*		he may rise.
Lv. 298.	*sthitvā*	*sthihiya*	*ṭhatvā*		having stood.
Dham. 31. Mṛi. 80. Var. viii. 69.	*paśyati*		*passati, dichchhati*	*paśsadi, dekkhadi, pulaaï,* etc.	he sees.
Dham. 6. 101.	*prāpnoti*		*pappoti, pāpuṇāti*	*pāvidi*	he obtains.
Rasa. 22.	*prāpnuvanti*		*papponti, pāpuṇanti*	. . .	they obtain.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 24, 75. Del. 62.	*prāpto 'si*		*papto' si, patto*	*pābido, patto*	obtained.
Rasa. 15, 23, 40 Delius, 62.	*prāpya*		*patvā, pāpuṇitvā*	*samāpia*	having obtained: finished.
Dham. 12. Del. 15	*vijānāti*		*vijānāti*	*jāṇādi, jāṇadi, viāṇādi*	knows.
Dham. 3, 50. B. & Las. 129.	*jnātvā*		*ñatvā, jānitvā*	*jāṇia*	having known.
Br. (?)	*jnātum*		*jānituṁ, ñātuṁ*	*jāṇidum*	to know.
	jṇāyamāna		*ñāyamāna*	*jāṇijjanta*	being known
Dham. 6, 11, 41. Delius, 29.	*jāgrataḥ*		*jāgarato*	*jaggantassa*	waking (genitive.)
Dham. 40. Del. 70. Var. xii. 10.	*gatvā*	*gachchhitvă*	*gantvā*	*āgachhia, gaḍia, gadua*	having gone.
Br. 58, 250, 218.	*gataḥ*		*gata*	*gado, gaüṁ*	gone.
Dh. 27, 60. Ma. 1. Del. 79. Br. 245.	*drishṭvā*		*disvā, disvāna, passitva*	*daṭṭhūna*	having seen.
Br. 243, 287, 305. Pr. 13, 35.	*dṛiśyante*		*dissanti*	*dīsanti*	they are seen.
	dṛiśyate		*dissati*	*dīsadi*	he is seen.
Br. 150.	*dṛiśyamāna*		*dissamāna*	*dīsamāṇa*	being seen.
Br. 65.	*darśana*		*dassana*	*daṁsana*	sight.
Br. 6.	*darśayishyati*		*dassayissati*	*daṁsaïssadi*	he will show.
Delius, 79.	*mṛitvā*		*maritvā*	*mariūṇa*	having died.
Br. 297.	*uḍḍīya*			*uḍḍiūṇa*	having flown
Dh. 52. Del. 62.	*hatvā*	*hanitvā*	*hantvā, hanitvā*	*āhaṇia*, etc.	having killed
Rasa. 22. Del. 18.	*pītvā*	*pitvā*	*pibitvā, pītvā pivitvā*	*pibia, pāūṇa*	having drunk
Dh. 17. Lv. 284.	*hitvā*	*jahitvā*	*hitvā, jahitvā*	. . .	having left.
Dham. 32.	*jitvā*		*jetvā, jinitvā*	. . .	having conquered.
Dh. 50. Del. 55.	*chhitvā*	*chhinitvā*	*chhetvā*	*parichhidia*	having cut.
Dham. 8, 9. Var. viii. 55.	*viditvā*		*viditvā*	*vettūṇa*	having known.
Rasa. 30. Del. 59.	*baddhvā*	*baddhitvā*	*bandhitvā*	*bandhia*	having bound.
Dham. 58. Del. 26	*abhibhūya*		*abhibhuyya*		having overcome.
Dham. 58.	*vihāya, prahāya*	*vijahitvā, vijahya*	*pahāya, pajahitvā*	. . .	having left.
Dham. 24, 67. Del. 67. Br. 123.	*labhate*		*labhate labhati*	*lahade, lahadi, lahaï*	he receives.
Dham. 63. B. & Las. 137.	*asmi*		*asmi, amhi*	*mhi*	I am.
Dham. 51. Del. 86.	*santi*		*santi*	*santi, achchhanti*	they are.
Dham. 60. Var. viii. 51.	*patanti*		*patanti*	*paḍanti*	they fall.
Dham. 71. Cow. App. Sūtra 24. p. 99.	*bravīmi*		*brūmi*	*bollāmi* (?)	I speak.
B. & Las. 86. Delius, 53.	*kathayishyāmi*		*kathessāmi*	*kadhaïssam kahissam*	I will say.
Br. 113.	*kathayāmi*		*kathemi*	*kadhemi*	I say.
Br. 117.	*kathayati iva*		*katheti*	*kahaïva*	he says as it were.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 53, 164, 218. Pr. 123.	*kathaya*		*kathehi*	*kadhesu, kahesu, kahehi*	say thou.
Pr. 124.	*kathayishyati*		*kathessati*	*kahissadi*	he will say.
Br. 213.	*kathyatām*			*kahīadu*	let it be said.
Ras. 22. Del. 53.	*kathayitum*		*kathetum*	*kadhedum*	to say.
Dh. 36. Del. 77.	*jīvāmaḥ*		*jīvāma*	*jīama, jīvāma*	we live.
Clough, 142.	*prichhanti* / *prichhyate*		*puchchhanti*	*puchhanti,* / *puchehhīadi*	they ask; it is asked.
Dham. 43. Var. viii. 27.	*khādati*		*khāyati, khādati*	*khāi*	he eats.
Cl. 9. Var. vii. 25.	*āsīt*		*āsi*	*āsi*	he was.
Br. 289.	*āsan*		*āsuṁ*	*āsi*	they were.
Dham. 43, 67.	*asti*		*atthi*	*atti, achchhi*	he is.
Dham. 15.	*syāt*		*siyā, assa*	. . .	he may be.
Dham. 5.	*rakshati*		*rakkhati*	*rakkhadi*	he keeps.
Dham. 51, 52, 53. Var. viii. 48.	*budhyate*		*bujjhati*	*bujjhaï*	he understands.
Dham. 40. & Var.	*krudhyet*		*kujjheya*	*kujjh* (root)	let him be angry.
Dham. 40.	*dadyāt*		*dajjā*	. . .	let him give.
Dham. 101. Cl. 145. Del. 32.	*smarati*		*sumarati, sarati*	*sumaredi*	he recollects.
Pr. 12, 35. Br. 57, 86, 92.	*varte*			*vaṭṭāmi*	I am.
	vartate		*vattati*	*vaṭṭadi*	he is.
Br. 5, 247.	*vardhamāna*		*vaḍḍhamāna*	*vaḍhḍhanta*	increasing.
	vardhita		*vaḍḍhita*	*baḍhḍhida*	increased.
Dham. 13. Var. viii. 44.	*varddhate*		*vaḍḍhati*	*vaḍḍhaï*	he increases.
Pr. 133.	*jayatu*		*jayatu, jetu*	*jedu*	let him conquer.
Dh. 64. Del. 21.	*jayati*		*jināti, jeti*	*jaadi, jiṇādi*	he conquers.
Clough, 5, 110. Dham. 54. Del. 27, 28.	*karomi*	*kurumi*	*karomi*	*karomi, karemi, kalemi*	I do.
Dham. 1, 7, 63. Cl. 100. Del. 28.	*karoti,* *kriṇoti* (*vedic*)		*karoti*	*karedi, karei, kuṇaï*	he does.
Dham. 9. Cl. 110	*kurute*		*kurute*	. . .	
Cl. 110. Br. 195.	*kurvanti, kriṇvanti* (*vedic*)	*karonti*	*karonti, kubbanti*	*karenti, kuṇanti*	they do.
B. & Las. 182.	*kurmaḥ*	*karoma* / *karomo*	*karoma*	*karemha, karamha*	we do.
B. & Las. 127. Clough, 110. Var. viii. 17.	*akārshīt*		*akāsi*	*kāhīa*	he did.
Clough, 110.	*akārshuḥ*		*akāsuṁ*	. . .	they did.
Delius, 28.	*karishyati*		*karissati, kāhati*	*karissadi* / *kāhii*	he will do.
Var. viii. 17. Dh. 28, 322.	*karishyasi*		*kāhasi* / *karissasi*	. . .	thou wilt do.
Var. vii. 16.	*karishyāmi*		*karissāmi*	*kāham*	I will do.
Dham. 10, 12, 23, 39. Cl. 25. Delius, 28.	*kurvan, kurvataḥ, kurvantam, kurvantah*		*kubbaṁ, kubbato, kubbānaṁ, karontā*	*karanto* / *karento*	doing (different cases and numbers of) (pres. part.)

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dh. 42. Del. 28.	*kuru*	*kurvahi*	*karohi, kuru*	*karehi, kalehi*	do (imper.)
Br. 69.	*kuru, kṛiṇu (vedic)*			*kuṇa*	do thou.
Pr. 84.	*kurushva iti*			*karesutti*	"do thou," thus.
Br. 200, 168.	*kuruta, kṛiṇuta (vedic)*			*kuṇaha, kuṇadha*	do ye.
Br. 20.	*kartum*		*kattuṁ, kātuṁ*	*kādum*	to do.
Br. 142, 200.	*kartavya*		*kattabba kātabba*	*kādavva, kāavva*	to be done.
Br. 72, 149 f.	*kṛita*		*kata*	*kida, kira*	done.
Br. 228.	*kriyate*		*karīyati, kayyati*	*kīraī*	it is done.
Br. 7, 224.	*kriyatām*			*karīadu, kīraü*	let it be done
Br. 221.	*pratikuruta, samīkuruta*		*paṭikarotha* . . .	*paḍikareha, samīkareha*	oppose ye. lend ye.
Br. 86, 236. Pr. 47 f. Clough, 3.	*gṛihīta*		*gahita, gahīta*	*gahia, gahida*	taken.
Pr. 46.	*grahītum*		*gaṇhituṁ*	*gahīdum*	to take.
Br. 75.	*grāhya*		*gayha*	*gejjha*	to be taken.
Clough, 16.	*akurma*		*akaramhase*	. . .	we have done.
Dh. 24. Del. 28. Var. xii. 10, iv. 23.	*kṛitvā*	*karitya, kariyā, karitvă*	*katvā, karitvā*	*kādua, kadua kāūṇa*	having done.
Dham. 28.	*adhyagāt* (?)		*ajjhagā*	. . .	arrived.
Dham. 39. Del. 90.	*pratigṛihṇanti*		*patigaṇhanti*	*paḍigeṇhanti*	they receive.
Dh. 420. (com.)	*kalpayan*		*kappento*	*kappento* (?)	cutting.
Dham. 101.	*śaknoti*	*śakkitam*	*sakkuṇāti sakkoti*	. . .	he can; possible.
Rasa. 22. Cow. 171, n. Del. 36.	*śaknomi*		*sakkomi sakkuṇomi*	*sakkaṇomi*	I can.
Clough, 129. Var. viii. 50.	*mṛidnāti*		*maddati*	*maladi*	he treads.
Ras. 22. Del. 20.	*snātum*		*nahāyituṁ*	*ṇahādum*	to bathe.
Dham. 50. Vikr. 116.	*ārādhayet*		*ārādhaye*	*arāhaṇa*	let him reverence: reverencing (noun).
Pr. 10, 12.	*rājate*			*rehadi*	he shines.
Br. 22.	*sandadhāsi*		*sandadhāsi, sandahisi*	*sandhihisi*	thou appliest
Br. 178.	*paṭhishyāmi*		*paṭhissāmi*	*paḍhissam*	I shall read.
Br. 35, 52, 157,	*manye*		*maññe*	*maṇṇe*	I think.
179.	*manyadhvām*		*maññatha*	*maṇṇadha*	think ye.
Br. 178.	*svapsyāmi*		*supinissāmi*	*suvissam*	I shall sleep.
Br. 122.	*stumaḥ*			*thuṇimo*	we praise.
Br. 246.	*ghnanti*		*hananti*	*haṇanti*	they strike.
Br. 27.	*pratighnantu*		*paṭihanantu*	*paḍihaṇantu*	may they avert.
Pr. 11 ff, 41,	*vilokayan,*		*vilokayaṁ*	*pulovanto,*	looking.
113, 115.	*vilokaya,*		*vilokaya, vilokehi*	*pulovehi, puloesu,*	look(impera).
Br. 76.	*vilokayāmaḥ*		*vilokayāma, vilokema*	*puloamha,*	we look.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 11 ff, 41, 113, 115. Br. 76.	*anālokayantī*		*anālokentī*	*apuloantī*	not looking.
	vilokayishye		*vilokayissaṁ*	*pulovaïssam*	I shall look.
Br. 113, 179. 199, 202, 216, 246, 261.	*kṛishṭa*, *ākṛishṭa*		*kaḍḍhita* *ākaḍḍhita*	*kaṭhṭhia*, *kaṭṭia*, *ākaṭhṭhia*, *ākaṭhṭhida*	drawn.
	kṛishyamāṇa			*kaṭhṭhijjanta*,	being drawn.
	karshaṇa		*kaḍḍhana*	*kaḍhḍhaṇa*	drawing.
Br. 49. Pr. 17.	*apasarati*,[125]			*osaradi*,	he departs.
	apasaranti		*osaranti* (*apa-*)	*osaranti*	they depart.
Br. 10, 50, 127.	*avataranti*,		*otaranti*	*odaranti*,	they descend.
	avatāra,		*otāra*, *avatāra*	*odāra*,	descent.
	avatīrya			*otchharia* ?	having descended.
Br. 174.	*hāryase*			*hīrasi*	thou art snatched away
Br. 176.	*kīrtyate*			*kīradi*	he is celebrated.
Br. 7, 178.	*pratyakshīkṛita*		*pachchakkhīkata*	*pachchakkhīkida*	manifested.
Br. 473.	*parityaja*		*parichchajassu* *parichchaja*	*parittaasu*	abandon thou.

[125] In pp. 38, 39, 126, 146, of the Prasannarāghava, and in pp. 76 and 162 of the Bālarāmāyaṇa, however, we find the forms *avagadamhi* (*avagatā 'smi*), *avasara*, *avatiṇṇa* (*avatīrṇa*), *avataraï* (*avatarati*), and *avadārassa* (*avatārasya*).

SECT. VI.—*The Dialects of the Rock and Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka.*

Our knowledge of the vernacular languages of India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is not, however, exclusively derived from the Pāli books of Ceylon. Certain inscriptions, dating from the second or third century B.C., containing edicts of king Priyadarsī or Aśoka[126] (whose name has been already mentioned above, p. 63, f.), and written in a corrupt Sanskrit, apparently the vernacular speech of that period, are still extant engraved on pillars and rocks in different parts of India.

I borrow the following particulars regarding them from the summary given by Lassen (Ind. Alt., ii. 215, ff.).[127] The inscriptions are engraved partly upon pillars, partly on rocks. The pillars are at Dehli, Allahabad, Mathiah, and Radhia. The inscriptions on these four pillars are partly uniform, while those of Dehli and Allahabad have additions peculiar to themselves. The rock inscriptions are: 1stly, those at Girnār, in Guzerat, divided into fourteen compartments; 2ndly, those at Dhauli, in Orissa, which for the most part agree in purport with those at Girnār, though the dialect is different; and 3rdly, those at Kapur di Giri, near Peshawar, which coincide in purport, though they often differ in expression, and in their greater or less diffuseness, from the Girnār inscriptions. Besides these, Aśoka appears to have caused other similar edicts to be promulgated in the same way. Accordingly another inscription has been discovered at Bhabra, not far from Jaypur, which contains a fragment of an address to the Buddhist synod in Magadha.

These inscriptions were mostly discovered about thirty years ago [illegible] and the great merit of having first (in 1837 and 1838) decipher[illegible] and translated by far the larger portion of them belongs to the l[illegible] Mr. James Prinsep. His translations were subsequently revised [illegible] Prof. H. H. Wilson, in an article in the Journal of the Royal Asiat[illegible]

126 Professor Wilson thinks it extremely uncertain whether Piyadasi can [illegible] identified with As'oka, and inclines to the conclusion that the date of the inscrip[illegible] is some period subsequent to 205 B.C. (Journ. Royal As. Soc., vol. xii. pp. 243-[illegible] vol. xvi. p. 357.) Professor Müller, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. [illegible] speaks incidentally, but without any hesitation, of the inscriptions as being tho[illegible] Aśoka, and as dating from the third century B.C. See also the other autho[illegible] cited in the text a little further on.

127 See also Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by E. Thomas, i. 233, ii. 14.

Society for 1849 (vol. xii., part i., pp. 153–251); and a po... them were a third time examined by M. Burnouf in the A... to his translation of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 652–781.[128] ... Wilson has concluded his notice of the subject in a further p... the Bhabra inscription, in the Journ. Royal As. Soc., vol. xv... ii., pp. 357–367. The importance of these inscriptions, as t... light on the languages of India in the third century B.C., ... expressly recognized by Prof. Lassen (Ind. Alterthumsk., ... in passages which will be quoted below; by Weber in his ... the Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Ind. Stud., iii. pp. 166–17... Preface to his Malavikā and Agnimitra, p. xxxii., and in h... Literaturgeschichte, p. 170; and by Benfey, in his Arti... in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia, pp. 194 and 250.

To give the reader an idea of the nature of these edicts, ... of the language in which they are composed, I shall quote the ... which is short and tolerably clear, according to the Girnār ver... gether with the translation (rendered into English) of M. B... (Lotus, App., x. p. 736; Wilson, p. 212): *devānam piyo P... rājā evam āha nāsti etārisam dānam yārisam dhamma-dānam dh... saṁstavo vā dhamma-saṁvibhāgo vā dhamma-sambandho vā | tata... bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samnipati-pati mātari pitari sādhu susuṣā ... sastuta-ñātikānam bāhmana-samanānam sādhu dānam pānānam ... rambho sādhu etam vatavyam pitā va putena va bhātā va mita-sast... ñātikena va āva pativesiyehi idam sādhu idam katavyam | so tāthā ... i[ha] loka cha saārādho hoti parata cha anantam puññam bhavati ... dhammadānena |*

"Piyadasi, king beloved by the gods, speaks thus: There is ... gift equal to the gift of the law, or to the praise of the law, or ...

[128] In an obituary notice (probably contributed by Professor Wilson) on M. Bur... nouf, in the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1853, p. xiii. (publi... in part i. vol. xv. of the Society's Journal), the following remarks are made on ... dissertation: "Bringing to the inquiry a knowledge of Pāli and of Buddhism, ... superiority of which his predecessors would be the first to acknowledge, and ... the advantage of their previous speculations, we may look upon his researches as con... his never-failing candour, recognizes, and feel satisfied that they have eliminated from these remains of antiquity ... information they are capable of affording." Prof. Weber also in his review ... Lotus de la Bonne Loi (in the Ind. Stud.), speaks in highly laudatory terms ... same dissertation.

the distribution of the law, or to union in the law. This gift is thus exhibited: Good will to slaves and hired servants, and obedience to one's father and mother are good things: liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relations, Brahmans and Samaṇas, is a good thing: respect for the life of creatures is a good thing; this is what ought to be said by a father, by a son, by a brother, by a friend, by an acquaintance, by a relation, and even by simple neighbours: this is good; this is to be done. He who acts thus is honoured in this world; and for the world to come an infinite merit results from the gift of the law."

From the age to which these inscriptions appear to belong, we might expect that their language, as it is not pure Sanskrit, would coincide in a great degree with the Pāli, which, as we have already seen, represents what we may suppose to have been the spoken language of some province of northern India about the same period. And such proves on comparison to be to a considerable degree the case. In proof of this point I shall first proceed to quote the general observations made by Professors Wilson, Lassen, and others, on the subject of the languages in which the inscriptions are composed; and then supply a comparative table, by which some opinion may be formed of the degree in which they coincide with, and diverge from, the Pāli.[129]

The following are the remarks made by Professor Wilson (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xii., pp. 236, ff.) on the language of the edicts:

"The language itself is a kind of Pali, offering, for the greatest portion of the words, forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pali grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanskrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language. It is observed by Mr. Prinsep, when speaking of the Lāt inscriptions, 'The language differs from every existing written idiom, and is as it were intermediate between the Sanskrit and the Pali.' The nouns and particles in general follow

[129] I might have been in a position to treat this subject in a more satisfactory manner than I can now hope to do from my own cursory investigations, had I been able to consult the Pāli Grammar, with appendices on the dialects of Dhauli and Girnār, formerly advertised for publication, but never published, by Professor *Spiegel*. (See the cover of his Anecdota Palica, published at Leipzig, in 1845.)

the Pali structure; the verbs are more frequently nea Sanskrit forms; but in neither, any more than in gramm is there any great dissimilarity from Sanskrit. It is curiou Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit others, retaining some compound consonants, as *pr* in *priy* of *piya;* and having the representatives of the three sibilar Devanagari alphabet, while the others, as in Pali, have bu sibilant:[130] on the other hand, the Kapur di Giri inscription vowels to a much greater extent, and rarely distinguishes bet long and short vowels, peculiarities perhaps not unconnect the Semitic character of its alphabet.

"The exact determination of the differences and agreement inscriptions with the Pali on the one hand, and Sanskrit on th would require a laborious analysis of the whole, and would be worth the pains, as the differences from either would, no doubt to be comparatively few and unimportant, and we may be co consider the language as Pali, not yet perfected in its gram structure, and deviating in no important respect from Sanskrit.

"Pali is the language of the writings of the Buddhists Siam and Ceylon; therefore it is concluded it was the lang the Buddhists of Upper India, when the inscriptions were em and consequently they are of Buddhist origin. This, however, of question; for although the Buddhist authorities assert that Sinha and his successors taught in Pali, and that a Pali gramm compiled in his day; yet, on the other hand, they affirm, t doctrines of Buddha were long taught orally only, and w committed to writing till four centuries after his death, or u 153, a date, no doubt, subsequent to that of the inscriptions." i

"It is by no means established, therefore, that Pali was the language of the Buddhists at the period of the inscriptions,

[130] Weber also remarks (Ind. Stud. iii. 180): "The greater purity of pron maintained in the popular dialect of the north-west in comparison with is shown by the inscription of Kapur di Giri, in which, according to remark (The Rock Inscriptions of Kapur di Giri, etc.), not only the three s the Sanskrit, but also a number of compound consonants, containing an priya, tatra, prati, yatra, putra, savatra, krama, susrūsha śramana, braman and some others, such as *st*, *str*, have been preserved."

[131] See, however, the remarks in the preceding section, p. 57.

use constitutes no conclusive proof of their Buddhist origin.[132] It seems more likely that it was adopted as being the spoken language of that part of India where Piyadasi resided, and was selected for his edicts that they might be intelligible to the people." . . . .

"We may, therefore, recognize it as an actually existing form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by the Buddhists themselves, by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Behar, the scene of Śākya Sinha's first teaching; but that there are several differences between it and the Māgadhi, as laid down in Prakrit grammars, and as it occurs in Jain writings. It is, as Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen remark, still nearer to Sanskrit, and may have prevailed more to the north than Behar, or in the upper part of the Doab, and in the Punjab, being more analogous to the Śaurasenī dialect, the language of Mathura and Dehli, although not differing from the dialect of Behar to such an extent as not to be intelligible to those to whom Śākya and his successors addressed themselves. The language of the inscriptions, then, although necessarily that of their date, and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been rather the spoken language of the people in Upper India, than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists, or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although not incompatible with their Buddhist origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from any peculiar form of religious belief."

Some observations of Prof. Lassen regarding these dialects, and their relative antiquity as compared with the Pāli, have been already quoted in the last section (p. 59). He remarks in another place (Ind. Alt., ii., 221, 222): "These inscriptions are of the greatest value for the history of the Indian languages, because they exhibit to us in an authentic shape the most ancient forms assumed by the popular dialects, and furnish us with a secure basis for the comparative grammar of the great Sanskritic family of languages, which became so variously developed."

[132] Professor Wilson has since, however, from an examination of the Bhabra inscription, arrived at the conviction, that there is in it "enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact that Priyadarsī, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha."—(Journ. R. A. S., vol. xv., p. 357.)

"In these inscriptions we possess specimens of three vernacular dialects, one from the border country to the north-west, a second from western, and a third from eastern Hindustan. The inscriptions on the pillars of Dehli, Allahabad, etc., differ only in particular forms from the Dhauli (Cuttak) inscription, while they possess in the main the same character, and may be classed with the Māgadhī of the grammarians. As this dialect is used even on the Dehli column, which is situated beyond the bounds of Magadha, Aśoka appears to have had a partiality for the vernacular language of his principal province; and from the predominating employment of this particular derivative of the Sanskrit, we may perhaps explain the fact that, among the Cingalese, who received the Buddhist religion from that country, their sacred language should have obtained this appellation."

At p. 486, again, Lassen says: "It is only the rock inscriptions which can be admitted as authentic evidence of the local dialects, while the columnar inscriptions everywhere exhibit the same dialect, which consequently cannot have been spoken in every quarter where such pillars have been discovered. This remark is especially true of the Dehli column. When we consider that, between Cabul, Guzerat, and Magadha (which latter province was the native country of the dialect employed in the pillar inscriptions), a wide region intervenes, inhabited by different branches of the Sanskrit-speaking race, we are driven to the conclusion that many other dialects must have been current there, of which we find no specimens in any of the inscriptions."

The following list of words, from the Dehli and Allahabad columns, and the Bhabra stone, borrowed from M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi (App. x., pp. 665, 724, and 741), will show the correctness of Lassen's remark, that the dialect of the pillar inscriptions resembles the Māgadhī of Dhauli, as exhibited in the comparative list which I shall immediately adduce. Thus on these columns we have *dhamme*, *dāne*, *sache*, *anugahe*, *kate*, *piye*, *kayāne* and *pāpe*, for *dhammo*, *dānam*, *sacham*, *anugaho*, *kato*, *piyo*, *kayānam* and *pāpam*; *lājā*, *vālichalesu*, *vihālatam*, *chila*, *Aliya*, *pulisa* and *abhihāle*, for *rājā*, *vāricharesu*, *vihāratam*, *chira*, *Ariya*, *purisa* and *abhihāro*; *Budhasi*, *dhammasi* and *sanghasi*, for *Budhamhi*, *dhammamhi* and *sanghamhi*.

The list of words, which I shall immediately adduce, borrowed from the article of Prof. H. H. Wilson, above alluded to, in Vol. XII. of the

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from the Appendix, No. X., to M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi, when compared with the Pāli equivalents which have been added, will suffice to show the points in which the languages of the inscriptions agree with the last-named dialect, as well as the respects in which they differ from one another. I must, however, frankly state that I do not pretend to have made these inscriptions, or the character in which they are written, the object of particular study; and I therefore take it for granted that the words have been correctly deciphered by the eminent scholars from whom I quote.

In comparing the dialect of the inscriptions with other kindred forms of language, presumed to be of about equal antiquity with them, which have come down to us in books, we should recollect that the latter may have been retouched from time to time, to render them more intelligible to the readers by whom they were studied in successive generations, whereas the inscriptions have descended to us unaltered, except by the defacing action which ages have exercised on the rocks on which they are engraved. On this subject I quote the following judicious observations of Mr. Turnour, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for December, 1837, p. 1049:—

"When we consider that these inscriptions were recorded upwards of two thousand years ago, and that the several columns on which they are engraven have been exposed to atmospheric influences for the whole of that period, apparently wholly neglected; when we consider, also, that almost all the inflections of the language in which these inscriptions are composed, occur in the ultimate and penultimate syllables, and that these inflections are chiefly formed by minute vowel symbols, or a small *anuswāra* dot; and when we further find that the *Pāli* orthography of that period, as shown by these inscriptions, was very imperfectly defined—using single for double, and promiscuously, aspirated and unaspirated, consonants; and also without discrimination as to the class each belonged, the four descriptions of *n*,—the surprise which every reasonable investigator of this subject must feel will be occasioned rather by the extent of the agreement than of the disagreement between our respective readings of these ancient records."

The following is the comparative list (the Pāli column of which owes its completeness to Mr. Childers) which I proposed to adduce:—

TABLE No. VIII.

Comparative list of words from the rock inscriptions at Girnār, Dhauli, and Kapur di Giri, with their equivalents in Pāli.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNĀR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PĀLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 157.	*devānām*	*devānam*	*devānam*	*devānam*	*devānam*	of the gods.
Wilson, 158.	*priyasya*	*piyasa*	*piyasa*	*priyasa*	*piyassa*	of the beloved.
Wilson, 165, 175, 177, 198. Burn. 731.	*rājā,*	*rājā, rājă*	*lājā, lāja*	*rājă, raya*	*rājā*	king (nom.)
	rājñaḥ	*rāño, răño*	*lājine*	*raño*	*rājino, rañño*	king (gen.)
Wilson, 165.	*rājānaḥ*	*rājano*	*lājāne*	*rajaya*	*rājāno*	kings (nom.)
	vijite	*vijitamhi*	. . . .	*vijite*	*vijitamhi*	conquered (loc.case.)
Wilson, 166.	*vṛikshāḥ*	*vachchhā*	*lukhani*	. . . .	*rukkhā*	trees.
	paribhogāya	*paribhogāya*	*paṭibhogăya*	*pratibhogăyă*	*paribhogāya*	enjoyment (dat.)
Wilson, 190.	*prativedanā*	*paṭivedanā*	*paṭivedanā*	*paṭivedana*	. . . .	representation.
Wilson, 170.	*dvādaśan*	*dvādasa*	*duvādasa*	. . . .	*dvādasa*	twelve.
	panchasu	*panchasu*	*panchasu*	*pachasu*	*panchasu*	five (loc.)
	varshāḥ	*vāsā*	*vasa*	*vasha*	*vassā*	years (nom.)
	varsheshu	*vāsesu*	*vasesu*	*vasheshu*	*vassesu*	years (loc.)
Wilson, 171, 218.	*mātari, pitari*	*mātari, pitari*	. . . .	*matapitushu*	*mātari, pitari*	mother, father (loc.)
Wilson, 171.	*mitra*	*mitā*	. . . .	*mitra*	*mitta*	friend.
Bur. 731. Wilson, 175, 213.	*śuśrūshā*	*sususā*	*susūsā*	*suśrusha*	*sussūsā*	obedience.
Bur. 730. Wilson, 171, 174, 175.	*brāhmaṇa*	*bāhmaṇa* *bāmhana*	*bambhana* *bābhana*	*bramaṇa*	*brāhmaṇa*	Brahman.
Wilson, 171, 174.	*śramaṇānām*	*samaṇānam*	*sumanehi*	*śramaṇa*	*samaṇānaṁ*	S'ramaṇas (gen. and loc., or instr. ?).
Wilson, 174.	*prāṇārambhaḥ*	*pānārambho*	*pānālambhe*	*prănărambho*	*pāṇārambho*	injury to life.
Wils. 174, 182, 199.	*antaram*	*antaram*	*antalam*	*antaram*	*antaram*	interval.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNĀR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PĀLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 175.	*divyāni*	*divyani*	*diviyāni*	*divāni*	*dibbā, dibbāni*	divine. [pl.)
	rūpāṇi	*rūpāni*	*lūpānam*	. . . .	*rūpā, rūpāni*	forms (nom. & gen.
	pūrve	*puve*	*puluve*	*pūrve*	*pubbe*	before.
Wilson, 190.	*sarva*	*sava*	*sava*	*sava*	*sabba*	all.
	sarvatra	*savata*	*savata*	*savatra*	*sabbattha*	everywhere.
Wilson, 176.	*putrāḥ, pautrāḥ,*	*putā, potā*	*putā*	*putrā, . . .*	*puttā*	sons. [grandsons.
	prapautrāḥ	*papotā*	*nati*	*pranatikā*	*paputtā*	grandsons, great-
	dharme, śīle	*dhammamhi*	*dhammasi*	. . . .	*dhammamhi*	virtue, goodness (loc.)
		sīlamhi	*sīlasi*	. . . .	*sīlamhi*	
	asmin, arthe	*imamhi, athamhi*	*imasa, athasa*	. . . .	*imamhi,atthamhi*	this object, (loc. and
Wilson, 182.	*dushkaram*	*dukaram*	*dukalam*	. . . .	*dukkaram*	difficult. [gen.)
	apatyam	*apacham*	*apitaye*	*apacha*	*apachcham*	progeny.
Wilson, 183.	*dharmādhishṭhānāya*	*dhammadhiṣṭānāya*	*dhammādhithānāye*	. . . .	*dhammādhiṭṭhānāya*	supervision of religion (dat.)
Wilson, 184, 200.	*sthavirāṇām*	*thairānam*	*vadhānam*	. . . .	*therānam*	elders: religious teachers (gen.)
Wilson, 184.	*bhikshāhārishu*	*bhikaresu*	*bhīkala*	*bhikati*	. . . . .	livers on alms.
	sarveshu	. . . .	*savesu*	*savesu*	*sabbesu*	all (loc. pl.)
	nagareshu	. . . .	*nagalesu*	*nagareshu*	*nagaresu*	cities (loc. pl.)
	avarodhaneshu	. . . .	*olodhanesu*	*orodhaneshu*	*orodhanesu*	fortresses (loc. pl.)
Wilson, 190.	*avarodhane*	*orodhanamhi*	*olodhanasi*	*orodhanasi*	*orodhanamhi*	palace (loc. sing.)
Wilson, 184.	*bhaginīnām*	. . . .	*bhaghininam*	. . . .	*bhaginīnam*	sisters (gen.)
Wilson, 190.	*garbhāgāre* *garbha-gṛihe* (?)	*gabhagāramhi*	*gabhatapasi*	*gabhagarasi*	*gabbhāgāramhi*	inner apartments. (loc.)
	vachasi	*vachamhi*	. . . .	*vachasi*	*vachasi,vachamhi*	word (loc.)
	vinīte	*vinītamhi*	*vinītasi*	*vinatasi*	*vinītamhi*	polite (loc.) [(loc.)
Wilson, 203.	*pravāse*	*pavāsammhi*	*pavāsasi*	*pavasa*	*pavāsamhi*	departure from home
Wilson, 191, 194.	*utthāne*	*ustānamhi*	. . . .	. . . .	*uṭṭhānamhi*	elevation (loc.)
Wilson, 192, 195.	*utthānam*	*ustānam*	*suṭhāna*	. . . .	*uṭṭhāna*	elevation.
Wilson, 192.	*aham*	*ahaṁ*	*hakaṁ*	. . . .	*aham*	I.
Wils. 192, 195, 205.	*svargam*	*svagam*	*svaga*	*saga*	*saggam*	heaven.
Wilson, 192.	*etasmai, arthāya*	*etāya, athāya*	*etāye, . . .*	*etaya, athaye*	*imassa, atthāya, atthassa*	this object (dat.)
	chiram	*chiraṁ*	*chila*	. . . .	*chiram*	long.

Burn. 731.	*śreshṭham*	*seṭṭo*	. . . .	. . . .	*seṭṭham*	best.
Wilson, 193.	*parākrameṇa*	*parākamena*	*palākamena*	*parakamena*	*parakkamena*	valour (instr.)
Wilson, 198.	*rāgaḥ*	*rāgo*	*lāgā*	*rago*	*rāgo*	passion.
	kṛitajnatā	*kataṁñatā*	. . . .	*kaṭañatā*	*kataññutā*	gratitude.
Burn, 755. Wils. 198.	*driḍhabhaktitā*	*daḍhabhatitā*	. . . .	*daḍhabhatitā*	*dalhabhattitā*	firmness of devotion.
Wilson, 198.	*nitya*	*nichā*	*niche*	*nicha*	*nichcha*	constant.
Wilson, 199.	*etādṛiśāni*	*etārisāni*	*ediśāni*	*ediśāni*	*etādisāni*	such (neuter pl.)
Wilson, 200.	*yātrā*	*yātā*	. . . .	*yatra*	*yātrā*	journey.
	paripṛichchhā	*paripuchhā*	. . . .	*pariprutachhu(?)*	*paripuchchhā*	question.
Wils. 204. Burn. 736.	*bhrātrā*	*bhātā*	*bhatinā*	*bhata*	*bhātarā*	brother (instr.)
Wils. 215. Burn. 761.	*gṛihasthāni*	*gharastāni*	. . . .	. . . .	(*ghara*) *gahaṭṭhāni* (Dh. 72.)	domestic (nom. pl. neuter.)
Wilson, 215.	*vividhayā*	*vividhāya*	. . . .	. . . .	*vividhāya*	various (instr. fem.)
	pūjayā	*pūjāya*	. . . .	. . . .	*pūjāya*	honour (instr. fem.)
	vṛiddhi	*vaḍhī*	. . . .	. . . .	*vaḍḍhi, vuddhi*	increase.
Wilson, 215. Burn. 761, 765.	*ātmā, ātmanaḥ*	*ātpa, ātpano*	. . . .	. . . .	*attā, attano*	self: of self.
Burn. 761.	*garhā*	*garahā*	. . . .	. . . .	*garahā*	reviling.
Wilson, 225.	*chatvāraḥ*	*chaptārā* (?) *chattāro* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	*chattāro*	four.
Wilson, 158, 233.	*asti*	*asti*	. . . .	*asti*	*atthi*	is.
Wilson, 165, 191, 198, 212.	*nāsti*	*nāsti*	*natthi, nathi, nathā*	*nāsti, nāsti*	*natthi* (B. 649)	is not.
Wilson, 166.	*ropitāni*	*ropāpitāni*	*lopāpitāni*	. . . .	*ropāpitāni*	planted.
Wilson, 191.	*āropitam*	*aropitam*	*alopite*	. . . .	*āropitam*	intrusted.
Wilson, 205.	*apavāditavyam*	*ovāditavyam*	. . . .	. . . .	*ovāditabbam*	to be blamed.
Wils. 170, 182, 203.	*āha*	*āha*	*āhā, kaha* (?)	*ahati*[133]	*āha*	says.
Wilson, 176.	*tishṭhantaḥ*	*tisṭanto*	. . . .	. . . .	*tiṭṭhanto*	standing (nom. pl.)
Wils. 176, 191, 200.	*bhavati*	*bhavati, hoti*	*hoti*	*bhoti, hoti*	*bhavati, hoti*	is
Wilson, 182, 190.	*bhūta*	*bhūta*	*hūtā*	*bhuta*	*bhūta*	been.
Wilson, 182, 203.	*karoti*	*karoti*	*kaleti*	*karāti*	*karoti*	does.
Wilson, 191.	*karomi*	*karomi*	*kalāmi*	*karomi*	*karomi*	I do.
Wilson, 190.	*kṛitam*	*katam*	*kaṭe*	*kiṭa*	*katam*	done.
Wilson, 184.	*nishṭhitaḥ*	*nisṭito*	*nisita*	*nistiśita*	*niṭṭhito*	placed.
Wilson, 192.	*kartavyam*	*katavya*	*kaṭaviya*	. . . .	*kātabbaṁ, kattabbaṁ*	to be done.

[133] The ancient form of *āha* according to Wilson, p. 171.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNĀR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PĀLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*parākramāmi*	*parākamāmi*	*palakamāva*	*parakamama*	*parakkamāmi*	I have power.
Wilson, 209.	*parākramati*	*parākamate*	*palākamati*	*parakramati*	*parakkamati*	he has power.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*tishṭhet*	*tisṭeya*	*ṭhiti, hotu*	*ṭhitikā, bhotu*	*tiṭṭheyya*	let it endure.
Wilson, 199.	*abhūvan*	*ahumsu*	. . . .	*abhavasu*	*ahesuṁ*	they were.
	san	*santo*	. . . .	*santu*	*santo*	being (nom. sing. [part.)
Wilson, 216.	*kshaṇoti*	*chhanoti*	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	hurts.
	garhate	*garahati*	. . . .	. . . .	*garahati*	reviles.
Burn. 666, 669.	*paśyati, dṛiśyati* (?)	. . . .	*dekhati* (on Dehli pillar.)	. . . .	*passati, dichchhati* (*dekhadi* Prāk.)	he sees.
Wilson, 223.	*labdheshu*	*laddhesu*	. . . .	. . . .	*laddhesu*	obtained (loc. pl. past part.)
Burn. 761.	*varddhayati*	*vaḍhayati*	. . . .	. . . .	*vaḍḍheti*	he increases.
Burn. 731.	*darśayitvā*	*dasayitpā*	. . . .	. . . .	*dassetvā*	having shown.
	tishṭhati	*tiṭhati*	. . . .	. . . .	*tiṭṭhati*	stands.
Burn. 757, 758.	*ajnāsuḥ*	*ñayāsu, ñayisu*(?)	. . . .	. . . .	*aññāsuṁ*	they knew.
Burn. 759.	*iyāya*	*ayāya* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	he went.
Burn. 659, 654, Lass. Ind. Alt. ii. 227, note 4.	*parityajya*	*parichajitpā*	. . . .	. . . .	*parichchajitvā*	having left.

From an examination of this list, it will be seen that, as Professors Wilson and Weber remark (above, p. 107), the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit in the particulars which they specify than the others do; that the language of the Girnār inscription coincides most of the three with the Pāli; while in the use of *l* for *r*, and *e* for *o*, the Dhauli inscription bears the well-known characters of the Māgadhī.[134] In general the whole language of these inscriptions is so well characterized by Professor Wilson in the passage I have already extracted (p. 106, ff.), as to render any further remarks upon them superfluous.

[134] It is worthy of remark that in a passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3, 2, 1, 23 (p. 235), the Asuras, who, perhaps, represent some barbarous tribe, are introduced as using the Māgadhī form *alavaḥ* instead of *arayaḥ*, enemies. *Te asurāḥ āttavachaso "he alavo he alavaḥ" iti vadanto parābabhūvuḥ* | "The Asuras, marred in their utterance, and crying out 'O enemies, O enemies,' were defeated." This passage is quoted, with some variety of reading, in the Mahābhāshya, pp. 18 and 64.

SECT. VII.—*The Dialect of the Buddhist Gāthās, and its relation to the Pāli: Summary of the results of this and the preceding Section.*

I now come to the last of the varieties of corrupted Sanskrit to which I referred in p. 10, viz., the language which we find in the Gāthās, or metrical portions occurring in such works as the Lalita Vistara, descriptive of the life and discourses of Gotama Buddha. An account of the peculiarities of this dialect, as it is convenient to call it, has been given by Bābu Rājendralāl Mitra, in No. 6 of the Journal As. Soc., Bengal, 1854. Of the Lalita Vistara, from which the specimens given by this writer, and those which will be adduced by myself, are drawn, Professor Müller remarks, that though "on account of its style and language," it "had been referred by Oriental scholars to a much more modern period of Indian literature," it "can now safely be ascribed to an ante-Christian era, if, as we are told by Chinese scholars, it was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, as one of the canonical books of Buddhism, as early as the year 76 A.D."[135]

I proceed to give the substance of Bābu Rājendralāl's dissertation in his own words, omitting only those portions which appear to be of the least importance; making occasional abridgments; and adding, in some places, to the number of the specimens he has given of the Gāthā forms.

"Of the dialects which have proceeded from the Sanskrit, the Pāli and the Māgadhi have hitherto been supposed to bear the closest resemblance to their parent, but the discovery of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal has brought to our knowledge a new dialect, bearing a still closer affinity to the classic language of the East than either of the former. Nepalese chroniclers have named it Gāthā (ballad),[136] probably, from its having been principally used by the scalds and bards[136*] of mediæval India. For nearly a similar reason the

[135] Buddhist Pilgrims, in "Chips," (1st ed.) vol. i., p. 258.

[136] [The antiquity of certain compositions, called *Gāthās*, is proved by the fact that the expression *munigāthā*, the gāthās or verses of the Muni, or Munis, occurs in the ancient inscription of Piyadasi at Bhabra. Burnouf, App. x. to Lotus, pp. 724, 725, 729; Wilson, Jour. R. A. S., vol. xvi., pp. 359, 363, 367. Bābu Rājendralāl also refers to the Mahāwanso, p. 252, where *gāthās* are mentioned.—J.M.]

[136*] On this Prof. Benfey remarks, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, p. 134: "On the other hand, Bābu Rājendralāl's views on the origin of these Gāthās have very much to recommend them: they require only a slight modification, the substitution of inspired believers,—such as most of the older Buddhists were,—sprung from the lower classes of the people,—in the place of professional bards."

Balenese style the language of their poets, the *Kāwi* or poetical, and the language of the Vedas is called *Chhandas* (metrical), whence, by a well-known euphonic law, we have the *Zend* of the old Persians.

"M. Burnouf, the only European scholar who has noticed the existence of this dialect, describes it to be 'a barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit, appear to be confounded.'[137] It differs from the Sanskrit more in its neglect of the grammatical rules of the latter than from any inherent peculiarity of its own. The niceties of the Sanskrit forms of declension and conjugation find but a very indifferent attention from the Gāthā versifier; he uses or rejects the usual case-affixes according to the exigencies of his metre with as much veneration for the rules of Pāṇini as the West Indian Negro has for those of Lindley Murray; indeed, the best illustration that can be given of the relation which exists between the Sanskrit, the Gāthā, and the Pāli, would be extracts from the literature of the Negroes.

"The Gāthā exists only in a versified form, and is to be met with in that class of Buddhist writings called the *Mahāvaipulya* or the 'highly developed' sūtras. It occurs generally at the end and often in the middle, but never at the commencement of a chapter, and contains a poetical abstract of the subject described in the prose portion of the works. The latter is written in pure Sanskrit, and comprises a highly amplified version of the subject-matter, and often adverts to circumstances unnoticed in the former.

"The Gāthā is written in a variety of metres, from the facile octosyllabic *anushṭup*, to the most complicated *śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Its peculiarities are those of a language in a state of transition; it professes to be Sanskrit, and yet does not conform to its rules. In it we find the old forms of the Sanskrit grammar gradually losing their expressive power, and prepositions and periphrastic expressions supplying their places, and time-hallowed verbs and conjugations juxtaposed to vulgar slangs and uncouth provincialisms. At one place, orthography is sacrificed for the sake of prosody and a word of a single short syllable is inflated into one of three syllables, while at another the latter yields to the former and a molossus supplies the place of a pyrrhic or a tribrach. A spirit of economy pervades the whole, and syllables and words are retrenched and modified with an unsparing

[137] L'Histoire du Buddhisme, p. 104.

hand. In the Lalita Vistara instances of these peculiarities o great profusion, and they may be generally referred to (A) exi of metre, (B) provincialisms, and (C) errors of syntax and proso

"A.—Of the changes which may be attributed to the exige of metre, prolongation, contraction and elision of vowels, elisio consonants, and the segregation of compound consonants and vowels into their simple elements, appear to be the most frequ We shall quote a few instances:

1st. "Of the prolongation of vowels the following may be ta as examples.[138]

"*Nā cha* for *na cha*; *so cha* for *sa cha*; *prayāto* for *praya* *rodamāna* for *rudamāna*.

2nd. "Of contractions of vowels, instances occur almost in e śloka. They are generally effected by the use of short for vowels, and the substitution of i and u for e, ai, o, and au: example, *yāmi* for *yāme*; *dharenti* for *dhārayanti*;[139] *drumavara* *drumavarāḥ*; *māya* for *māyā*; *ghanṭa* for *ghanṭā*; *pujam etān* *pūjām etām*; *yatha* for *yathā*; *tatha* for *tathā*; *sada* for *sadā*.

3rd. "Elisions of vowels and consonants are also very frequ they are effected principally with a view to economy and euph Final *ses* are invariably elided. Take for instance: *nabhe* for *nabh* *apsarāḥ* for *apsarasaḥ*;[140] *sadārchiskandhi* for *sadārchishi skandhe*; *drishṭa vasthām* for *imāṁ dṛishṭvā avasthām*; *niśchari* for *niśchach* *pranidhenti* for *praṇidhyāyanti*; *manā* for *manasaḥ*; *ena* for *etena*.

4th. "Of the division of long vowels and compound consor into their short and simple elements, the following are instanc constant occurrence:

"*Rāttiye* for *rātryāḥ*, or *rātryām*; *turiyebhi* for *turyebhyaḥ*;

[138] Quoted from the edition of the Lalita Vistara, in the Bibliotheca Indica.

[[139] Other instances of the same abbreviation (common also in the Pā Prākṛits) are *enti* for *āyānti*; *upenti* for *upayanti*; *janenti* for *janayanti* for *janaya*; *mochehi* for *mochaya*; *bodhehi* for *bodhaya*; *pūrehi* for *pūraya*; for *darśayanti*, and numerous others.—J. M.]

[140] On this Professor Benfey remarks in the Gött. Gel. Anz. for Janua p. 134: "Such forms, as, for instance, *apsarā* for *apsaras*, appear already dance in the Vedas, and arise, not from the exigencies of the metre, but from of terminations in *as* passing into terminations in *a*." He then goes on to the great importance of this Gāthā language; and expresses the hope of to exhibit this in a grammar of this form of speech, which he had the prepared, but which has not yet been published.

for *glāno; istri* for *strī; turiya* for *tūryya; akilāntaka* for *aklāntaka; kileśa* for *kleśa; hiri* for *hrī; śiri* for *śrī; śiriyā* for *śriyā; śirīye* for *śriye; deviye* for *devyāḥ; pūjārāham* for *pūjārham; padumāni* for *padmāni; dānacharīyā* for *dānacharyā; supina* for *svapnam*.[141]

"This tendency to segregation of aspirated consonants forms a principal characteristic of mediæval and modern Indian phonology. The Pāli and the Prākṛit owe their origin entirely to this cause. The Hindi and the Marhatti indulge in it to a large extent, and the Bengāli is not exempt from its influence.

"B.—The provincialisms of the Gāthā include neglect of gender, number, and case, abbreviations and omissions of declensions, corruption of pronouns, and new forms of conjugation.

(1.) "Of the neglect of gender, number, and case, the following may be taken as examples: *viśuddhanirmalam* for *viśuddhanirmalān* (singular for plural); *buddhakshetram* for *buddhakshetrāṇi* (singular for plural); *āsaninā* for *āsanāt* (instrumental for ablative); *bodhisuvaṭa* far *bodhisuvaṭāt* (objective for ablative); *ūrddha hastā* for *ūrddhau hastau* (plural for dual); *kechid ekapāde* for *kechid ekapādena* (locative for instrumental); *trilokam* for *trilokī* (neuter for feminine); *kāraṇaṁ* for *kāraṇāni* (singular feminine for plural neuter); *ṇakshatrāḥ* for *nakshatrāṇi* (masculine for neuter); *pṛithu* for *pṛithavaḥ; ime karma* for *imāni karmāṇi*.

(2.) "Under the head of abbreviations and omissions of declension, the most remarkable peculiarity appears to be the use of *u* in the room of all flectional affixes," as *ratanu* for *ratnam; ahu* for *aham*. *U* is also merely put for the inherent *a*, as in two of the following cases: *kshayusaṁskṛitu* for *kshayasaṁskṛita; nishkrāntu* for *nishkrānta; parivāritu* for *parivāritaḥ*. The next are instances in which the case terminations are omitted: *laukika* for *laukikāḥ; chitrakarma* for *chitrakarmāṇaḥ;* and such instances are of continual occurrence.

(3.) "The following are the corruptions of pronouns that are frequently met with in the Lalita Vistara. They apparently lead the way to the formation of pronouns in the modern vernaculars:—

[[141] Other cases are *viyūha* for *vyūha; ratana* for *ratna; śākiyānām* for *śākyānām; nāriyā* for *nāryāḥ; vajirikāya* for *vajrakāya; śakkitam* for *śaktam; śukula* for *śukla; nyasiya* for *nyasya; ābhujiya* for *ābhujya; akampiyo* for *akampyaḥ*, etc.—J.M.]

"*Mahya* for *mama* and *mattaḥ*; *tubhya* for *tvayā* (sic) *tava*;[142] *ayu* for *eshaḥ*; *te* for *tā*; *kahiṁ* for *kutra* and *kena*.

(4.) "The new forms of conjugation observable in the attributable exclusively to corrupt pronunciation; they follo rule, and are the result of that natural tendency to abbrevia in the English originates "wont" from "will not," and from "shall not." The following are a few examples:

"*Dadami* and *demi* for *dadāmi*; *bhosi* for *bhavasi*; *bhoti* for *bhonti* for *bhavanti*; *ramishyasi* for *raṁsyase*; *āruhi* for *āroh* or *raṇi* for *arat*; *utthi* for *uttishṭha*; *dada* for *dadasva*; *śuṇa* for *śriṇu*; *munchami* for *amuncha*; *bheshyi* for *bhavishyām* *taḥ-anti-si-thaḥ-tha*;[143] *parikatha* for *parikathaya*; *nyasī* for *n* *śaṇuvantī* for *śriṇvanti*; *śuṇitvā*, *śruṇitvā*, *śuṇitya* and *śrutya* for *śuṇishyati* for *śroshyāti*; *śūnya* for *śrāvyān*; *oruhitvā* for *a* *glapayisu* for *glāpayāmāsuḥ*; *jahitvā* for *hitvā*; *buddhitvā* for *b*

"It may be remarked that the corruptions above quoted many instances, the precursors of forms adopted in other dialects. In Sanskrit the third person singular of the verb *bhavati*, which in the Gāthā changes to *bhoti* by the conversion o into *o* and the elision of the *a* before and after it (*bhonti* in the and *bhosi* in the second person singular), and thence we have *ho* and *honti* in the Māgadhi. *S'uṇitvā* for *śrutvā* is the first step formation of *suniā* in Bengāli, while *śuṇohi* passes into *suno* nothing but the elision of an inflection.

"C.—In the collocation of words and phrases the Gāthā follows the rules of Sanskrit syntax, but in the formation of com terms it admits of many licences highly offensive to the can Pāṇini and Vopadeva. They seem, however, to be the conseque haste and inattention, and are not referrible to any dialectic peculiar There are, however, some other forms discoverable in the G

[142] [I have noted also *mi* for *mahyam* and *mayā*; *ti* for *tvayā* (Lv. pp. 256, 380, 399); *tasā* for *tasya* (p. 125); *anabhiḥ* for *ebhiḥ* (p. 304).—J.M.]

[143] [I find the following additional irregular forms of the verb *bhū*, "to be," *bhavīti* for *bhavati*, *abhūshi* for *abhūt*, *abhūshiḥ* for *abhūḥ* (?), *ababhūva* *abhūvan*, *bhavi* for *bhavishyasi* and *bhavāni*, *bhaviya* and *bhaveyā* (resembl Pāli form of the same tense) for *bhavet*, *bhohi* for *bhava*, *bhaviyā* and *bhav* *bhūtvā*, *anubhaviyā* for *anubhūya*, *prabhāmi* and *prabhāma* for *prabhavā* *prabhavāmaḥ*. The forms *asmaḥ* for *smaḥ*, and *āsi* for *asti*, or *asīt*, also occur.—J

dialect, which have been either passed over, or but briefly noticed by Bābu Rājendralāl, and which yet present some points of remarkable interest. Thus the plural instrumental in *ebhiḥ*, which is so general in the Vedas, is in constant use in the Gāthās also, as in the instances *śākiyebhiḥ*, *sattvebhiḥ*, *guṇebhiḥ*, *siṁhāsanebhiḥ*, *dārakebhiḥ*, *cheṭakebhiḥ*, employed instead of the form, *śākyaiḥ*, *sattvaiḥ*, etc., which is alone current in modern Sanskrit. It is from this older form in *ebhiḥ* that the Pāli form of the same case in *ebhi*, or *ehi*, is derived, as in the word *buddhebhi*, or *buddhehi* (Clough, Pāli Gram., p. 19). Again, we find in the Gāthās various other cases besides those above noticed in which the case-terminations of the declension in *a* are substituted, in the case of words ending in consonants, for those proper to the latter form of declension. Thus, for *jagataḥ* and *jagati* (the gen. and loc. of *jagat*), we have *jagasya* and *jage;* for *nāmnā* (instr. of *nāman*), we have *nāmena;* for *mahātmānam* we have *mahātmam;* for *anantayaśasam* we have *anantayaśam;* for *karmaṇaḥ* (gen. of *karman*) we have *karmasya;* and for *duhitaram*, accusative of the word *duhitṛi* (ending in *ṛi*), we have *duhitām*, the accusative of feminine nouns ending in *ā*. This change is one to which the Pāli inclines (as in the form *Brahmassa*, as one of the genitives of Brahman), and to which a still more decided tendency is observable in the Prākṛit. (See Cowell's Prākṛit Gram. Introd., p. xxiii., xxiv.) On the other hand, we find also in the Gāthās instances of the quite different change of *e* into *i* in the locative, as *loki*, *gehi*, *udari*, for the proper form *loke*, *gehe*, *udare*. The particle *api* (*also*) is contracted to *pi*, as in Prākṛit; thus we have *ahampi* for *aham api*, *tubhyampi*, for *tubhyam api*, *vayampi* for *vayam api*, *napi* for *nāpi*, *tathāpi* for *tathāpi*, *punopi* for *punar api*: so also *iti* is contracted to *ti*, as in *ahanti* for *aham iti*. Again, we have the peculiar forms *jihmi*, *jihma*, and *jaha* for *yathā; yathariva* for *yathaiva*[144] (precisely as in Pāli, Clough's Gram., p. 11); *siti* for *smṛiti; paṭhe* for *patheshu*, and *ishṭikān* for *yashṭidhārakān* (macebearers).

Many of the changes in the Gāthā verbs are in part the same which we find in Pāli. Thus, for the correct Sanskrit forms *chodayanti*, *tarpayishyanti*, *nivarttayati* and *dhārayantī*, we have *chodenti*, *tarpesh-*

[144] See the further instances of interpolation of letters already adduced above, p. 70, and note.

yati, nivartteti and *dharenti*, which, in Pāli, would be *pa...* *pessati, nivatteti*, and *dharenti*. Again, for *avalambate* we ha... which would take the same form in Pāli. The modifica... for *avochat, munchi* for *amunchat, gachchhi* for *agachchhat*, *adhyāyat*, correspond in some measure to such Pāli forms as *akārshīt, ahāsi* for *ahārshīt, adāsi* for *adāt, ahosi* for *abh...* for *asthāt, abadhi* for *abadhīt*, etc.: and *snapinsuṁ* for *snāpa...* *asnapan*, is nearly the same as the Pāli form *apachinsu*, the plural of the third preterite. The Gāthā forms *darśishyasi* ... *yasi, śuṇishyati* for *śroshyati, kshipishyati* for *kshepsyati*, ... *śishyati* for *sparkshyati* or *sprakshyati*, are analogous to the ... *vedissāmi* for *vetsyāmi, bhuṇjissāmi* for *bhokshyāmi*, and *de...* *dakshyāmi*. The Gāthā past indeclinable particles also, such ... *ramitvā, hanitvā, labhitvā, stuvitvā, manitvā, vijihitvā, śuṇit...* for *bhūtvā, mantvā, hatvā, labdhvā, stutvā, matvā, vi+hitvā*, *spṛishṭvā*, are formed on the same principle as the simila... *pavisitvā, jānitvā, bhuṇjitvā*, for *pra+veshṭvā, jñātvā*, ... Of the forms *karitya* and *kariyāna* for *kṛitvā*, the lat... in its termination with such Pāli forms as *sutvāna* and ... *śrutvā* and *dṛishṭvā*. Again, we have the forms *kamp...* *yanto, vinishkramanto, vīryavanto* (part. nom. sing.), for *ka...* which coincides with the Pāli and Prākṛit. The same ... of *pekshasi* for *prekshase*; *tāva* for *tāvat*; *smarāhi, kurv...* *vasāhi*, for *smara, kuru, bhaṇa* and *vasa* respectively; *dev...* *for devyāḥ*; *tapasmi* for *tapasi*; *talasmin* for *tale*; *ar...* *arhadbhiḥ*; *prabhāyā* for *prabhāyā, vāchāyā* for *vāchā*. ... find the word *chhorayitvā*, which does not seem to be ... Sanskrit, though Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives *chhoraṇ...* of "leaving." I quote the following additional ano... viz., *pithitā* for *pishṭā, pithitāni* for *prathitāni, visnapī...* *yan, snapit* for *snāpayitvā, kshipiṣu* for *kshipantī, bhav...* *pratishṭhihitvā* for *pratishṭhāya, datti* for *dadati, deti* fo... for *dāsyami, dīyatu* for *dīyatām, darthi* for *dadataḥ, da...* *deti, dadia* and *dadiya* for *dattvā*; *kurumi* for *karomi*, ... *vanti*, or *karishyanti*; *karoma* for *karishyāmaḥ*; *kare...* *karitya, kariye*, and *kariyā* for *kṛitvā*; *prakarohi* for *pra...* *grahiya* for *gṛihītvā*; *bhinanmi* for *bhinadmi*; *vademi* fo...

[illegible] for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*; *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*. *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *uttishthet*; *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *labhāya*; *[illegible]* for *[illegible]* or *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*; *bhāsi* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* or *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*; *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*; *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*: *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*. *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*; *[illegible]* for *[illegible]*. In all these cases, I should observe, the Sanskrit equivalents are given according to the notes in the printed edition of the Lalita Vistara. Nouns and participles are frequently lengthened by the addition of the syllable *ka*, as *rudantaka*, *gachhamānaka*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]* for *rudan* or rather *rudantı*, *gachhamāna*, *[illegible]*, *dadatyaḥ*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*. This insertion of *ka* is also to be noticed in the following verses of the Vājasaneyi sanhitā, xxiii. 22, f.; where *yakā* and *asakau*, *yakaḥ* and *asakau*, stand for *yā*, *yaḥ*, and *asau*.

Very peculiar is the use of the *a* privative in *ajanehi* for *mā janaya*, "*do not cause*."

The use of abbreviated, or otherwise irregular, forms, such as *labhi* for *lapsyase*, or *labdhaḥ*, *gachchi* for *agachhat*, *chali* for *chalitā*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *avachi* for *avochat*, *nivesayi* for *niveśitāḥ*, *chhādayi* for *chhādayati*, *parichari* for *paryacharaḥ* and *parichāriṇī*, *varichari* for *varācharaṇam*, *tyaji* for *tyaktā*, *tyaktvā*, and *tyaktavān*, *smari* for *smṛitam* and *smaraṇam*, *varshi* for *varshitvā*, *vraji* for *avrajat*, *sparśi* for *sprashṭum*, *utthi* for *uttishṭha* and *utthāya*, is extremely common, and, as will be seen from the equivalents following each word, these forms are very variously interpreted by the commentator, and supposed to stand for verbs in the present, past, and future tense, and in the imperative mood, and for participles active and passive, as well as for nouns. The penultimate syllable of verbs is very often lengthened, as in the Vedic *leṭ* form, as in *mochayāti*, *dharshayāti*, *sahāti*, *labhāti*, *dṛiśāsi*, *vrajāsi*, for *mochayāti*, etc., for which the commentator generally substitutes the present tense, but sometimes the past, and sometimes the future. This form is even found with the augment in *adṛiśāsi*, rendered by the commentator *paśyati* or *adrākshīt*.

20?–226 B.C., and that of Meghavāhana 11
of Buddha's sayings and doings appear t
form, i.e. both in the vernacular tongues
venture to assume that the vernacular tong
It is indeed true that we find in the V
traces of those corruptions which in Prāk
characteristic feature of the language. I
period to have intervened between these is
full-blown development, as exhibited in
do not, therefore, believe in a contempora
side, of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit tong
source of the Indo-Arian language; but I
long after the immigration of the Indo-A

Lassen, App. pp. x. xxiii. I add another pa
...ons of the Sanskrit, and the period at which
Lassen, from Lassen's work, p. 592, f., 2nd ed.: "
Asoka's time Sanskrit was no longer the general
greatest importance for judging of the older literatu
ordinances, which were intended for the entire peop
vernacular dialects differing more or less from one
mother-tongue had already become limited to a smalle
such a corruption of language is not the work of a
have begun centuries before to be resolved into the
here take into account the tradition that the Buddh
announced their new doctrine in Prākrit. The Epic
different classes of auditors being unable to understand
...nd any reference to a diversity of speech among the
...w is manifestly the product of speech still fresh, flexi
the people; we can point out the first beginnings of t
...n in the Upanishads and in the hymns of the Veda,
...h antiquity of this style. In the Sanskrit literat
...e, even in the oldest inscriptions, we find the artifi
the same is the case in the dramas, which belong to
also meet with vernacular dialects for the lower c
...e is still maintained in this later age, it is easily seen
...ng stream of speech does not flow here; just as in t
...imachus, we perceive that they had not learnt the
...es; the language is a learned, though often very
...siderations convince me that the Epic style was co
...le of As'oka, and even much earlier, and that we have
...ineness. Hence I believe also that on the score of l
...an be alleged against the position that after the cr
elements, we possess in the Epic poems a rich and gen
genuine tradition."

aces where the Sanskrit
dst of populations which
dialects derived more or
ncline then to the belief
een written out of India,
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for example; countries
and Buddhism would be
India. It appears to me
e poems could have been
flourished in Hindusthan.
ice but between these two
iage which prevails in the
., that is, the dialect which
tions of India, and which
on.'[145]

alāl, "we venture to think,
anskrit style. The poetry
which at once indicates
were ignorant of the first
y a great deal of learning,
and metaphysics with much
nceive that men who were
orms of Sanskrit logic, who
ysical ideas in precise and
l with ease and elegance in
were unacquainted with the
wrote, and even unable to
. This difficulty is greatly

have introduced a very few verbal
ssen, Ind. Alt., ii. p. 9, concurs in
s (of the Buddhists) are composed
rit, of Pali, and of forms borrowed
eated in verse. Such a medley of
untry where the learned language
equently, the writings in question
g on the Indus, and most likely in
ater history of Buddhism." (See
.)—J.M.]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNĀR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PĀLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*parākramāmi*	*parākamāmi*	*palakamāva*	*parakamama*	*parakkamāmi*	I have power.
Wilson, 209.	*parākramati*	*parākamate*	*palākamati*	*parakramati*	*parakkamati*	he has power.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*tishṭhet*	*tisṭeya*	*ṭhiti, hotu*	*ṭhitikā, bhotu*	*tiṭṭheyya*	let it endure.
Wilson, 199.	*abhūvan*	*ahumsu*	. . . .	*abhavasu*	*ahesuṁ*	they were.
	san	*santo*	. . . .	*santu*	*santo*	being (nom. sing. [part.)
Wilson, 216.	*kshaṇoti*	*chhanoti*	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	hurts.
	garhate	*garahati*	. . . .	. . . .	*garahati*	reviles.
Burn. 666, 669.	*paśyati, driśyati* (?)	. . . .	*dekhati* (on Dehli pillar.)	. . . .	*passati, dichchhati* (*dekhadi* Prāk.)	he sees.
Wilson, 223.	*labdheshu*	*laddhesu*	. . . .	. . . .	*laddhesu*	obtained (loc. pl. past part.)
Burn. 761.	*varddhayati*	*vaḍhayati*	. . . .	. . . .	*vaḍḍheti*	he increases.
Burn. 731.	*darśayitvā*	*dasayitpā*	. . . .	. . . .	*dassetvā*	having shown.
	tishṭhati	*tiṭhati*	. . . .	. . . .	*tiṭṭhati*	stands.
Burn. 757, 758.	*ajnāsuḥ*	*ñayāsu, ñayisu*(?)	. . . .	. . . .	*aññāsuṁ*	they knew.
Burn. 759.	*iyāya*	*ayāya* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	he went.
Burn. 659, 654, Lass. Ind. Alt. ii. 227, note 4.	*parityajya*	*parichajitpā*	. . . .	. . . .	*parichchajitvā*	having left.

From an examination of this list, it will be seen that, as Professors Wilson and Weber remark (above, p. 107), the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit in the particulars which they specify than the others do; that the language of the Girnār inscription coincides most of the three with the Pāli; while in the use of *l* for *r*, and *e* for *o*, the Dhauli inscription bears the well-known characters of the Māgadhī.[134] In general the whole language of these inscriptions is so well characterized by Professor Wilson in the passage I have already extracted (p. 106, ff.), as to render any further remarks upon them superfluous.

[134] It is worthy of remark that in a passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3, 2, 1, 23 (p. 235), the Asuras, who, perhaps, represent some barbarous tribe, are introduced as using the Māgadhī form *alavaḥ* instead of *arayaḥ*, enemies. *Te asurāḥ āttavachaso "he alavo he alavaḥ" iti vadanto parābabhūvuḥ* | "The Asuras, marred in their utterance, and crying out 'O enemies, O enemies,' were defeated." This passage is quoted, with some variety of reading, in the Mahābhāshya, pp. 18 and 64.

use in northern India in the third century B.C. And finally, in Section VII., I have described a form of corrupt Sanskrit occurring in the Gāthās or narrative poems in which the actions of Buddha were recounted at a period apparently preceding the Christian era.

It is not necessary that I should be able to point out the exact relative antiquity of the Pāli, of the language of the inscriptions, and of the language of the Gāthās. We have seen (p. 59) that the Pāli has some grammatical forms which are older than those of the inscriptions; and *vice versâ*. It is sufficient to say that all these three different dialects exhibit a form of Indian speech which is of greater antiquity than the Prākṛits of the dramatic poems; and that they illustrate to us some of the earliest stages of the process by which the original spoken language of India, i.e. the early Sanskrit, was disintegrated and corrupted.

SECT. VIII.—*On the original use of Sanskrit as a vernacular tongue; on the manner in which the Prākṛits arose out of it, and on the period of their formation: views of Professors Weber, Aufrecht, Lassen, and Benfey.*

From the above review of the spoken dialects of India, commencing with the modern vernaculars, and going back to the Prākṛits and the Pāli, we discover, as has been repeatedly stated, that the older these dialects are, the more closely do they resemble the Sanskrit, in the forms of the words themselves, as well as in the modes of their declension and conjugation. Judging by the great differences which we find between the modern Indian languages and the oldest forms of the vernacular dialects, and by the gradual changes through which the latter have at length passed into the former, we can have no difficulty in concluding that the very oldest known forms of the Prākṛits also had, in earlier ages, undergone similar mutations, and had at one time been different in some respects from the languages which have been handed down to us: and that the further back these dialects went, the fewer and smaller were their deviations from the oldest forms of Sanskrit, till they at length merged altogether in that parent language, and were, in fact, identical with it. And as there is no doubt that

Comparative philology exhibits similar phonetic prakritizings within the circle of the Indo-Germanic languages as compared the one with the other." The same writer says in his Vājas. Sanh. Specimen, ii. 203, ff.:[148] "I incline to the opinion of those who deny that the Sanskrit Bhāshā, properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Arian people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern high-German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollection of varieties; and just as, on the other hand, these dialects, while they gradually degenerated, often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms; so also the Vedic dialects became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit Bhāshā, and partly flowed on individually in their own original (Prākṛita) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of different provinces, in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects had, therefore, a common and simultaneous origin: the latter did not spring out of the former, but rather, being connected by a natural bond with the ancient language, have often a more antique fashion than the Sanskrit, which, being shaped and circumscribed by the rules of grammarians, has sacrificed the truth of analogy for the sake of regularity. The Prakrit tongues are nothing else than ancient Vedic dialects in a state of degeneracy; while the Sanskrit (or Epic) bhāshā is the sum of the Vedic dialects constructed by the labour and zeal of grammarians, and polished by the skill of learned men. In this way we obtain an explanation of two facts: 1st, That the very same exceptions which are conceded by grammarians to the Vedic language (*chhandas*) are often found in the Prakrit dialects, being in fact nothing but original forms; and 2nd, That in the Vedic writings, forms and words occur which are more irregular than any Sanskrit word could ever be; for as yet no fixed rules of euphony, orthography, or formation existed,—rules which were eventually deduced in part from those very irregularities. All the irregular forms which prevail in the Prakrit tongues are to be found throughout the Vedas. In the latter, the faculty which creates language is seen exuberant in its early power,

[148] Reprinted in Indische Studien, ii. pp. 110, 111.

while in the former (the Prakrits) it is seen
own licence, luxuriating wantonness, an
Assimilation, the hiatus, and a fondness
play an important part in the Vedas, no
which are peculiar to the Yajur-veda (wh
from the Vedic to the Epic period, or rath
period, has also a style of language of a mo
grammatical rules), as in the older forms
many of which were difficult to understan
and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas (*paroxavṛittayah*
vaḥ). There occur moreover in the Epi
however corrupted, have been received into
change, sometimes with very little, fro
among the greater part of the people.
clear example, which, according to the in
eister, is nothing but *gobinda* derived from
Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with
the preceding passages :—" I consider that i
of the Prākṛit dialects, Professor Weber goe
them to be contemporaneous with the Veda
which he gives are, I conceive, partly errone
late books, and consequently unsuited to es
incline to the opinion that the language of t
me universally spoken, not through the wh
Punjab, that is in the original seats of the
rang from it, on the one hand, because the gr
tion were non-Arians, and naturally corrupted
rced upon them. On the other part, it is like
ere forced to marry Śūdra women (hence the
rriages in Manu), who introduced the vulgar
the last instance, I believe that, by a p
iginal tribes recovered the government, and
the masses began to prevail. I agree with
believing that Sanskrit proper, that is, the langu
law books, nay even that of the Brāhmaṇa
spoken, except in schools or by the learned."
This theory of Professor Weber, even if it we

nt with the conclusion which I hope ultimately to estab-
at the language out of which the Prākṛits grew had itself
to mutation prior to their evolution out of it. It would
hat no one such language as Sanskrit existed during the
ut was then represented by a number of what (to dis-
n from the Prākṛits) I may call Sanskritic dialects, which,
nued action of a modifying process all along at work in
on the one hand, gradually formed into the dialects which
name of Prākṛit, while, on the other hand, by a reverse
gregation and construction, another language of a different
d previously non-existent, became developed out of them,
pellation of Sanskrit.
eory, however, taken in its full extent, appears to me to
by the fact that, in its forms, the Vedic Sanskrit is
me archaisms) nearly identical with the Epic, while it
rent from even the oldest type of Prākṛit. It is no
is that some old Vedic forms, such as the instrumental
pear in the Prākṛits; for it need not be asserted that, at
eriod when the Prākṛits began to be formed, the Sanskrit
retain many of its Vedic forms.
ow adduce two quotations of considerable length from
dian Antiquities, vol. ii., pp. 1147–1149, and 1151–1153,
ory of the languages of Northern India, in the course of
eplies to the preceding observations of Weber.
scription of the Sinha Prince Rudradāman, which dates
ear 85 B.C., is written in Sanskrit prose, of an artificial
with long compound words. From this fact we may infer
rit was no longer spoken by the common people, but only
hmans and other persons in the higher classes."
s been already shown (p. 486) that in Aśoka's time the
eople spoke dialects derived from the sacred language, and
at time, there were at least three such dialects; of which
iled in Eastern India, the second in Guzerat, and the thir
Cabul. The existence of a fourth, of which the seat wa
Upper Rajasthan, is attested by the inscription of Megha
It is highly probable that the popular Indian dialect
t a still earlier period than this [the age of Aśoka wa

263–226 B.C., and that of Meghavâhana 110 A.D.[149]; for the accounts of Buddha's sayings and doings appear to have existed in a double form, i.e. both in the vernacular tongues and in Sanskrit. I do not venture to assume that the vernacular tongues originated much earlier. It is indeed true that we find in the Vedic hymns some individual traces of those corruptions which in Prâkrit have become the rule and characteristic feature of the language. But we must assume a long period to have intervened between these isolated appearances and their full-blown development, as exhibited in particular local dialects. I do not, therefore, believe in a contemporaneous development, side by side, of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit tongues out of the one common source of the Indo-Arian language; but I assume that it was not till long after the immigration of the Indo-Arians that the Prakrits were

[149] Lassen, App. pp. x. xxiii. I add another passage on the subject of the muta-
s of the Sanskrit, and the period at which they may be supposed to have
n, from Lassen's work, p. 592, f., 2nd ed.: "The ... that in
a's time Sanskrit was no longer the general vernacular language, ... is of the
est importance for judging of the older literature. ... promulgated his
nces, which were intended for the entire people, ... Aśoka ... in three
ular dialects differing more or less from one another ... in Sanskrit ... the old
-tongues had already become limited to a smaller circle ..., it follows ... But
orruption of language is not the work of a few years; the ... Sanskrit must
un centuries before to be resolved into the popular dialects; ... will not
into account the tradition that the Buddhists from the com... commencement
their new doctrine in Prākrit. The Epic poems nowhere ... to the
asses of auditors being unable to understand each other: nor ... I yet
eference to a diversity of speech among the Aryans. The Epic ... languag[e]
ifestly the product of speech still fresh, flexible, and living in the mouth
; we can point out the first beginnings of the Epic style and ... versifica[tion]
panishads and in the hymns of the Veda, and can thus establish th...
of this style. In the Sanskrit literature subsequent to Aśoka
the oldest inscriptions, we find the artificial language of later age
the case in the dramas, which belong to this later period, in which
with vernacular dialects for the lower orders. Although the Epi[c]
tained in this later age, it is easily seen, as in the Purānas, that
peech does not flow here; just as in the case of Apollonius ... and
perceive that they had not learnt the Homeric dialect from their
uage is a learned, though often very clever, imitation. These
vince me that the Epic style was completely formed before the
even much earlier, and that we have it before us in its original
I believe also that on the score of language no valid objection
inst the position that after the critical separation of later
in the Epic poems a rich and genuine store of ancient ... and

formed in the several provinces of India. I further regard it as improbable that the Prakrits arose out of one particular dialect of the Sanskrit; for no dialects of the Sanskrit have yet been pointed out. An account is to be found, it is true, in an ancient record, according to which the Sanskrit had been preserved in greater purity in the northern countries than elsewhere, and Kashmir and Badari, at the source of the Ganges, are specified by the commentator as such regions. This, however, is not sufficient to prove that in the different provinces of India there were then fundamental differences in the sacred language.

'No conclusion in regard to the existence of dialectic varieties in Sanskrit can be drawn from the fact that the Prakrit dialects have preserved the form of the instrumental plural in *hi* (derived from), in words ending in *a*, while the modern Sanskrit has lost this ; for the ancient form in *ebhis* is not peculiar to any particular writings. The preservation of this form only proves that the it dialects began to be formed at an early period, when the ation in question was in frequent use. The early adoption, into Sanskrit of words which had become modified according to ws of the Prakrit dialects, testifies, not so much to the early of popular dialects widely different from each other, as to e beginnings of such. We have to regard the causes of the in the Indian dialects as twofold. The first is that general ich has operated also in other languages, and which is indeed ipal, viz., those peculiarities connected with the abodes and cter of the tribes into which a people becomes divided. The hy they have so operated, as they actually have, is in indistances often difficult, nay, impossible, to assign. In this principal modern languages, the Provençal, French, Portunish, and Italian, have arisen out of the Latin. Of these the second, the fourth, and the fifth are rich in dialects. cause is (as has been already noticed) a special one,—I nfluence exercised on the Prakrit dialects by the languages ginal tribes adopted into the Indian political system, who eir own form of speech and adopted the Indo-Arian lan- province in which they dwelt. These aboriginal tribes in some instances, to introduce peculiar varieties into the

Prakrit dialects. When these aborigines were particularly savage and uncultivated, it could scarcely fail to happen that they occasioned very great corruptions of sound and form in the Indo-Arian languages."

The second passage is as follows :—

"It is in the period with which we are now occupied (i.e. that between Vikramāditya and the later Gupta kings) that the appellations Sanskrit for the classical language, and Prakrit for the forms of speech springing from it, must have arisen; because it was now that the distinction between the classical language (which was no longer employed as a spoken tongue except by the Brahmans and highest classes) nd the popular dialects became decidedly marked. It has been aintained that Sanskrit was never the common popular dialect of e Arian Indians, but owed its origin only to the learned; and that e Vedic dialects coalesced, on the one hand, in a single language, l so created the regular Sanskrit, in which they were lost; and on other hand, in virtue of their inherent character, became corrupted, irregular, and in this corrupt form continued to exist as the acular dialects of particular provinces. I must dissent from this on the following grounds: First, it has not yet been proved have already, p. 1148, observed) that there were any different s in the Vedic language. To prove that there were, it must wn that in contemporaneous Vedic writings there are found ns of such an essential character as to justify us in assuming y of dialects: varieties observable in writings belonging to ages only show that there was a progressive departure from condition of the language. Secondly, it is necessary that ed as to what we mean by language. If thereby we mean f expression, then it may be asserted of many languages attained a higher degree of perfection by being employed or in public assemblies, that they were not popular la e Athenians and Romans certainly did not, in the express themselves in the same style in which the and we Germans permit ourselves to make use of man ssion which we deny ourselves in books. So too w hat the Indians of the earliest age did not ordinari e language which their poets employed. If, on t language we mean grammatical forms, I cannot

why the Indians should not in the earliest ages have made use of the same as the contemporary poets employed. This certainly was the case also in the succeeding periods. To this it must be added that Pāṇini, the oldest of the three grammarians who are styled saints, uses the word *bhāshā* (speech) to designate the ordinary language in contradistinction to the Vedic, and employs as synonymous with *bhāshāyām* the word *loke*, i.e. in the world. The language which the Sanskrit-speaking Indians then spoke cannot, therefore, have been different from this *bhāshā*, or current form of speech. Its fate in contrast to that of its daughters has been a peculiar one. Whilst among the Greeks the Attic dialect became the general language of prose composition, ... and the other dialects became less and less prominent, ... and whilst in Germany the new high-German, from its use in literature and education, has more and more superseded the popular dialects, the sacred speech of the Brahmans, on the contrary, continued to lose ground, not so much in local extension, as in its employment by the different classes of the population in the same countries. It may be assumed that in the time of Aśoka the greater part of the people in the countries inhabited by Arian Indians spoke the local dialects, and that only the Brahmans and the principal persons spoke Sanskrit. On this circumstance the distribution of the dialects in the dramas rests. As the kings who were inclined to the Buddhist religion permitted only the popular dialects to be used in their inscriptions and coins, it becomes probable that they did the same thing in their decrees, and for other purposes."

The following remarks relating to the early extension and vernacular employment of Sanskrit, to its subsequent disuse as a spoken language, and to its ultimate resuscitation in a somewhat modified form, as a refined and sacred dialect, are translated, with occasional abridgment, from Prof. Benfey's article on India (above referred to), p. 245, ff. :—
"The language which we now call Sanskrit was once, as both the ancient and modern dialects which have issued from it distinctly show, the prevalent popular speech in the greatest part of India. Alongside of it there existed in the remotest times several dialects of one or more languages, not related to it, of the aborigines of India; which languages had at first a wider, and in later times a continually decreasing, extension. The period when Sanskrit began to spread itself

over India cannot be decided any more than the era of the imm tion of the people who spoke it. We can only determine the fo ing points: First, in regard to extension; (1) the Sanskrit prevailed over a considerable tract west of the Indus, as is s both by many geographical names in those regions, by the accou Chinese travellers, and by the languages which are now found exi there; (2) to the north, the Sanskrit or its dialects prevailed a as the Himālaya and the Indian Caucasus; (3) to the east, in time of Aśoka, as far as the region of the Brahmaputra, thoug region was not entirely Sanskritized; (4) to the south, Sa exercised nearly its full sway as far as the southern fronti Mahārāshṭra: this is proved by the fact that one of the di which are most decidedly of Sanskrit origin, namely, the Pr pre-eminently so named, is also called the language of Mahārā and is manifestly the parent of the modern Mahratti; (5) Sa enetrated still further to the south, where it formed the langu ucated people: but this occurred at a time when the Sa king race had not sufficient power entirely to expel the indi uage, as they were able to do in Northern India with a ve ed exceptions.

econd, as to the time when Sanskrit was the language we can determine as follows: We find in Aśoka's ti ular dialects, one in Guzerat, and the other in Magadha, ir entire structure shows, could not have existed alongsi ontemporaneously with, the Sanskrit, but must have er developed in those provinces after the Sanskrit had pre vailed there: consequently the Sanskrit must have died out oka, who lived in the third century B.C., and therefore abou nturies after the period to which the rise of Buddhism ma eat probability be assigned. Now it is related to us of th uddhists, that they composed their books not in Sanskrit, but rnacular dialects. The sacred language of Buddhism is th hich, though varying in many particulars from the langu agadha, and approximating to the principal Prakrit (the shtri), stands yet in a similar relation to the Sanskrit as the the two dialects of Aśoka's inscriptions. It becomes, th y probable that at the period when Buddhism arose, i.e.

the sixth century B.C., Sanskrit was no longer the speech of the people. The entire character of Sanskrit shows that, at the time of its acme, it was fixed by means of something resembling a literature, and it is only on this supposition that we can comprehend how it appears in regions so far apart as the north and north-west of India and the Mahratta country, as a perfectly uniform basis of the dialects which sprang out it. But a speech which becomes fixed in such a manner does not soon die out. If we assume about three centuries for the time of its gradual extinction, the period when Sanskrit was the ordinary language of the people is thrown back to about the ninth century before Christ. During this and the immediately preceding period there existed, as we have already conjectured, a political union which embraced the entire Indian empire; and as we now know that Sanskrit must have been the actual speech of the people in the Mahratta country also at this period, we may conceive this political union to have extended from the Himâlaya to the south of the Mahratta country. After this political unity had become severed (till the period of its restoration under Chandragupta), the various elements of Indian life became separately developed in the different provinces; and this was the case with the Sanskrit, too, which up to that time had been common to all. Out of this variety of local developments which the Sanskrit underwent, its different derivative languages arose, the earliest forms of which bore about the same relation to Sanskrit as the Romanic dialects to Latin.

"But while the Sanskrit was being thus developed and modified by popular use into new vernacular dialects, the literature which had been created in Sanskrit while it was yet a living tongue was still preserved in the schools [150] of the Brahmans, and along with it the Sanskrit itself as the sacred language of culture and science. When aroused to new energy by the attack made upon their system by the Buddhists, the Brahmans came forward with certain writings composed in this sacred language, and declared to be of primeval antiquity: one of the earliest of these was the Institutes of Manu; and then followed

[150] "Though we have no distinct external evidence that there were any such schools at this early period, we may yet appeal to the whole intellectual development of Indian life, in the form which it must have taken even before the rise of Buddhism, as evidence of their existence."

the Rāmāyana. But external grounds, as well they make of the Yavanas (Greeks), prove th composed at a much later period than that to to belong. In like manner the treatment of books, and still more in the Sanskrit literature connected with them, demonstrates that they proceeded from a popular dialect, but, on the ducts of a learned, or rather a sacred language out among the mass of the people, had been of the educated priesthood as the medium of gods, and of communicating the sacred science with the liveliest zeal and devotion. Out of this passed over to those persons who stood in con as members of the same administrative caste recovered their predominance, Sanskrit became guage of the educated classes, of the court, and generally: and even the Buddhists could not so valuable an instrument of cultivation. We the manner in which the Latin, though long mained in use throughout the middle ages, and in order to perceive clearly how the Sanskrit also out as a vernacular tongue between the ninth and should yet have held its ground in the highest in use there to such an extent that it can even an instrument for the expression of thought on The Sanskrit had, however, here an important Latin in this respect, that wherever Brahman regarded as a sacred language, as all the most religion were composed in it. In consequence of considered a religious merit to be even acquai Sanskrit grammar, or other work which contrib of this language, was and is looked upon as a same way a knowledge of Hebrew was long

[151] [We have another instance of a language not verna in the Persian, which, th as the language of administration, by the Mahomedans, and mass of the people, was used by the English, as the lang (until about thirty years ago), the revenue offices.—J. M.]

Jews; and even so late as, perhaps, sixty years ago, no one among them could lay claim to the character of a learned man unless he had learnt the 'sacred language.'" . . . .

"At the period when the dramatic literature assumed its fixed form (a period which cannot yet be determined, but which may be conjecturally placed in the sixth or seventh century A.D.), the knowledge of Sanskrit must have extended, on the one hand, to all who laid claim to the character of educated men, for otherwise the dramatic poets could not have composed in Sanskrit the leading parts in plays designed for representation before the entire public; and on the other hand it must have been constantly used as the language of public documents, of religion, and of learned men, for otherwise it could scarcely have been put into the mouth of gods, kings, and priests. Whether Sanskrit was at that time the proper court-language, I cannot determine; but I scarcely think it was, as the officers of the state, if not Brahmans, do not use it."

Professor Benfey then proceeds to specify the differences between the ancient form of the Sanskrit when it was still a vernacular language, and the later form which it took after its regeneration as a sacred and learned form of speech, so far as he considered himself in a position to do so at a period (1840) when he had before him but a small portion of the Vedas, which furnish us with almost the only means we can have of judging what the earlier language was.[152] He remarks: "The late Sanskrit is distinguished from the Vedic by the use of extravagantly long compounds. Even if the specimens of the Vedas and the Upanishads which are known to me had not shown that in this respect there is an essential difference in the use of the Sanskrit at the two periods to which I refer, it might have been concluded with certainty, from the character and length of these compounds, that such monstrosities could not have been created at a

152 Had these observations been written now, Professor Benfey would probably have seen no cause to modify his main conclusions, though he would have been in a position to express himself with greater confidence and precision. [Note in first edition, 1860.] In his review of the first edition of this work in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, already referred to, p. 135, Prof. Benfey writes as follows: "I would, now that the differences between the Vedic language and the Sanskrit, which was formed by a process of regeneration, are more exactly known, say Vedic or old[-Sanskrit instead of Sanskrit]." See Weber's remark above, p. 68.

time when the language was in ve
might occasionally have been used w
would have energetically rejected suc
find in the late Sanskrit writings, whi
impossible. On the other hand, the e
was quite suitable to a learned lang
which was far removed from the re
manner the laws of Sandhi, as practis
Sanskrit, must have been equally for
Sanskrit. In late Sanskrit all the wc
in one immense whole by the assimilati
final and initial letters. This rule does
Vedas; and although it is well know
final and initial letters of words exercise
upon each other, every one who has co
which a vernacular dialect, and even a l
a dialect, can obey this law, and who,
what extremes the modern Sanskrit push
will be convinced that the excessive empl
sprung out of any popular use, but mus
out to an absurd extent a grammatical ca

"Further, when the later Sanskrit i
found to be affected in a most important d
popular dialects derived from the more anc
with their genius for grammar, or philolo
well aware of the modifications which t
ceived from the dialects which had been de
investigated the phonetic laws by which the
from their parent, and could, as it were,
the latter. This facility threw them off
quently becomes possible for us to demo
the whole Indian literature subsequent to
be in all respects the ancient language of th
distinctness which none of the Sanskrit
were that they were writing correct an
imagined. I must confine myself here
elements of this proof. It is divisible i

(1) maintain that the new Sanskrit has lost[153] much which the older Sanskrit had, and which it could only lose from the circumstance that it had died out in the intermediate period, and had now to be revived in a form which might be as intelligible as possible. To this head belong a number of roots and inflected forms which the grammarians recognize and adduce partly as current, and partly as obsolete, but of which the later Sanskrit makes next to no use. The reason of this is that these roots, as well as these inflected forms, were either entirely lost in the vernacular dialects which existed at the time when the new Sanskrit was created, or had become so disfigured that their Sanskrit form could not have been easily discovered or understood. (2) The new Sanskrit contains in it much that the old Sanskrit could not have had. To this head belong a number of forms of roots which had become modified according to the laws of some one vernacular dialect, and which have been employed in the new Sanskrit in this modified shape, which the grammarians either hesitated to refer to its proper Sanskrit form, or did not comprehend. Every single example of this which might be adduced would, however, require detailed development and proof, which would demand too much space to be here attempted.

"I will, therefore, content myself with repeating the main results of the investigations which have been here merely indicated, and in great part yet remain to be carried out. These results are: That from the period when the Sanskrit-speaking race immigrated into India down to perhaps the ninth century B.C., Sanskrit became diffused as the prevailing vernacular dialect over the whole of Hindustan, as far as the southern borders of the Mahratta country. It penetrated no further south as a vernacular tongue, but only as the language of education, and apparently at a later period. From the ninth century B.C. the Sanskrit began to die out: derivative dialects became de-

153 "The Sanskrit has lost a great many verbal roots, and has frequently modified the original meaning of those still in existence."—Aufrecht, Uṇādisūtras, pref. p. viii. "In the course of time some branches of literature disappeared, a number of words became antiquated, and the tradition as to their meaning was either entirely lost or corrupted. When commentators arose to explain the Uṇādisūtras," —supposed by Professor Aufrecht (p. ix.) to be considerably older than Pāṇini,— "they found the greater part of the words contained in them still employed in the literature of their age, or recorded in older dictionaries. But an unknown residuum remained, and to these, whenever tradition failed them, they were bold enough to assign quite arbitrary significations."—Ibid. pp. vi. xii.

veloped from it; and in the s
as a vernacular language. On
in the schools of the Brahma
consequence of the regeneratio
brought back into public life
gradually increasing importance
tellectual development. About t
diffused in this character over th
empire of the Hindus lasted, it con
even long after the Mahomedans ha
sole instrument for the expression

I conclude this section by quoti
in the Journal of the Royal Asiat
series, pp. 149, f., the following
Prākṛits to the "Old-Āryan" langu

"In assuming that the languages
and Pāli) "are later than Sanskrit,
that historically they were contempor
'neo-Āryan,' because the majority of
from some more perfect condition. It i
but even in Vedic, Sanskrit forms are
Prākrit type; but this does not preve
from showing unmistakable signs of ha
and stronger ancient language, which w
it is older still than even the language o
fore may, when necessary, be called 'Old

"It is a highly probable theory that th
languages, began to be modified in the n
as the Vedic period, and that the Brahn
in order to prevent the further degeneratio
elaborated, and stiffened it into the classi
however, suppose that they brought any r
guage, but simply that they reduced to rule
and irregular, that they extended to the w
phonic laws which had been till then only
so forth; all the while, however, only work
materials. It will, therefore, not militate ag

us existence of learned Sanskrit and popular Prâkrit, to
former as in general the representative of the original Old
, consequently, as so far older than the Prâkrit; because,
i, in Sanskrit most of what existed in Old Aryan has not
preserved, but worked up and expanded, while in the
the contrary, not only has much been absolutely lost, but
remains has been corrupted and debased. Besides, as
atever of the Old Aryan has been preserved, or is likely to
d (although much may be, and has been, guessed at from
are driven, whether we like it or no, to look to Sanskrit
t extant forms; and we do, undoubtedly, find them there,
with Prākrit and Pāli."[154]

Reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.

From the passages cited from the works of Professors
enfey, that these distinguished scholars assume that the
which, no doubt, must be understood a language in some
ent from the later Sanskrit, and more akin to the Vedic
nce a spoken tongue, regarding this as a fact which
question: while Professor Weber is of opinon that the
ian speech which existed at the early period to which
not yet been developed into Sanskrit, but was still a
gue.[155] As, however, what seems so clear to the Euro-
—viz., that Sanskrit in its earlier form was a spoken lan-
not be so plain to the Indian reader, it becomes necessary
uce the most distinct evidence of the fact which I am
r.

nce to a question already discussed, see pp. 31, ff., I add the follow-
n Mr. Beames's article, p. 150:—"With regard to the languages
riod, it must be explained that I do not intend to touch on the
of how far non-Aryan elements enter into their composition.
ich is still doubtful, but this is admitted on all hands, that a very
their constituent parts is of Aryan origin."

eraturgeschichte, p. 1. His words, as translated, are these:—
eriod the Indo-âryan speech had not yet become Sanskrit, i.e. the
ted men, but remained still a vernacular tongue, whilst in its second
oke not Sanskrit but Prakritic dialects, which had been developed
ndo-âryan vernacular contemporaneously with the Sanskrit."

First:—Even though we assume,
from the earliest times, other form
India besides the Sanskrit; yet th
Dasyus, or non-Ārian tribes; while
tion of the Ārian race, the same or
spoke Prākṛit, must have been in
which must be understood the the
Ārian speech) a few ages previo
language then existed in India
languages with such a complica
Prākṛits were employed in comm
in supposing that Sanskrit too,
should have been spoken by ordi
(as Professor Benfey has well rem
all the refined rules for the pe
in later Sanskrit composition w
though some few of them might
is by no means essential to the
of the language; and at the ti
developed or systematized. M
flections of Sanskrit verbs wou
as, in fact, they are now co
compositions.[156]

[156] The remark in this last sent
character of the language vernacu
society. But I leave it as it stood
Professor Benfey, in the review abo
p. 135: "Here, nevertheless, I sh
it is said in p. 154—'Many, too, of
would be then [at the time when
used in conversation;' which, as a
It is precisely the deficiency of s
example, the want of a conjunctiv
the unfrequent employment of the
disuse of so many double forms, as
ais and *ebhis*, as the ending of ins
strong case-forms, which in the V
the reduplication and many oth
or ancient, and the regenerated Sa
to explain the latter (the modern
the vernacular dialects: those per
much accustomed to these vernacu

It is true that we cannot point out the exact forms of all the nskrit words in use at the latest period at which it was so employed a spoken tongue; especially as the language of conversation always ffers to some extent from the language of formal composition or of oks, and the vernacular Sanskrit was no doubt undergoing a per- tual alteration till it merged into Prākrit.

Second:—The case which I have supposed here of Sanskrit having n once a spoken language, and having at length ceased to be em- yed in ordinary discourse, while the provincial dialects which ung out of it, and gradually diverged more and more from it and n each other, have taken its place as the popular vehicles of con- ation,—is by no means a singular occurrence, unprecedented in the ory of language; on the contrary, the manner in which the Italian, ch, and Spanish languages (to which Burnouf and Lassen refer in ssage cited above, p. 69) have been formed out of Latin, presents ry close parallel to the mode in which the various mediæval Indian rit bhāshās (which in their turn have given birth to the modern galī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc.) grew out of Sanskrit. During the ence of the Roman empire, Latin, as is quite well known, was poken language of Italy, and other western portions of Europe. now in nearly all those countries a dead language, and is only n to the learned who study the works of the Latin philosophers, ians, and poets; just as it is only the Pandits of India and other rs who can understand the Sanskrit Śāstras. But while Latin self ceased to be a spoken language for eight hundred or a nd years, various vernacular dialects have (as I have said) out of it, such as Italian and the other modern tongues already ed; the Latin words which compose the greater part of their lary being variously modified, and the ancient Latin inflections either corrupted, or dropped, and replaced by particles and ry verbs. Of these derivative dialects, the Italian, which is

ich they were familiar into Sanskrit according to the reflex rules (Reflex- which were known to them. It was only a constantly deeper study of the ins of the genuine vernacular Sanskrit and the compositions which were more nnected with it that brought back many of its at first neglected peculiari- the regenerated Sanskrit, a point which can be proved by the express of Pāṇini himself in reference to the participles of the reduplicated perfect. Pān. iii. 2. 108; and my complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 413, note 13, Grammar, § 361, 369.)"

spoken in Italy, has retained the closest resemblance to its mother-language. Many of the changes which Latin words have undergone in Italian, resemble very closely the modifications which Sanskrit words have undergone in Pāli and Prākṛit, as has been already remarked in the passage quoted, in p. 69, from Burnouf and Lassen's Essay on the Pāli.

To exhibit the wonderful similarity (amounting in some cases to identity) of the processes by which these two ancient languages, the Sanskrit and the Latin, are modified in their modern derivatives, I shall place in juxtaposition a few of the most remarkable instances of which occur to me.[157]

I.—Phonetic Changes.

Words in which the *c* or *k* is dropped from a compound letter *ct*, *nct*, or *kt*, while the *t* is doubled.

Latin forms, as modified in Italian. / Sanskrit forms, as modified in Pali and Prakrit.

Latin.		Italian.	Sanskrit.		Pali and Prakrit.
perfectus	becomes	perfetto.	muktas	becomes	mutto.
ictus	,,	detto.	yuktas	,,	jutto.
unctus[158]	,,	giunto.[158]	bhaktas	,,	bhatto.
actus	,,	frutto.	sikthakas	,,	sitthao.
ctum	,,	patto.	parityaktas	,,	pariccatto.
ctus	,,	tratto.	bhuktas	,,	bhutto.
us	,,	fatto.	saktas	,,	satto.
s	,,	atto.			
	,,	otte.			
	,,	dotto.			

... in which the *p* of *pt* is dropped, and the *t* doubled.

	becomes	rotto.	uptas	becomes	utto.
	,,	atto.	suptas	,,	sutto.
	,,	incetto.	guptas	,,	gutto.
	,,	sette.	luptas	,,	lutto.
	,,	cattivo.	triptis	,,	titti.
	,,	assunto.	taptas	,,	tatto.
(and many others).		sotto.	saptamas	,,	sattamo.
			naptā	,,	nattā.
			prāptas	,,	patto.
			paryāptas	,,	pajjatto.
			kshiptas	,,	khitto.
			liptas	,,	litto.
			dīptas	,,	dītto.

...st edition of this volume was published, this subject has been ...
...hlet of 68 pages published in 1869, entitled Vergleichung de...
...manischen Sprachen, von Friederich Haag. In a review of thi...
...entralblatt for May 14, 1870, p. 594, f. reference is made to it...
... Tables, which, however, I do not find in my copy.
...ounded *k* in Sanskrit.
... sounded as *ju* in Sanskrit.

(3). Words in which the *l* of a compound letter, *pl* or *kl*, is dropped.[160]

Latin forms, as modified in Italian.			Sanskrit forms, modified in Pali and Prakrit.		
Latin.		Italian.	Sanskrit.		Pali and Prakrit.
planctus	becomes	pianto.	viklavas	becomes	vikkavo.
planus	„	piano.			

(4). Words in which the *b* of the compound letter *bj* is dropped.

subjectus	becomes	soggetto.	kubjas	becomes	khujjo.[161]
objectus	„	oggetto.[162]	abjas	„	ajjo.

(5). Words in which the letters rejected, or changed, are not the same in the Italian and Prākṛit, but in which both languages show the same tendency to simplification.

absorptus	becomes	assorto.	utpalam	becomes	uppalam.
absurdus	„	assurdo.	skandhas	„	khandho.
externus	„	esterno.	dharmas	„	dhammo.
mixtus	„	misto.	dushkaras	„	dukkaro.
sextus	„	sesto.	kshamā	„	khamā.
textus	„	testo.	mugdhas	„	muddho.
saxum	„	sasso.	mudgas	„	muggo.
somnus	„	sonno.	labdhas	„	laddho.
damnum	„	danno.	śabdas	„	saddo.
autumnus	„	autunno.	nimnas	„	nimmo.[163]
domina	„	donna.	āmnāyas	„	āmmāyo.
			pradyumnas	„	pajjummo.
			janman	„	jammo.
			rājñā	„	raññā.

A large portion of the simplifications in Pāli and Prākṛit arise from the rejection of *r* before or after another consonant, as in the words *kaṇṇa* for *karṇa*, *savva* for *sarvva*, *mitta* for *mitra*, *putta* for *putra*, etc. This elision of *r* is not usual in Italian.

II.—I give an instance or two to show the manner in which the Latin case-terminations have been dropped in Italian. In Latin the word *annus*, a year, is thus declined.

Singular.		Plural.	
Nom. - - - -	annus.	Nom. - - - -	anni.
Gen. - - - -	anni.	Gen. - - - -	annorum.
Dat. and Abl. - -	anno.	Dat. and Abl. - -	annis.
Accus. - - - -	annum.	Accus. - - - -	annos.

In Italian, on the contrary, there is only one form in the singular,

[160] In Prākṛit, however, a compound letter, of which *l* is the final portion, is generally dissolved into two syllables, as *glāna* becomes *gilāna*.

[161] Var. II. 34. [162] Pronounced as if written in English, *sojjetto*, *ojjetto*.

[163] I can only infer, from the rule in Vararuchi, III. 2, that the *n* is thrown out and the *m* doubled in this and the two following words, as I have not met them anywhere.

anno; and one in the plural, *anni*; the cas
plied by prepositions with or without the arti

Singular.		
Nom. and Accus. -	l' anno.	Nom
Gen. - - - -	dell' anno.	Gen.
Dat. - - - - - -	all' anno.	Dat.
Abl. - - - - - -	dall' anno.	Abl.

III.—In Italian verbs, the Latin forms of
served in a modified shape, as the following e:

Present Tense.

Latin.	Italian.	La
1. vendo.	vendo.	1. vende
2. vendis.	vendi.	2. vendel
3. vendit.	vende.	3. vendel
4. vendimus.	vendiamo.	4. vendel
5. venditis.	vendete.	5. vendel
6. vendunt.	vendono.	6. vendel

Perfect Tense.

		Plu
1. vendidi.	vendei.	1. vendid
2. vendidisti.	vendesti.	2. vendidi
3. vendidit.	vendè.	3. vendidi
4. vendidimus.	vendemmo.	4. vendidi
5. vendiditis.	vendeste.	5. vendidi
6. vendiderunt.	venderono.	6. vendidi

But (IV.) in the passive voice the Italian la
the Latin forms of conjugation. Thus inste
ego laudor, "I am praised;" *ego laudabar*, "
laudarer, "I should be praised," etc., the Itali
(as the Latin had already done in a few), the
the past participle, and say *Io sono lodato*, *Io era*
"I am," "I was," "I should be, praised."

These few instances will suffice to show the
Latin words and inflections are modified in Itali

*It is thus manifest from the history of Italy
times that the people of that country once spoke
Italian, a vernacular dialect derived from Latin,
in many respects, as the Indian Prākṛits do from
equally with Sanskrit is in most of the countries
current a dead language, known only from an*

use in the public worship of the Roman Catholic Church, or from its occasional employment by modern scholars in their writings, or in scholastic discussions, in Italy and other countries. But if it be true that a language like Latin, with its numerous and varied inflections, was once the common speech of the whole Roman people, there can be no difficulty in supposing that while the modern Hindus (excepting a few Pandits) can only speak Bengali, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., and while their ancestors spoke different Prākṛit dialects, which are the immediate parents of the modern vernaculars, the Hindus of a still earlier period should have spoken Sanskrit, i.e. the old Ārian lan- [illegible]re, itself, from which there is no doubt that the older forms of [illegible]rit were immediately derived. If even in our own day Pandits [illegible]lk Sanskrit, why should not the vernacular use of it, in a simple [illegible]atural style, have, in former ages, been common, not only among [illegible]ians, but also among other persons in all the different classes of [illegible] The complex structure of a language, i.e. the multitude of [illegible] of inflection and conjugation, which, to those who are ac- [illegible] to a simpler form of speech, may appear to afford grounds [illegible]ng that a language of the former description could ever have [illegible]acularly spoken, is, in fact, rather an argument in favour of [illegible]osition; for such complexity of structure appears to be a [illegible]ristic of language as it exists in the earlier stages of society, [illegible] dialects formed out of these earlier tongues, on their decay, [illegible]d to become simpler in their forms. This is exemplified in the Latin and its derivatives.

The fact that the dramatic authors put Sanskrit into the [illegible] of Brāhmans and other persons of the higher ranks, affords an [illegible] of considerable force that Sanskrit was once spoken by the [illegible] community, and by the upper classes down to a much later period [illegible] above, p. 140): and even the common employment of the same lan- [illegible] by learned Indians in their schools and disputations down to the [illegible] day, may go some way to prove its more general currency as a [illegible] at an earlier date. For if Brāhmans did not at one time [illegible] it in their ordinary discourse, how did they ever get into the [illegible] of speaking it with so much ease and fluency? But if Sanskrit [illegible] one time ordinarily spoken by Brāhmans, the use of it would [illegible] be propagated from one generation of learned men to another.

Fourth:—Manu mentions a difference of among the Dasyus, or non-Ārian tribes, some the language of the Āryas, and others the lang The language of the Āryas to which he allude from Sanskrit, or old-Sanskrit itself: whethe other must depend on the age in which we su of Manu's Institutes to have been composed rate, leaves the impression that there was a b the Ārian language and the indigenous dial contrasted; and that the varieties, if any, r the former, were regarded as comparatively in

Fifth:—In some of the oldest Indian gran and Pāṇini, we find the obsolete language of from the ordinary Sanskrit of the day. The fo signated by the terms *anvadhyāyam* (in the Ve *ārsha* (the speech of the ṛishis), etc.; while th is referred to as *bhāshā* (the spoken langua ancient author of the Nirukta, in the introducto speaking of particles (*nipātāḥ*), says: *teshām bhavanti iti* | "*iva*" *iti bhāshāyām cha anvadh* "*Indraḥ iva*" *iti* | "*na*" *iti* | *pratishedhārth anvadhyāyam* | "*na Indram devam amaṁsata*" *ityādi* | "Of them these four are particles has this sense both in the common language (*b* (*anvadhyāyam*): thus *Agnir iva, Indra iva*, 'I '*Na*' has in the *bhāshā* a negative sense. I sense both of a negative and also of a comp in the text *na Indram devam amaṁsata*, 'the as a god,' it has a negative sense," etc. Ag (I. 5), he says similarly: "*nūnam*" *iti vichi ubhayam anvadhyāyam vichikitsārthīyaḥ pad* particle '*nūnam*' is used in the *bhāshā* to

[164] Manu, x. 45. The verse is quoted and translated in but I repeat it here for facility of reference. *Mukha-bāhi vahiḥ* | *mlechchhavāchaś chārya-vāchaḥ sarve te Dasyav* which are outside of the classes produced from the mou Brahmā, i.e. Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śū language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called

e Veda, too, it has that signification, and is also a mere expletive." gain, Yāska says, Nir. II. 2: *athāpi bhāshikebhyo dhātubhyo naigamāḥ ito bhāshyante "damūnāḥ" "kshetrasādhāḥ" iti | athāpi naigamebhyo āshikāḥ "ushṇam" "ghṛitam" iti | athāpi prakṛitayaḥ eva ekeshu āshyante vikṛitayaḥ ekeshu | "śavatir" gati-karmā kambojeshv eva āshyate | vikāram asya āryeshu bhāshante "śavaḥ" iti | "dātir" vanārthe prāchyeshu dātram udīchyeshu* | "Again, there are Vedic aigama) nouns (as *damūnāḥ* and *kshetrasādhāḥ*) which are derived om roots found in the *bhāshā;* and also formations in the *bhāshā*, ich as *ushṇam, ghṛitam,* which come from Vedic roots. Further, the ots only are employed in the speech of some; the derived forms [or ouns] in that of others. *S'avati*, as a verb for 'going,' is used in the nguage of the Kambojas only: its derivative, *śava* ('a corpse'), is n use in the language of the Āryas. The verb *dāti* is employed in he sense of 'cutting' by the people of the East: while the noun *ātram* ('a sickle') only is known to those of the North." Here it vill be observed that pure Sanskrit words are referred to as being used n the speech not only of the Āryas, but also of the Kambojas, a eople living to the north-west, who are distinguished from the Āryas.

In the Sūtras of Pāṇini the Vedic dialect is referred to as follows: , 2, 36, *vibhāshā chhandasi* | "in the *chhandas* (Veda) there is an ption:" 1, 4, 20, *ayasmayādīni chhandasi* | "In the *chhandas* we ave the forms *ayasmaya* [instead of *ayōmaya*]," etc.; and so in umerous other aphorisms. The word *mantra* is put for Veda in the ollowing Sūtras, 2, 4, 80; 6, 1, 151; 6, 1, 210; 6, 3, 131; 6, 4, 53; , 4, 141. The word *nigama* is similarly used in 6, 3, 113; 6, 4, 9; , 2, 64; 7, 4, 74:—and the expressions *ṛishau* ('in a ṛishi'), and *ichi* ('in a Vedic verse'), are employed in the same way, 4, 4, 96; , 3, 130; and 6, 3, 133. In contradistinction to the Vedic dialect, n the other hand, the current Sanskrit is designated by Pāṇini as *hāshā* in the following Sūtras, 3, 2, 108: *bhāshāyām sadavasaśruvaḥ* | 'in the current language the roots *sad*, *vas*, and *śru*, take *kvasu;*" , 3, 20: *sthe chā bhāshāyām* | "and in the case of *stha* in the current anguage." The same use of the word will be found in Sūtras, 6, 1, 81; 7, 2, 88; 8, 2, 98.[165]

165 Compare Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, pp. 56, 139, and 167, with ote 2, and Ind. Studien, iv. 76. Dr. F. Hall writes, pref. to his edition of the Vāsava-

Scholars are not agreed as to the periods
respectively lived, or even as to which of the
Professor Müller considers Yāska to have live
("Chips," 1st ed., p. 74, published in 1867),
History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 1
is understood by Professor Goldstücker (Pāṇ
1861),—places him after Pāṇini. Professo
Antiquities (vol. i., first edition, p. 739, a
the second edition; and vol. ii., p. 476), th
himself unacquainted with the highly artifici
and was named by him, he must be older, a
their grammatical methods is so great that
will scarcely suffice to explain it. Profes
p. 221) agrees with Lassen that Pāṇini is mor
regards the former as having, in all probabil
(Pāṇini, p. 227), whose death he seems to
placing in 543 B.C. Lassen, however, does no

dattā, p. 24, note: "The word bhâshâ signifies 'clas
either with the archaism of the Veda, or with the vari
account of this *bhāshā* by Professor Weber is in cons
have already been quoted from him (above p. 129, ff.).
India of the several Indo-aryan tribes, a greater unit
restored in their different dialects by their associati
new abodes and their aggregation into larger com
hand, the grammatical study which was gradually
explanation of the ancient texts, and was growing u
the effect of fixing the linguistic usage (*usus loquen*
nized language known as the *bhāshā* had arisen, in
Sūtras are composed."—Ind. Lit. p. 167.

On the subject of this same term I quote some re
his review of Weber's History of Ind. Lit. in the Jo
Society for 1853, p. 605:—"Contradistinguished from
the proper and therefore originally nameless speech, *bh*
Sanskṛita, we must regard as one formed with reference
ing to it. Too much meaning therefore appears to
when *it is* explained as the cultivated language, as
the word elsewhere does not justify the explanation, wh
an incorrect contrast. I believe that we shall come ne
assign to this somewhat arbitrarily chosen collection
tained in Prākṛit the value (signification?) of the alre
another form of speech is referred."

[1] *In the same Essay*, printed under the title of the
Researches," in Bunsen's Outline of the Phil. of
1854), *Prof.* Müller had placed Yāska in the fourth

in regarding Pāṇini as anterior to Buddha (Ind. Ant., vol. i., second edition, p. 864). Professor Weber also (Ind. Stud. v. 136, ff.) rejects the opinion that Pāṇini was prior to Buddha.[167] If we accept the view of Böhtlingk and Lassen that Pāṇini flourished about 330 years B.C. (Lassen, vol. i., second edition, p. 864), and that Yāska was more than fifty years earlier, the latter may be placed about 400 B.C. If, further, we adopt the opinion expressed by Prof. Benfey (see last section, pp. 138, 143) that Sanskrit had ceased to be vernacular in the time of Buddha, i.e. in the sixth century B.C., the colloquial use of that language must have died out some centuries before the age of Yāska; and a somewhat longer period before the time of Pāṇini. In this case, these authors could not employ the word *bhāshā*, when referred to Sanskrit, in the sense of a universally spoken contemporaneous language; for the language then actually in general use must have been a species of Pāli or some of the earlier forms of Prākṛit. But still the spoken language of that day had not departed so far from the Sanskrit but that its close relation to the latter as its parent, or rather as its standard, would be evident to every scholar; and thus Sanskrit would still be called the *bhāshā*, or language *par excellence*. We have consequently, in the continued use of this word, an argument of considerable force to show that the Sanskrit had at one time been a spoken tongue.

Again, in the Mahābhāshya (pp. 22 and 63 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition) we find the following passage:—

Bhūyāṁso 'paśabdāḥ alpīyāṁsaḥ śabdāḥ | ekaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo 'pabhraṁśāḥ | tad yathā "gaur" ity asya śabdasya "gāvī" "goṇī" "gotā" "gopotalikā" ity-evam-ādayo bahavo 'pabhraṁśāḥ |

"Incorrect words are the most numerous, and [correct] words are the fewest; for of each word there are many corruptions (*apabhraṁśāḥ*). Thus there are numerous corruptions of the word *goḥ* (cow); such as the following, viz., *gāvī, goṇī, gotā, gopotalikā*, etc." This reference to incorrect forms, such as those of the word *go*, which seem to be Prākṛit,[168] indicates that Sanskrit, even if not still spoken by a considerable class of persons, was at least regarded as the standard of all spoken language; and that all deviations from it were looked upon as mere

167 Compare the same writer's remarks on this question in his review of Mr. D'Alwis's Kāchchāyana in the Journal of the Germ. Or. Society, xix. 653.

168 In the Mṛichhakaṭi, pp. 98, 99, the word *goṇā* occurs in the sense of oxen.

risms: for there would have been no ground for such a
arison between words which were regarded as belonging to
anguages; nor would the Prākṛit synonyms of *go* have
g because of their variety of form.

th:—In the 164th hymn of the 1st book of the Rigveda
ving verse (the 45th) occurs: *Chatvāri vāk parimitā padāni*
brāhmaṇāḥ ye manīshiṇaḥ | guhā trīṇi nihitā nengayanti
manushyāḥ vadanti | "There are four measured grades
e: with these intelligent Brāhmans are acquainted.
en in secret indicate nothing. The fourth grade of sp
ed by men." I quote part of the comment on this verse
ven in the Pariśishṭa, or Supplement to the Nirukta, i. 9:
tamāni tāni chatvāri padāni | "*oṁkāro vyāhṛitayaś cha*" *ity*
nākhyāte cha upasarga-nipātāś cha" *iti vaiyākaraṇāḥ* | "
brāhmaṇam chaturthī vyāvahārikī" *iti yājnikāḥ* | "*ṛi*
i sāmāni chaturthī vyāvahārikī" *iti nairuktāḥ* | "*sarpā*
sām kshudrasya sarīsṛipasya chaturthī vyāvahārikī" *ity ek*
u tūṇaveshu mṛigeshu ātmani cha" *ity ātmapravādāḥ* | *atha*
m bhavati "*sā vai vāk sṛishṭā chaturdhā vyabhavad* |
ku trīṇi paśushu turīyam | *yā pṛithivyām sā Agnau sā rath*
ntarikshe sā Vāyau sā vāmadevye | *yā divi sā āditye sā bṛ*
yitnāv atha paśushu | *tato yā vāg atyarichyata tām brāh*
huḥ | *tasmād brāhmaṇāḥ ubhayīm vadanti yā cha devānām*
ushyāṇām" *iti* |

What are these four grades? The explanation of the
'they are the four mystic words, *om*, *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, and
grammarians[169] say 'they are the four kinds of words,
s, prepositions, and particles.' The ceremonialists declare
'(1st) the mantras; (2nd) the kalpas (liturgical precepts)
brāhmaṇas; and (4th) the current language.'[170] The comm
uktāḥ) explain them as being '(1st) the ṛich; (2nd) the
the sāman texts; and (4th) the current language.' Others
denote the speech '(1st) of serpents; (2nd) of birds; (3rd

ee the Mahābhāshya, pp. 28, 29.
ee Sāyaṇa's commentary on R.V. i. 164, 45. He there defines the
yāvahārikī vāk: *Bhoga-vishayā "gām anaya" ityādi-rūpā vyāvahā* as
mmon language is that which refers to objects of enjoyment, such
bring the cow.'" These words are of course Sanskrit.

small reptiles; and (4th) the current language.' The philosophic school explains the four grades as having reference to 'cattle, music instruments, wild animals, and soul.' On this point we have also th following text in a Brāhmaṇa: 'Speech, when created, became divid into four parts, of which three abide in these three worlds (earth, t atmosphere, and the sky), and the fourth among the beasts. Terrestri speech abides in fire and in the Rathantara texts; atmospheric spee abides in the wind, and in the Vāmadevya prayers; celestial spee abides in the sun, in the Bṛihat metre, and in thunder. The [four portion of speech was] in the beasts. The speech which was m excellent[171] was placed in the Brāhmans: hence the Brāhmans sp two sorts of language; both that of gods and that of men.'"

The Pariśishṭa appended to the Nirukta is more modern th the time of Yāska, though it is regarded as a part of his work the Durga, the commentator, who refers to the Nirukta as consisting 14 parts. (See his comment on Nir. i., 20, which is quoted bel pp. 166, ff.) But though itself subsequent in date to the Niruk the preceding passage refers to the opinions of various ancient writ and may, therefore, be held to carry us back to a remoter peri Three of the ancient schools which are quoted assert the curr language (*vyāvahārikī vāk*) to be the fourth kind of speech allu to in the Vedic text as being spoken by men. By this we are perh to understand old Sanskrit. It is true that in the Brāhmaṇa wh the author of the Pariśishṭa cites a remark is made (connected w what precedes) that the Brāhmans speak two languages, that of gods and that of men; and this might seem to prove that, as in l times (see above, p. 47), a distinction was drawn, at the time w the Brāhmaṇa was composed, between Sanskrit, the language of gods, and Prākṛit, the language of men. But the reference may the Vedic and the ordinary Sanskrit; or to cultivated and rustic sp or perhaps to some piece of mysticism.[172] And, in any case, a are ignorant of the date of the Brāhmaṇa from which the citati

171 Benfey, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, p. 134, would render "was the first."

172 In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 1, and in the S'atap. Br. xiv. 6, 11, said, *paroksha-priyāḥ iva hi devāḥ pratyaksha-dvishaḥ*, "for the gods lov were, what is mysterious, and hate what is manifest." The first part of this is of frequent occurrence in the Brāhmaṇas. The commentator on the Tait 5, 9, where it occurs, remarks, "Hence also in common life teachers av name Devadatta, and like to be honoured by such appellations as 'upā

de, no conclusion can be drawn from the passage adverse to
nacular use of Sanskrit in the Vedic age.
Seventh:—In the Rāmāyana several passages occur in which
loquial use of Sanskrit is mentioned. These are the follow
Hanuman, the monkey general, is represented as having
into the palace of Rāvaṇa, the Rākshasa king, and as
he is to address Sītā, who is there confined. He says (
ṇḍa, xxx. 17, Bombay edition): *aham hy atitanuś chaiva vā*
shataḥ | vācham chodāharishyāmi mānushīm iha saṁskṛitām | 17
i vācham pradāsyāmi dvijātir iva saṁskṛitām | Rāvaṇam ma
ṁ Sītā bhītā bhavishyati | 19 | *avaśyam eva vaktavyam*
yam arthavat | mayā sāntvayitum śakyā nānyatheyam a
or I am very small, and above all a monkey; I shall no
shed (*saṁskṛitām*) human speech. If I utter polished spe
rāhman, Sītā will think I am Rāvaṇa, and will be fright
t certainly speak human and significant language; for th
I comfort the blameless lady."

he reading in Gorresio's edition of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, xxi
ewhat different from the above, and is as follows: *anenā*
i śokenāpahitendriyām | aham hy aviditaś chaiva vānaraś cha
| 17 | *yadi vācham vadishyāmi dvijātir iva saṁskṛitām*
shya rūpam cha Jānakī bhāshitam cha me | Rāvaṇam ma
punas trāsam gamishyati | tato jāta-paritrāsā śabdam

a,' and so forth," (*ataḥ eva loke 'pi Devadattādi-nāma parityajya*
byāyāḥ miśrāḥ ityādi-nāmabhiḥ pūjyāḥ paritushyanti). It is well kno
ding to Indian custom, Pandits are not named by their pupils, but are
my Guru, etc.

the Iliad, ii., 813, f., mention is made of an eminence called by men
y the gods the tomb of Myrine; on which Faesi remarks in
he former was the common, the latter the older, but more disti
ant name. (Comp. Iliad i. 403; xiv. 291; xx. 74.) On Iliad ii. 81
remarks (Homer, vol. iv. 114), "With regard to the double
and the divine—by which this place was known, I have little dou
(Aglao. p. 858), Nitzsch (Od. x. 305), and Göttling (Hes. intro.
saying that by the language of men in such cases is understood the
r name; by the language of the gods, the sacerdotal, oracular, or
on."

r the references to most of the texts here quoted I am indebted to
der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, for 1854, p. 851, note.

se words are thus explained by the commentator: *mānushīm ma*
hyām | "saṁskṛitām" vyākaraṇa-saṁskāravatīm |

manasvinī | "I shall console her, whose senses are overwhelmed with this grief. But I am both unknown, and above all a monkey. If I were to speak in polished language, like a twice-born man, Jānakī (Sītā), perceiving my appearance, and [hearing] my words, would think that I was Rāvaṇa, and would again become terrified; and would scream in consequence of her fright." Considering that this would lead to a discovery, he concludes as follows (verses 33 and 34 of the same section): *Rāmam aklishṭakarmāṇaṁ nimittair anukīrtayan | tasmād vakshyāmy ahaṁ vākyam manushyaḥ iva saṁskṛitam | naināṁ udvejayishyāmi tad-buddhi-gata-mānasām |* "Announcing by signs the undaunted Rāma, I shall address to her such polished language as a man would. [Thus] I shall not occasion her any alarm, as her mind will be fixed on the thoughts of her husband."

As the reason assigned in these passages for not addressing Sītā in Sanskrit such as a Brāhman would use, is not that she would not understand it, but that it would alarm her, and be unsuitable to the speaker, we may take them as indicating that Sanskrit, if not spoken by women of the upper classes at the time when the Rāmāyana was written (whenever that may have been[175]), was at least understood by them,[176] and was commonly spoken by men of the priestly class, and other educated persons. By the Sanskrit proper to an [ordinary] man, alluded to in the second passage, may perhaps be understood not a language in which words different from those of Brahmanical Sanskrit were used, but the employment of diction correct, but neither formal and elaborate, nor familiar and vulgar. It would be comparatively easy, even for persons who could not speak correct Sanskrit, to understand it when spoken, at the early period here in question, when the contemporary vernacular, if different from Sanskrit, deviated from it so very much less than the modern Indian vernaculars do.

175 Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. i., pp. 484, ff., does not determine its date.

176 In the Mṛichhakaṭī, however, written probably at a later period (see above, p. 12, note 4), a woman's pronunciation, when reading or repeating Sanskrit is spoken of as something laughable (p. 44, Stenzler's ed.):—*mama dāva duvehiṁ jjeva hassaṁ jāadi itthiāe sakkadam paḍhantīe maṇussena a kāaliṁ gāantena | itthiā dāva sakkadam paḍhantī diṇṇaṇavaṇassā via giṭṭhī adhiam susuāadi*, which is thus translated by Professor Wilson (Theatre of the Hindus, i. 60):—"Now, to me, there are two things at which I cannot choose but laugh, a woman reading Sanskrit, and a man singing a song; the woman snuffles like a young cow, when the rope is first passed through her nostrils."

Again, an expression occurs in the Aranya Kāṇḍa, xi.
ich it seems as if the use of Sanskrit was a characteristic
ans; and no doubt they were the persons who chiefly
ombay edition): *dhārayan brāhmaṇaṁ rūpam Ilvalaḥ saṁ*
dan | *āmantrayati viprān sa śrāddham uddiśya nirghriṇaḥ* |[177]
ning the form of a Brāhman, and speaking Sanskrit, the
kshasa Ilvala invited the Brāhmans to a funeral ceremony
In the Sundara Kāṇḍa, lxxxii. 3 (Gorresio's edition), the
Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, is characterized as *saṁskṛita*
ypannam arthavach cha | "polished (*saṁskṛitam*), supp
sons, and judicious in its purport;" and in the Yuddha
v. 2) the god Brahmā is said to have addressed to Rāma a
ich was *saṁskṛitam madhuraṁ ślakshṇam arthavad dharma-sa*
olished, sweet, gentle, profitable, and consonant with
; in neither of these two passages does there appear to
rence to the special meaning of the word *saṁskṛita*.
n the subjoined lines (Sundara Kāṇḍa, xviii. 18, f.), the word
mployed, if not in a technical signification, corresponding
skṛita, at all events in a manner which enables us (as Weber
erceive how that technical sense of the word arose: *duḥkhena*
nām Hanumān Marutātmajaḥ | *saṁskāreṇa yathā hīnāṁ vā*
starāṁ gatām[178] | *tishṭhantīm analankārām dīpyamānāṁ*
anumān, Son of the Wind, recognized Sītā with difficult
as she was, unadorned, radiant only with her own
as a word is not readily understood, when its sense is
he want of its correct grammatical form."

The commentator explains the first line thus: "*brāhmaṇa-rūpaṁ*"
a-veshaṁ | "*saṁskṛitaṁ vadan*" *brāhmaṇa-vad iti śeshaḥ* |

The reading of this line is identical in the Bombay edition, xv. 39
entator there has the following note: *Snānānulepanādir anga-sa*
vyākaraṇa-jnānādi-jaḥ saṁskāraḥ | *devyāḥ arthāntara-gatatvaṁ*
am | *vāchas tu vivakshitārthād anyārtha-bodhakhatvam* | *vācho'rtho*
dy-abhyāsa-duḥkhena vyutpattiṁ sampādya budhyate tad-vat Sītā
e | "Bathing, anointing, etc., are the decoration (*saṁskāra*) of
coration (or correctness, *saṁskāra*) of speech is derived from a
mar, etc. The phrase *arthāntaragatatva*, when applied to Sītā,
ng gone to a foreign country; but when applied to speech, it
of another meaning than the one intended. As the sense of
d after proficiency has been attained with difficulty by the study of
numan) recognized Sītā by hard effort." Professor Aufrecht has

Eighth:—From the researches of Professors Kuhn[179] and Benfey[180] it appears that many words, which in modern Sanskrit are only of one, two, or three, etc., syllables, have, in the Veda, to be read as of two, three, or four, etc., syllables, i.e., as of one syllable longer, in order to make up the full length of the lines required by the metre employed by the Vedic poets. Thus *tvam* has to be read as *tuam; vyushṭau* as *viushṭau; turyam* as *turiyam; martyāya* as *martiāya; vareṇyam* as *vareṇiam; amātyam* as *amātiam; svadhvaram* as *suadhvaram;* and *svastibhiḥ* as *suastibhiḥ*. Now as this mode of lengthening words is common in Prākṛit, it would appear that the Prākṛit pronunciation agrees in this respect with that of the old Sanskrit in contradistinction to the more recent. But as the Prākṛit pronunciation must have been borrowed from a previously existing popular pronunciation, which was at the same time that employed by the Vedic poets, we find here another reason for concluding that the old spoken language of India and the Sanskrit of the Vedas were at one time identical.[181]

me with the following text on the subject of Sanskrit being at one time spoken. He informs me: "The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa speaks, in the beginning of the second chapter, of the use of the vulgar tongue in poetry, and says in śloka 16: *ke 'bhūvann ādya-rājasya rājye prākṛita-bhāshiṇaḥ | kāle śrī-Sāhasāṅkasya ke na saṁskṛita-vādinaḥ |* According to the author, Sanskrit was universally spoken in the time of Sāhasāṅka, whom we know as the founder of an era. This is an individual view, but it is curious as coming from a Hindu, who lived, say, 1,050 years after Christ." The sense of the verse quoted by Professor Aufrecht is as follows: "During the reign of the first king, who spoke Prākṛit? In the time of Sāhasāṅka (Vikramāditya), who did not speak Sanskrit?"

179 Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, iii. 80.

180 Sāma-veda, Introduction, p. liii., ff. See also the articles of Dr. Bollensen in Orient und Occident, ii. 457, ff., and in the Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Gesellschaft, xxii. 569, ff., and Prof. Müller's translation of the R.V., vol. i., pref. pp. lxxviii, ff.

181 I quote some remarks of Benfey, Sāma-veda, Introd. p. liii.:—"The necessity for frequently changing the liquids *y* and *v* into the correspondent vowels *i* and *u*, had been remarked by the Indian writers on prosody, who teach that, wherever the metre requires it, *iy* and *uv* should be read instead of *y* and *v*. In many words the former mode of writing appears to have prevailed; as is rendered probable by the differences of reading between the Sāma-veda and the Rig-veda, the former, for instance, reading *tugriya, subhuvah, sudruvam,* where the latter reads *tugrya, subhvah, sudrvam;* and the latter, on the contrary, reading *samudriya,* where the former reads *samudrya*. . . . . But the necessity of making the change in order to obtain a reading conformable to the metre, is of such ordinary occurrence that we are soon led to conclude that, at the time when the Vedas were composed, the liquids (*y* and *v*), which appear in the Sanhitās as we now have them, had not yet, for the most part,

. X.—*Various stages of Sanskrit literature, and the different*
n which they exhibit the Sanskrit language: the later Vedic
nentators: earlier expounders: the Nirukta: the Brāhmaṇas
Vedic hymns: imperfect comprehension of them in later times
hanges in the language: the hymns composed in the vernacular
f their age.[182]

I have shown in the preceding section that Sanskrit was
ken language, it must, in that its earlier stage, have been
e mutations to which all spoken languages are subject fro
nature. Sanskrit must, in the course of ages, have beco
ent from what it originally was.[183] And, in fact, we fin
ecords of Indian literature, that the Sanskrit, as it is
e us in the different Śāstras, has gone through different
most modern is that in which we find it in the Itihāsas, P
Smṛitis. The Itihāsas and Purāṇas are undoubtedly no
d with the oldest Sanskrit writings, for they all imply th

to be pronounced, but that, in their stead, the corresponding vowels
mployed." On the other hand, *y* and *v* must sometimes be read
uv (p. lvi.). The fifteen verses of the Purusha Sūkta (cited in
e of this work, pp. 8, f.), which are composed in the Anushṭup metre
lly found to have the proper number of feet, if not in other respec
ly,—if the preceding remarks be attended to. Thus in the first
, the words *vṛitvā* and *atyatishṭhat* must be read apart, and *not*
. *Bhāvyam* (in the first line of the second verse) must be length
am; *vyakrāmat* (second line, fourth verse) to *viakrāmat*; *sādhyā* (se
n verse) to *sādhiyā*; *ājyam* (first line, eighth verse, though not in
verse) to *ājiam*; *grāmyāścha* (second line, eighth verse) to *grā*
dhuḥ and *vyakalpayan* (first line, eleventh verse) to *viadadhuḥ* and *via*
janyaḥ (first line, twelfth verse) to *rājaniaḥ*.

n revising this section (composed originally in 1858) for the press, I h
istance of Professor Müller's work on Ancient Sanskrit Literature
bled me to make a few additions, and to modify some of my previous
[Note to first edition.]

fear that the text of Patanjali (Mahābhāshya, p. 104) may be cited
:—*nityāś cha śabdāḥ | nityeshu cha śabdeshu kūṭasthair avichālibhir*
yam anapāyopajana-vikāribhiḥ | "Words are eternal; and in the
ords we must have immutable and immovable letters, free from dimi
se, or alteration." But the words which Bhāskara Acharyya appl
are equally applicable to grammar:—*atra gaṇita-skandhe upapattimān*
ḥ pramāṇam | "In this astronomical department scripture is a
when it is supported by demonstration." This is true, also, of all
hich, like Grammar, come within the sphere of science.

were many older records of Hindu antiquity existing when they were compiled, and often quote various ancient verses.[184] The Mahābhārata frequently introduces old legends with the following formula, which, however, may often mean nothing: *atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam* | "Here they adduce this ancient narrative." (See vol. i., p. 127.) In all these different classes of works, which, in their present form, are comparatively recent parts of Indian literature, the Sanskrit language is substantially the same. At the time when even the oldest of these works were reduced into their present form, we must suppose that the Sanskrit had nearly ceased to be a spoken tongue, and had become gradually stereotyped as a polished and learned language, by the precepts of those grammarians who preceded Pāṇini, as well as of that scholar himself and his successors.[185] As the language which had thus been polished, improved, and fixed by precise grammatical rules, ceased to be popularly spoken, it was preserved from any future changes. In this way the Sanskrit language has remained almost unaltered for more than two thousand years, till it has acquired the appearance of immutability; while its antiquity, and the perfection of form which it eventually acquired, and has so long retained, have caused it to be regarded as of divine origin; just as every science which has descended from a remote age, or even from a period comparatively recent, is

[184] That they are not all of one age is held by an enlightened Indian Pandit, Iśvara Chandra Vidyāsāgar, in the Bengalī preface to his Ṛijupāṭha, or Sanskrit selections, as follows:—*sŏkŏl purāṇ ŏpekhyā Vishṇupurāṇer rŏchŏnā prāchīn bōdh hŏy | yābŏtīyŏ purāṇ Vedŏbyāspronīt boliyā prŏsiddhi āchhe | kintu purāṇ sŏkŏler rŏchŏnā pŏrŏspŏr etŏ bibhinn je ek byŏktir rŏchit bŏliyā bōdh hŏy nā | Vishṇupurāṇ Bhāgŏbŏt ō Brŏhmŏbaibŏrttŏpurāṇer ekek ŏmś pāṭh kŏrile ei tin grŏnth ek lekhŏnīr mukhhŏite vinirgŏt bŏliyā prŏtīti hŏōyā dushkŏr | Vishṇupurāṇ prŏbhṛitir sŏhit Mŏhābhārŏter rŏchŏnār etŏ bibhinnŏtā je jini Vishṇupurāṇ kimbā Bhāgŏbŏt ŏthŏbā Brŏhmŏbaibŏrttŏpurāṇ rŏchŏnā kŏriyāchhen tāmhār rŏchit bōdh hŏy nā |*

"The composition of the Vishṇu-purāṇa appears to have preceded that of all the other Purāṇas. It is commonly said that all the Purāṇas were composed by Vedavyāsa. But the style of the different Purāṇas is so various that they cannot be conceived to be the work of one person. After reading a portion of the Vishnu-purāṇa, another of the Bhāgavata, and a third of the Brahmavaivartta-purāṇa, it is difficult to believe them all to have proceeded from one pen. . . . So, too, there is such a discrepancy between the style of the Mahābhārata and that of the Vishnu-purāṇa, and the other works mentioned above, that it cannot be imagined to be the composition of the same person by whom they were written.

[185] See, however, the distinction made by Lassen between the Epic poems (Itihāsas) and the Purāṇas, in the passage cited above, p. 133, note.

rded by the people of India as supernatural.[185] Prior to this
ever, and as long as it had continued to be commonly spoken
er or upper classes, the Sanskrit had been liable to constant
s in the forms of its inflections. Accordingly, in the works wh
e ancient than the Smṛitis and Itihāsas, we find various dif
rammatical form, and a style altogether more antique.
me extent the case in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, wh
unter a simplicity of syntax and a tautology of style,
many particles, and some modes of construction and forms
foreign to the later works.[187] The Brāhmaṇas, however,
e regarded as a middle stage between the Vedic hymns (
the more modern Sanskrit. It is to the hymns of the
of which are separated by an interval of several centuries
the Brāhmaṇas, that we must resort if we would discov
are the differences between the Sanskrit in its oldest
and its most modern shape. In these hymns we find
s of inflection and conjugation which are not to be traced
rn writings, and numerous words which either disappe
r in later authors, or are used by them in a differen
e hymns are, in fact, by far the oldest parts of Indian lit
this is the case, is proved by the whole nature and con
ther portions of that literature which is connected with
s. The hymns are the essential part of the Veda; all the
gs which bear the name of Veda are dependent on the
ubservient to their explanation or liturgical use. In the
ry called the Vedārtha-prakāśa, on the Taittirīya Sanhitā
aid: *Yadyapi Mantra-brāhmaṇātmako Vedas tathāpi Brāhmaṇa*
a-vyākhyāna-rūpatvād mantrāḥ eva ādau samāmnātāḥ |

he philosophers Rāmānuja and Mādhvāchāryya are called incarna
nd Vāyu (Wilson's Hindu Sects, pp. 24 and 87), and S'ankara Ācha
d in the Vṛihad Dharma-purāṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.—Colebr
. 103, 104.

us, e.g. any one who is familiar with modern Sanskrit will recognize
ted from the Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa in the first volume of this work (p.
rity of style. The separation of the particle *abhi* from the verb
se *abhi Saudāsān abhavat* | "He became superior to the Saudāsas,
the Vedic usage. In modern Sanskrit the preposition would not be
m the verb. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 10, and 12
ncient forms occur, *tāt* for *tasmāt*, "from that," *vṛiṇāsai*, "Do
" thou shalt choose."

though the Veda consists of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, yet, as the Brāhmaṇas have the character of explanations of the Mantras, [it follows that] the latter were the first recorded." And in a verse referred to by Sankara Āchārya in his commentary on the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad (Bib. Ind. ii. 855, ff.) it is said: *Brāhmaṇa-prabhavāḥ mantrāḥ* | "The mantras are the sources of the Brāhmaṇas." This may be made clearer by beginning with the most recent parts of the literature connected with the Vedas, and going gradually back to the oldest parts.

First:—Two of the most recent commentators on the Vedas are Sāyaṇa Āchārya, who lived in the fourteenth century A.D.,[188] and wrote a detailed commentary called Vedārthaprakāśa, on the whole of the Rigveda; and Mahīdhara, who compiled a commentary entitled Vedadīpa on the Vājasaneyī Sanhitā of the Yajur-veda.

Second: In such works as these we find reference made to earlier writers on the Vedas, such as Saunaka, the author of the Bṛihaddevatā, Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, and many others, with quotations from their works.

Professor Müller[189] divides the Vedic literature, properly so called, into four periods, which, in the inverse order of their antiquity, are the Sūtra period, the Brāhmaṇa period, the Mantra period, and the Chhandas period. The Chhandas period, during which the oldest hymns preserved in the Rigveda collection were written, he supposes to have lasted from 1200 to 1000 B.C. Then followed the Mantra period, from 1000 to 800 B.C., in the course of which the more recent of the Vedic hymns were composed, and the whole were gathered together into one Sanhitā (or collection). Next in order was the Brāhmaṇa period, from 800 to 600 B.C., during which the chief theological and liturgical tracts bearing this title were composed and collected.[190] And, lastly, we have the Sūtra period, extending from 600

[188] Professor Wilson's Rigveda Sanhitā, Vol. I. Introduc. p. xlviii. Müller, "Chips," (1st ed.) p. 24. Roth, Introd. to Nirukta, p. liii. refers Mahīdhara (if not Sāyaṇa also) to the sixteenth century.

[189] See his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 70, 244, 249, 313, 445, 497, 572.

[190] Professor Haug thinks all these works are older. In the Introduction to his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vol. i. p. 47, he writes: "We do not hesitate therefore to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to the years 1400–1200 B.C.;

B.C., in which the ceremonial precepts of the earlier
educed (by men who, however, were no longer, like
ors, regarded as inspired) into a more tangible, pre
atic form than they had previously possessed. The
eriod were not all composed in the concise form of Sū
vere in verse and others in prose.

ong the latter is the work of Yāska, who (as we ha
3) is supposed by Professor Müller ("Chips," p. 74)
in the fifth century B.C. Yāska found an earlier work
ghaṇṭus, made up of classified lists of Vedic, and part
vords, existing in his day; to which he alludes in the fo
e, at the very commencement of his work (i. 1): *sam*
nātaḥ | sa vyākhātavyaḥ | tam imam samāmnāyam "*N*
ity āchakshate | "A sacred record (*samāmnāya*) has bee
which is to be expounded. This is called the Nighaṇṭus
l again (in i. 20): *sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ ṛishayo ba*
ebhyo 'sākshātkṛita-dharmabhyaḥ upadeśena mantrān sam
āya glāyanto 'vare bilma-grahaṇāya[1] *imam granthan*
shur vedam cha vedāngāni cha | [*bilmam bhilmam bhāsanam*
he ṛishis had an intuitive insight into duty. They, by
d down the mantras to subsequent preceptors, who were
is intuitive perception. These later teachers, declining
of communicating instruction, for facility of compre
gh the division of the subject-matter, arranged this bo
aṇṭus), the Veda, and the Vedāngas. [*Bilma* means

Saṁhitā we require a period of *at least* 500–600 years, with an
at 200 years between the end of the proper Brāhmaṇa period.
for the bulk of the Saṁhitā the space from 1400–2000; the oldest
ial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that
very commencement of Vedic Literature between 2400–2000 B.C."
ume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 2, ff.
n this the commentator Durgācharya annotates as follows: *sa cha*
] *ṛishibhir Mantrārtha-parijnānāya udāharaṇabhūtaḥ panchādhyā*
-bhāvena ekasminn āmnāye granthīkṛitaḥ ity arthaḥ. "The sense
cred record which had been set forth by ṛishis as a specimen of the
ning the sense of the mantras, has been formed into one collection
"

as splitterweise Fassen," B. and R.
words in brackets are regarded by Prof. Roth as spurious (Illus
. 14, f.). I quote them, however, as they are commented on by Durg

na, illustration.]" This passage proves at once the
Nighaṇṭus to the Nirukta, and also the still greater
hymns which form the subject of explanation in

g are the remarks of Durgāchārya, the commentator,
(Nir. i. 20):—

yair dharmaḥ sākshād dṛishṭo prativiśishṭena tapasā te ṛita-dharmāṇaḥ" | ke punas te iti | uchyate | "ṛishayaḥ" shmāt karmaṇaḥ evam-arthavatā mantreṇa saṃyuktād ṇena evaṃ-lakshaṇa-phala-vipariṇāmo bhavati iti ṛishayaḥ | śanād" iti vakshyati | tad etat karmaṇaḥ phala-vipariṇam aupachārikyā vṛittyā uktaṃ "sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ" dharmasya darśanam asti | atyantāpūrvo hi dharmaḥ | veshām iti | uchyate | "te 'varebhyo 'sākshātkṛita-dharmadeśena mantrān sampraduḥ" | te ye sākshātkṛita-'varebhyo 'vara-kālinebhyaḥ śakti-hīnebhyaḥ śrutarshi-hi śrutvā tataḥ paśchād ṛishitvam upajāyate na sākshātkṛitadharmāṇām śravaṇam antarā eva | tebhyaḥ iti | te 'varebhyaḥ "upadeśena" śishyopādhyāyikayā mantrān granthato 'rthataś cha "sampraduḥ" samprattavantaḥ | upadeśena eva jagṛihuḥ | atha te 'py "upadeśāya glāyantaḥ a-grahaṇāya imaṃ granthaṃ samāmnāsishur vedaṃ cha vedān- iti | "upadeśāya" upadeśārtham | kathaṃ nāma upadiśya-śaknuyur gṛihītum ity evam artham adhikṛitya glāyantaḥ teshu [?] agṛihṇatsu tad-anukampayā teshām āyushaḥ
...*nāḥ*

Professor Roth, in his Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xiii, remarks thus on this —"Here Yāska ascribes the compilation of the small collections of words which forms the basis of his explanation, in an undefined way *to an* tradition, not indeed dating from the earliest period, when faith and doctrine ...ed without artificial aids, but from the generations next to that era, which ...es by arrangement and writing to preserve the treasures which they had in-...ed. He further puts the Naighaṇṭuka in one class with the Vedas and Angas. By the composition of the Vedas, which Yāska here places in *the second* period of Indian history, he cannot mean the production of the hymns transmitted ... the rishis, which were always esteemed in India as the essential part of the Vedas, ...d were regarded in the same light by Yāska in the passage before us. *All*, there...re, that could be done by later generations was to arrange these hymns, and com...it them to writing. We find here a recollection of a comparatively late *reduction* ...nto writing of the mental productions of early ages, an event which has not yet ...ttracted sufficient notice in its bearing upon the history of Indian literature."

...vekshya kālānurūpām̃ cha grahaṉa
...ham" gavādi-devapatny-antam̃ samā
...yate | "vedam̃ cha vedāngāni c
...nāsishur iti | āha | śrinu | vedam̃
duradhyeyam aneka-śākhā-bhedena
vyāsena samāmnātavantaḥ | te ek
ādhvaryavam̃ sahasradhā sāmaveda
api | tad yathā | vyākaraṉam ashṭ
m-ādi | evam̃ samāmnāsishur bheden
nāny etāni śākhāntarāṉi laghūni su
usho manushyāḥ ity evam-artham s
a-vākya-prasaktam̃ nirbravīti | yad e
vedānām bhedanam | bhedo vyāsaḥ
athavā bhāsanam evam bilma-śabdeṉa u
prakāśate vedārthaḥ iti | ataḥ idam
āsater vā bilma-śabdaḥ | evam idam
tarāṉi cha angāṉi iti pariśodhitaḥ āg

...y to whose minds duty was clearly
eminent devotion it was intuitively
d by the term *sākshāt-krita-dharm*
The ṛishis,[195] who are called so bec
from a particular ceremony accompa
import, in a certain way, such a
author will afterwards declare tha
eing' (*darśanāt*). Here 'those wh
of duty,' are spoken of in a metap
results from a ceremony; for
ly invisible. He proceeds.
They handed down the mant
who had not the same intuiti
had an intuitive perception
sequent men, i.e. to those w
later age, and destitute o

...different kinds and races of ṛishis
...cht's Catalogue, p. 41, col. 2;
the index.

ṛishihood arose from what they had heard from others, and not with-
out hearing, as was the case with those earlier ṛishis who had an
intuitive perception of duty. He proceeds. What did the earliest
ṛishis do to these later ones? They handed down the mantras by
tradition (viz., by the function of instructing their pupils) according
to their text and meaning;[196] and the pupils received them through
tradition. Then 'these later men, being grieved,[197] with the view of afford-
ing instruction, arranged this book and the Veda, and the Vedāngas,
in portions, for facility of comprehension.' 'For the purpose of in-
struction:' 'grieved,' afflicted by the apprehension that their pupils
would not comprehend what was taught them; and when they did not
understand, being actuated by compassion towards them, and having
regard to the greater shortness of their lives, and to the diminution
of their power of comprehension, which was occasioned by the influ-
ence of the times, they compiled this book [the Nighaṇṭu], begin-
ning with '*gau*,' and ending with '*devapatnyas*,' in parts, for facility
of comprehension by division of the subject-matter. He next tells us
what is meant by this: the Vedas, and the other Vedāngas. But how
did they compile these works? He tells us, listen: By separation, they
divided the Veda (which being up to that period one, was difficult to
study from its extreme magnitude) in a number of different Śākhās, for
the purpose of easier comprehension. The Rigveda was arranged in 21
Śākhās, the Yajush in 101, the Sāma in 1,000, the Ātharvaṇa in 9:
similarly the Vedāngas; grammar in 8 books, the Nirukta in 14,
etc., in order that they might be apprehended in a divided state;
that powerless and shortlived men might easily be able to under-
stand the several Śākhās, when divided and of limited extent. He
explains the word '*bilma*.' . . . . *Bilma* = *bhilma*, means the
Veda, the Vedas, and division stands for separate arrangement.
Or *bhāsanam*, elucidation; i.e. the sense of the Vedas becomes
clear by knowledge of the vedāngas, or supplements to the Veda.
It is from the root *bhid*, or the root *bhās*. In this way this

[196] Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 522) renders *granthato arthataścha*, denying
to "grantha" the sense of *written book*. This rendering is approved by
Goldstücker (Pāṇini, p. 32), though he holds that "grantha" properly means a
(ibid. p. 27).

[197] It will be seen that in p. 165, I have understood the word *glāyantaḥ* in the
...ing."

Nirukta &c.

ṭiabis. a, and the other Vedāng

The Ni the scripture has been elu

preceding ṭus, the lists of words

Nirukta, arks, were prefixed by

light on which, by commenting on

was written, obscurities of the Veda.198

sense of many and even at a much earlie

appears from of the Vedic words had be

being composed the very fact of such works

cabularies composed at all. For what occasi

along familiar of Vedic words, if the sense of

like his own to the students of the Ve

Athāpi is argued by Yāska in the

apratiya- *idam antareṇa mantreshv artha*

vyākara- *nātyantam svara-saṁskāroddes*

"No *sya kārtsnyaṁ svārtha-sādhakaṁ*

underst without this work the meani

thoroughly d; but he who does not comp

fore, this y know their accentuation and

an instrument department of science is the

The same ment for gaining one's own obje

which he thing is also clear from m

attempts to explain Vedic V

198 "The Naighaṇṭuka," says Professor Roth (I

portion of it, was a collection of difficu

instruction in the mode of expoun At th

the schools of the Brahmans.

learning had terms

and in fact of the principal pa

memorandum and of the objects of worship, At

and the objects instruction. To t

for oral instruction.

written explanation. by Roth, Ni

translated by Commentary

Introd. to his Commentary "E

niruktam!

prayuktam the meaning of the Veda."

Erläuterungen to Nirukta, p.

greater obstruction than to in

they had inherited traditi

tion shows that their plan

a says in the

hāvabodhāya

understanding of

See Roth's Er

on itself no g

infallible, or th

superficial examina

cess, often tentative, which would have been unnecessary if meanings had been perfectly known), or in which he cites the ns of different classes of interpreters who had preceded him, who had severally propounded different explanations. This er shows that in Yāska's time the signification of the hymns had d the subject of investigation by learned men of different schools many ages preceding. The following passage will illustrate this, ell as afford some insight into the subjects and manner of dison at the period when he lived. In the Nirukta, i. 15, 16, he (in continuation of the passage last cited) alludes to the opinion tained by one of his predecessors, Kautsa,[201] regarding the value

ditional, that it is in reality a grammatical and etymological one, which only s with the former method in the erroneous system of explaining every verse, line, every word by itself, without inquiring if the results so obtained harze with those derived from other quarters. If the fact that none of the commentators are in possession of anything more than a very simple set of conceptions rding, e.g., the functions of a particular god, or even the entire contents of the ns, which they are continually intruding into their interpretations, be regarded proof of their having inherited a tradition, it will at least be admitted that this rty of ideas is not a thing which we have any reason to covet. In this set of eptions are included those scholastic ideas which were introduced at an early ad indeed, but not until the hymns had already become the subject of learned y, and the religious views and social circumstances on which they are based lost all living reality. . . . What is true of Sāyaṇa, or any of the other commentators, applies essentially to Yāska also. He, too, is a learned inter- er, who works with the materials which his predecessors had collected, but he sesses an incalculable advantage, in point of time, over those compilers of detailed continuous commentaries, and belongs to a quite different literary period; viz., hat when Sanskrit was still undergoing a process of natural growth." Compare fey's remarks on the Vedic scholiasts, in the Introduction to his Sāmaveda, lxv, f., where he observes: "How high soever may be the antiquity assigned the oldest grammatical and hermeneutical treatises on the Vedas, a long period years to have intervened between these and the composition of the greater tion of the hymns, during which very much that was peculiar to the Vedas was gotten. Their interpretations rest essentially (as is shown not merely by the gmentaries which have been alluded to, but also by Yāska's Nirukta) on etynmy, on conclusions drawn from the context, and the comparison of similar logy. The oldest attempts at interpretation seem to be contained in Brāhmaṇas, sages (*nigama*), in collections of words (*nighaṇṭu*) and in explacions (*nirukta*), of which last, two are mentioned by Sāyaṇa (R.V. vol. i. p. 45, 16 and 18), viz., one by S'ākapūṇi and another by Sthaulāshṭhīvi, in addition es of Yāska."

[201] See Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 21, f. where he writes: "that rationalistic Kautsa could regard the Veda as devoid of meaning, and the hmanas as false interpretations."

...dic interpretation: ... anarthakam bhavati" ...

...artha-pratyayāya ... upekshitavyam | niyata...

mantrāḥ | tad etena ... brāhmaṇena rūpa-sam...

...vyāḥ bhavanti | athāpi ... 'prohāṇi' iti p...

...prathasva' iti prathayati | 'oshadhe trāyasva enam' ...

...rthāḥ bhavanti | ... ity āha himsan | a...

...sīr" [Taitt. S., i. 2, 1] ... 'vatasthe na dvitīya...

...bhavanti | 'ekaḥ eva Rudro ... 'aśatrur I...

... ye Rudrāḥ adhi bhūmyām' | iti | athāpi jānant...

...āḥ ajayat sākam Indraḥ' iti | athāpy āha ...

...midhyamānāya anubrūhi' iti" | tad upar...

... dyaur Aditir antariksham' iti" | 'amyak...

... athāpy avispashṭhārthāḥ bhavanti | śabda-sām...

... | 'kāṇukā' iti" | arthavantaḥ ... yat karm...

...samṛiddham yad rūpa-samṛiddham (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 4) iti...

... bhivadati" ... iti | yatho etad "n...

... putrair naptṛibhir" iti laukikesho apy etad ...

...rvyāḥ bhavanti" iti brāhmaṇena rūpa-sam...

...āv" iti | yatho etad "brāhmaṇena ... "anupapa...

...uvādaḥ sa bhavati | yatho etaj ... yatho etad "...

...avachanād ahimsā pratīyeta | yatho etaj "asapatn...

..." iti | laukikesho apy etad yathā "jānanta...

...o 'yam rājā" iti | yatho etad madhuparkam pr...

... abhivādayate jānate apy etad yathā "s...

...sarvam" iti laukikesho ... avispashṭhārthāḥ bh...

..." iti | yatho etad. "andho na paśyati ... purusha-viśe...

... yad enam vidyātaḥ ... praśasto bh...

...apadīshu ... bhūyo-vidyaḥ ...

...itrishu ...

...translation, place the answer...

Kautsa (though they are sep...

...ce, as well as make the discu...

See Dr. Roth's translation of this passage in th...

and in his Erläuterungen to the Nirukta, pp. ...

parts of the passage of which I do not clearly und...

Yāska replies.

1. "The mantras have a sense, for their words are the same (as those in the ordinary language). A Brāhmaṇa (the Aitareya, i. 4) says, 'What is appropriate in its form, is successful in the sacrifice; that is to say, when the verse [*rich* or *yajush*] which is recited refers to the ceremony which is being performed.'[206] An example of the identity of the Vedic language with the ordinary speech is this, '*krīlantau*,' etc. ('sporting with sons and grandsons')."

2. "This is the case in ordinary language also, e.g. *Indrāgnī*, *pitāputrau* ('Indra and Agni,' father and son')."

3. "This is a mere repetition of what had been already said [and consequently calls for no further answer?]."

4. "According to the sacred tradition it must be understood that no injury is to be inflicted."

5. "The same thing occurs in ordinary language: thus, 'This Brāhman is without a rival;' 'The king has no enemies.'"

Prof. Haug's translation, p. 11. The words
i. 4, with the exception of "*yajur vā*."

act with which he is already acquainted: thus, 'Address the [verses] to the fire which is being kindled' [Śatap. Br., i. 3, 5, 2. This is said by the adhvaryu priest to the hotṛi. Roth.]"[204]

7. "Again it is said: 'Aditi is everything;' 'Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the atmosphere.'" [R. V., i. 89, 10].

8. "The signification of the mantras is indistinct, as in the case of such words as *amyak* [R. V., i. 169, 3], *yādṛiśmin* [R. V., v. 44, 8], *jārayāyi* [R. V., vi. 12, 4], *kāṇukā*." [R. V., viii. 66, 4].[205]

6. ...
are sa
they s
madhu
and h
who a
custom

7. "
furthe
The sa
langua
flavour

8. "
post, t
see it.
as in
are d
knowle
learned
traditi
worthy

Durga, the commentator, does not enter
this passage. He merely refers as follow
Athāpi idam antareṇa pada-vibhāgo na vi
adhikāre varttamāne atha idam antareṇa ānartha
ity ukte yadi mantretyādinā Kautsa
upapādite nirukta-śāstrasya pratyuktāḥ
sthāpayitvā para-paksha-hetavaḥ pratyuktāḥ ida
mantrāṇām | teshām arthavattvam nirukta-śāstr
upapannam arthavattvam prasaktānuprasa
nirukta-śāstrakāra-vyājena prasaktānuprasa aviṛida
vyākhyāsya | katham nāma asāv paraiḥ pr
hetu-samayānabhijñaḥ paraiḥ nirbrūyād iti
...ś cha asammohena student being supposed to have

[204] See Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit
Compare Raghuvanśa, x. 16, *rasāntarāṇy ek*
"As rain water, which has but one flavour, [w
flavours," etc.

[205] See my article on the interpretation of the V
Society, vol. ii. new series, p. 329, 334, 337;
amyaksh, *yādṛiśa*, (3) *jar*, and *kāṇukā*; as well as
veda, p. 21.

enter on the study of this Śāstra, and the proposition having been laid down that, without the Nirukta, the sense of the mantras cannot be understood, Kautsa, in the words, "if the science," etc., adduces many reasons for declaring the mantras to have no meaning, and on these he grounds an assertion that the Nirukta is useless. Yāska in reply states the reasons on the other side in support of the mantras having a meaning, which point he accordingly establishes. And as this work (the Nirukta), which is being commenced, is useful for the explanation of their meaning, its utility is demonstrated. Thus, under the guise of an objector [207] [who is answered by] the author of the treatise, an opportunity is taken of stating the arguments on both sides, with the view of increasing the student's intelligence. For how is that student of immature understanding, ignorant too of reasons and conclusions, when he encounters difficulties connected with the proper explication of words, and is even hindered by other persons, to explain without perplexity the meaning of words and sentences?"

It would seem from this that Durgācharya looked upon Kautsa as being merely a man of straw, into whose mouth objections against the significance of the Vedas were put by Yāska, in order that he might himself refute them. It does not, however, appear why Kautsa, whose name appears in the old genealogical lists of teachers in one of the Brāhmaṇas (Müller, Ancient Sansk. Lit., pp. 181, 442), should be viewed in the light of a fictitious "Devadatta," any more than any other of the numerous earlier writers referred to in the Nirukta. There seems to be no other reason than this, that Durga did not, perhaps, wish his contemporaries to believe that there had been in early times any old grammarian who either rejected the authority of the Vedas, or differed from the customary methods of treating and interpreting them.

In Nirukta ii. 16, Yāska refers to the opinions of various former schools regarding the meaning of the word Vṛitra:—

Tat ko Vṛittraḥ | "meghaḥ" iti nairuktāḥ | "Tvāshṭro 'suraḥ" iti aitihāsikāḥ | apām cha jyotishaś cha miśrībhāva-karmaṇo varsha-karma jāyate | tatra upamārthena yuddha-varṇāḥ bhavanti | ahi-vat tu kh

207 I am indebted to the late Dr. Ballantyne and Professor Cowell for a correction of the sense I formerly assigned to the word *chodaka*.

ma ... tra-varṇāḥ brāhmaṇa-vādāś cha
nir ... rayānchakāra | tasmin hate pras
'a ... who was Vṛitra? 'A cloud,'
fal ... Asura, son of Tvashṭṛi,' say th
is ... of rain arises from the mingling
scribe figuratively depicted as a conflict
up Vṛitra as a serpent. By the
the streams. When he was dest
In Nir. iii. 8, he alludes to the
the Vedic word panchajana:—"Panch
(R.V., x. 53, 4). "Gandharvāḥ pitar
"chatvāro varṇāḥ nishādaḥ panchama
classes of beings, frequent my sacrif
are the 'Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Devas, A
They are 'the four castes with the
nyava."

In Nir. viii. 21, f., Yāska thus spe
led some of his predecessors to regar
portions of the ritual of sacrifice, st
addressed to other deities than Agni:—
"Atha kiṁ-devatāḥ prayājānuyājāḥ
vai prayājāḥ āgneyāḥ anuyājāḥ ... iti ch
ity aparam | "chhandāṁsi vai prayā
brāhmaṇam | "ṛitu-devatāḥ" ity apar
anuyājāḥ" iti cha brāhmaṇam | "paś
vai prayājāḥ paśavo 'nuyājāḥ" iti ch
ity aparam | "prāṇāḥ vai prayājāḥ
| "ātma-devatāḥ" ity ap
... jāḥ" iti cha brāhmaṇam
... rat | kimartham punar iti
... syāt tām manasā dhyāyed
who is the god to whom
and concluding sacrific
For a Brāhmaṇa says, '
Another opinion is that
For a Brāhmaṇa says,
third view is that they

'Now,
(introduct
say some.
to Agni.'
their deity
metres.'

For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the prayājas and anuyājas are seasons view is that they have sacrificial victims for their deiti Brāhmaṇa says, 'the prayājas and anuyājas are victims?' A is that they have the vital airs for their deities. For a Brāh 'the prayājas and anuyājas are the vital airs.' A sixth vie they have soul for their deity. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the pr anuyājas are soul.' I maintain the opinion that the hy Agni for their deity. The other views arise from mere dev particular [gods]. But why are these various views put f Because it is well known to be a precept that the person about to offer an oblation should meditate on the particula for whom it is intended."

In Nirukta xii. 1, he states the different views which had be forward regarding the gods called Aśvins:—*Aśvair aśvināv ity A vabhaḥ | tat kāv aśvinau | "dyāvā-prithivyāv" ity eke | "ahorā ity eke | "sūrya-chandramasāv" ity eke | "rājānāu puṇyakṛitāv aitihāsikāḥ* | "'The Aśvins are so called from their horses (*aśv* says Aurṇavābha. But who are the Aśvins? 'Heaven and ea say some; 'day and night,' say others: while others again say, sun and moon.' 'They were virtuous kings,' say the Aitihāsikas."

In Nirukta xii. 19, he states the various expositions given o passage regarding Vishṇu:—*Yad idam kincha tad vichakrame Vishṇu tridhā nidhatte padam tredhābhāvāya prithivyām antarikshe divi*

[208] See Roth's Erläut. pp. 220-221, for some remarks on these old interpret of the Veda. "Older expounders of the Vedas in general are," he says, "called Yāska simply Nairuktas; and when he notices any difference in the conception of Vedic gods, those interpreters who take the euhemeristic view are called Aitihāsik In addition to the exposition of the Veda in the stricter sense, there existed al liturgical interpretations of numerous passages, such as we find in the Brāhmaṇa and other kindred treatises, in which it was attempted to bring the letter of the received text into harmony with the existing ceremonial. Such liturgical interpretations are called by Yāska those of the Yājnikas, or 'persons skilled in sacrificial rites.' Akin to theirs appears to have been the mode of interpretation adopted by the Naidānas. . . . Under this head we must probably understand that method of explanation which, differing from the grammatical etymologies, referred the origin of the words and conceptions to occasions which were in a certain sense historical. The Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads abound in such historical or mythological etymologies, which are to be found in all ages and among all nations; etymologies which their own inventors do not regard as serious, but which, from their connexion with other ideas, obtain a certain importance in the religious system."

meaning. We have said before that 'among those men who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves especial commendation.' When the ṛishis were ascending [from the earth], men inquired of the gods, 'Who shall be our ṛishi?' The gods gave them for a ṛishi this science of reasoning, this art of deducing by reflection the sense of the hymns. Therefore, whatever meaning any learned man deduces by reasoning, that possesses authority equal to a ṛishi's."

Here there is to be remarked a recognition of the necessity of reason as a co-factor, in the ascertainment of religious truth, or the definition of ceremonial practice. With this may be compared the whole tendency of the Sānkhya doctrine, which is virtually, if not avowedly, founded on reasoning; and the assertion of Bhāskara (see above, p. 161, note 182), that in the mathematical sciences, scripture, if unsupported by demonstration, is of no authority.

The same confidence in the inherent force of the human intellect is exhibited by Bhāskara in another place, in these memorable words:—*Yadā punar mahatā kālena mahad antaram bhavishyati tadā matimanto Brahmaguptādīnām samāna-dharmiṇaḥ eva utpatsyante | ye tad-upalabdhy-anusāriṇīm gatim urarīkṛitya śāstrāṇi vyākarishyanti | ataḥ eva gaṇita-skandho mahāmatimadbhir dhṛitah sann anādy-anante 'pi kāle khilatvaṁ na yāti* | "When, again, after a long period, there shall be a great distance [observable in the position of the stars], then intelligent men of like character with Brahmagupta and other mathematicians will arise, who, admitting a movement in consonance with observation, will compose treatises accordingly. Hence the science of astronomy, being maintained by men of great ability, shall never fail in time, though it has no beginning nor end." See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, ii. 381.

In the first volume of this work some passages have been already adduced from Yāska regarding the origin of particular Vedic hymns of which he explains verses. One of these texts relates to the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra, and another to the Ṛishi Devāpi. See vol. i., pp. 269, and 338.

Third:—I now proceed to the Brāhmaṇas, to which we have been led back through the ascending series of more recent works, as the oldest expository writings on the Vedic hymns. They are consequently later than the hymns, the most ancient portion of Indian

the Smritis of Manu and others, are superhuman, because they art to men a comprehension of duty, like the Vedas; and that they not to be suspected of dissimilarity to the Vedas, from the fact of ir appealing to the authority of the original text; for the know- ge of duty which they impart is independent, because it is admitted be self-evidencing. But this view is incorrect; for the inference question proceeds upon an erroneous generalization.[213] These works called by the names of men; as, 'the Sūtras of Baudhāyana,' 'the tras of Āpastamba,' etc.; and these designations cannot properly be ived from the fact that these works were studied by those whose names they bear, as is actually the case in regard to the Kāṭhaka and er parts of the Veda; for it was known to some of their contem- aries at the time of the composition of these Sūtras and Smṛitis, that they were then being composed: and this knowledge has down by unbroken tradition. Hence, like the works of Kālidāsa others, the books in question are of human origin. Nevertheless, being founded on the Veda, they are authoritative." . . .

again: "It is not yet proved that the Kalpa-sūtras are part of Veda; and it would require great labour to prove it; and, in fact, impossible to prove it. For the human origin of this book is by its name, and by its being observed to have had an ished [214]."

Brāhmaṇas, however, as I have said, notwithstanding their and the authority which is ascribed to them as a con- ty part of the Veda, are far from being so old as the hymns. subject of these works Professor Roth makes some remarks in aduction to the Nirukta, p. xxiv. ff.; which I translate with idgments.[215]

difference in contents between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpa- judged according to detached passages, might appear to be and indeterminate, though even at first sight it is unde- it the two classes of writings are easily distinguishable as eir position and estimation in the whole body of religious

[213] third volume of this work, pp. 84, note 89, 179, f., 290, and 312.

[214] difference in authority between the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, etc., Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 75-107.

[215] further information to Prof. Müller's section on the Brāhmaṇas in his skrit Literature," particularly to pp. 342, ff., 389, 428, 429, 431-435.

the fire of the hearth and altar), and Vishṇu the zenith); and thus sacrifice is offered to of these two. Eleven platters are presented, gods; eight of the platters are claimed by the metre sacred to him, has eight syllables; Vishṇu, because he traverses the heavens in stations of his rising, his culmination, and his

may as frequently be the mere inventions of (encountered by us here in its oldest form), parallels, and a pretentious exegesis, as actual beginnings of the liturgy, in which, among a s, we may reasonably expect to find delicate and These books will always continue to be to us sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on at the same time, sources from which we may information regarding the conceptions on which worship, as well as the social and hierarchical founded. In proof of this, I will only refer to be derived from the seventh and eighth books of a on the position of the castes, and on the regal es. The Brāhmaṇas are the dogmatical books of scientifically marshalled system of tenets, but as they result from religious practice. They complete exposition of the principles of belief; towards such an exposition, because they were establish the whole customary ceremonial of

ot to perceive that the Brāhmaṇas are based upon ramified, and highly-developed system of worship. tice of sacred institutions has advanced, the less who practise them conscious of their meaning. e central portion of the ceremony, which in its transparent and intelligible, there grows up a observances, which in proportion as they are become more loosely connected with the fundahe form, becoming more independent, loses its

such expressions continually recurring as, "Thus did the ṛishi say."[216] "Hence this has been declared by the ṛishi."[217] "Ṛishis of the Rigveda have uttered this hymn of fifteen verses."[218] And in Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Rigveda it is stated as follows (Comment. on R.V., vol. i. p. 2):—*Tathā cha sarva-veda-gatāni brāhmaṇāni svābhihite 'rthe viśvāsa-dāḍhyāya "tad etad ṛichā 'bhyanūktam" iti ṛicham eva udāharanti* | "And so the Brāhmaṇas connected with all the Vedas, in order to strengthen belief in their assertions, refer to the Rigveda, saying, 'This is declared by the Rich.'"

The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, in a passage at p. 1052 of Weber's edition (corresponding with the Bṛihadāraṇyaka-upanishad, p. 213), refers as follows to a hymn of Vāmadeva in the fourth maṇḍala of the Rig-veda:—*Tad ha etat paśyann ṛishir Vāmadevaḥ pratipede "aham Manur abhavaṁ sūryaś cha" iti* | "Wherefore the ṛishi Vāmadeva in vision obtained this text, 'I was Manu and the sun.'" Again, the Taittirīya Sanhitā, and the Kaushītakī, Śāṭyāyana, and Tāṇḍaka Brāhmaṇas refer to Vasishṭha, in passages already quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 328. Now, as Vasishṭha was a Vedic ṛishi, the author of numerous hymns, these Brāhmaṇas must have been later than those hymns.

To illustrate the manner in which the hymns are quoted in the Brāhmaṇas, I will only cite further a portion of the passage from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, vii. 13–18, relating the story of Śunaśśepa, which was first given in original in the Appendix to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 581, 582, and afterwards appeared in Prof. Haug's edition of that Brāhmaṇa:—*Atha ha Śunaśśepaḥ īkshāṁ chakre "amānusham iva vai mā viśasishyanti | hanta aham devatā upadhāvāmi" iti | sa Prajāpatim eva prathamaṁ devatānām upasasāra "kasya nūnam katamasya amṛitānām" ity etayā ṛichā | tam Prajāpatir uvācha "Agnir vai devānāṁ nedishṭhaḥ | tam eva upadhāva" iti | sa 'gnim upasasāra "Agner vayam prathamasya amṛitānām" ity etayā ṛichā* | [When he saw the preparations made for his immolation, "Śunaśśepa reflected, 'They are about to slay me, as if I were not a man. I shall resort to the gods.' He accordingly addressed hi

[216] *Iti ha sma āha ṛishiḥ* |

[217] Śatap.-br. xiii. 5, 4, 5:—*Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā abhyanūktam* |

[218] Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 118. Böht. and Roth's Dict., *sub voce* Ṛi *Tad etad bahvṛichāḥ panchadaśarcham prāhuḥ* |

self to Prajāpati, the first of the gods, with this 'ṛich ... 1), 'Of whom now, of which of all the immortals ... said to him, 'Agni is the nearest of the gods, resc... addressed himself to Agni with this 'ṛich' (Rigved... Agni, the first of the immortals,' etc." In the same ... sented as addressing to various deities in succession ... posing the remainder of the 24th, and the whole ... and 27th hymns of the first book of the Rigveda, ... last verse of the 27th sūkta: "Salutation to the gre... the little!" addressed to the Viśve-devāḥ.[219]

That the Brāhmaṇas were separated from the hym... able interval of time is manifest from the vario... which are urged in the passage just quoted (pp. 180, ff. ...) Roth; who informs us, for instance, that the Brāh... alluding to texts in the hymns, appeal on the subject ... various preceding unwritten authorities; and states h... the "Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage in the religious ... India, when the Brahmanical faith was full-blown;" a... religious conceptions and sacred usages, which, even in the Rigveda, can be seen advancing from a simple and ... form to compact and manifold shapes, have now [in the ... extended themselves over the entire life of the people." ... was no doubt one which required several centuries for ... plishment.

And Professor Müller says (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 432, 43...) is throughout the Brāhmaṇas such a complete misunderstand... original intention of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly u... how such an estrangement could have taken place, unless t... been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the ... tradition." And again: "Every page of the Brāhmaṇas conta... clearest proof that the spirit of the ancient Vedic poetry, and t... port of the original Vedic sacrifices were both beyond the comp...

[219] *Namo mahadbhyo namo arbhakebhyaḥ*| See Müller's Anc. Sansk. L... 413, ff.; Prof. Roth's article in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 461; Prof. Wilson's ... in Jour. R. A. S. vol. xiii., p. 100, and translation of the Rigveda, i. pp. ... Prof. Haug's translation of the Ait. Br. pp. 460, ff.; Dr. Streiter's Diss. de Suna... and the first volume of this work, pp. 355, ff.

e Brāhmaṇas. . . . . We thus perceive the
Brāhmaṇa period and that period by which
rāhmaṇa period, we have already seen (p. 164
in the 200 years following the second Vedic
as.

, and a further development of language and
the Vedic hymns became less and less intel-
growth of formal and scrupulous ceremonial
ation of the sacred texts to public worship
difficult. As a natural consequence, the
n the explanation of the Mantras, their pro-
ual uses, continued to augment. Then the
ātiśākhya aphorisms, the Srauta and Gṛihya
aṇṭus and Nirukta were composed. These
ly seen, were the growth of several successive
ate of the oldest Brāhmaṇas.[230]

sor Roth remarks (Introd. to Nirukta, p. lii.) as follows:
te of things prevailed. There, with the exception of
he same degree of consideration), Homer was the only
lge, and preeminently the book of the schools; the book
to grammatical, and almost every other sort of science
the Veda occupies the place of Homer. It was to the
l people looked as the sole repository of intellectual
it was the more naturally a subject of research to the
he same time a priest, and it became the first problem
-a science which was far more commonly studied, and
ed a far higher stage, in India than in Greece. At the
s regards its language and its subject-matter, stood far
ndian of the two centuries immediately preceding Buddha
ch the sacerdotal system reached its climax—than Homer
e Periclean era. At that period, or even earlier, were
meric words which had become obsolete,—the γλῶσσαι;
ṇṭavas' (a word which I conceive to be identical in meaning
compiled to illustrate the Veda. In both cases the collec-
but in the short interval from Pericles to the end of the
s had done more for the explanation of Homer than the
for the comprehension of the Veda, in the long series of
f Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara, in the sixteenth century A.D.
as, in truth, by far the more difficult; and besides, Indian
ncapacity of unfettered movement. It was necessary for
of history, and to discover only the circumstances of the
ts of antiquity; for the present was both unable and
other foundation than the traditions of an earlier age,

xi. 5, 4, 18; Ait. Br. v. 32: *Tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyo trayo vedāḥ ajāy ṛigvedaḥ eva Agner ajāyata yajurvedo Vāyoḥ sāmavedaḥ ādityāt | vedān abhyatapat | tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyas trīṇi śukrāṇy ajāyanta b ity eva ṛigvedād ajāyata bhuvaḥ iti yajurvedāt svar iti sāmavedāt | . Sa Prajāpatir yajnam atanuta | tam āharat tena ayajata | sa ṛichā hotram akarod yajushā ādhvaryavaṁ sāmnā udgītham | yad etat tray vidyāyai śukraṁ tena brahmatvam akarot* | "From these (lights), wh heated, the three Vedas arose, the Rigveda from Agni, the Yajurve from Vāyu, and the Sāmaveda from Āditya (the sun). He infus warmth into these Vedas. From them, when so heated, three essenc arose. 'Bhūr,' from the Rigveda, 'Bhuvaḥ,' from the Yajurveda 'Svar,' from the Sāmaveda. . . . This Prajāpati prepared sacrifice He took it and worshipped with it. With the Rich he performed the function of the hotṛi priest, with the Yajush that of the adhvaryu, with the Sāman that of the udgātṛi, and with the essence of this triple science he executed the brăhmăn's function." In the same way three Vedas only are mentioned in the following passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad[222] (iv. 17, 1), etc.:—*Prajāpatir lokān abhyatapat | teshāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛihad Agnim pṛithivyāḥ Vāyum antarikshād Ādityaṁ divaḥ | Sa etās tisro devatāḥ abhyatapat | tāsāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛihad Agner ṛicho vāyor yajūṁshi Sāma Ādityāt | sa etāṁ trayīṁ vidyām abhyatapat | tasyās tapyamānāyāḥ rasān prābṛihad bhūr ity ṛigbhyo bhuvar iti yajurbhyaḥ svar iti sāmabhyaḥ* | "Prajāpati infused warmth into the worlds; and from them, so heated, he drew forth their essences, Agni from the earth, Vāyu from the atmosphere, and Āditya from the sky. He infused warmth into these three deities; and from them, so heated, he drew forth their essences: Rik-texts from Agni, Yajush-texts from Vāyu, and Sāma-texts from Āditya. He infused warmth into this triple science; and from it, so heated, he drew forth its essences, the particle Bhūr from the Rik-texts, Bhuvaḥ from the Yajush-texts, and Svar from the Sāma-texts."

In the following verse (i. 23), Manu repeats the account given in the Brāhmaṇas and the Chhāndogya Upanishad: *Agni-vāyu-ravibhyas*

222 See Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. (1850) p. 288. This passage is also quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 5. See also the passage from the S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 8, 1, ff., quoted in pp. 14, f. of the same volume, where, in like manner, only three Vedas are mentioned.

tu trayam brahma sanātanam | du
sāma-lakshaṇam | "From Agni, V
forth (milked) for the accomplishm
Veda, distinguished as Ṛik, Yajush

The Atharvaveda may, however,
of "chhandas," in the following pa
the St. Petersburg Lexicon, where t
is thus defined: "A sacred hymn,
about to be quoted, especially that
nor Yajush: hence, perhaps, origin
ferred to are A.V. xi. 7, 24: Ṛ
yajushā saha | uchhishṭāj jajnire | "
verses, and the Purāṇa with the
(remnant of the sacrifice)." R.V.
richaḥ sāmāni jajnire | chandāṁsi ja
"From that universal sacrifice spra
das-, verses: from it sprang the Ya
Harivaṁśa v. 9491: Ṛicho yajūṁsh
cha | chatvāro sakhilāḥ vedāḥ sara
Ṛich-, Yajush-, and Sāman-, verses,
four Vedas with their Khilas (late
trines, and their details (preserve me

In the Atharvaveda itself, x. 7,
the Vedas under the title of the A
richo apātakshan yajur yasmād apāka
vāngiraso mukham | Skambhaṁ tam b
us who is that Skambha from whom
whom they scraped off the Yajus
verses are the hairs, and of whom
the mouth."[223]

The Atharvan is similarly mentio
xiii. 4, 3, 7, Tān upadiśati "Atha
|8| "Angiraso vedaḥ so 'yam" iti |
Atharvans are a veda; it is this.' . .
it is this."[224] Madhusūdana Sarasvatī,

[223] In verse 14 of the same hymn, however,
[224] See Muller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 38.

while he calls it a Veda, notices at the same time its difference in character from the other three:—*Sa cha* (*vedaḥ*) *prayoga-trayeṇa yajna-nirvāhārtham rig-yajuḥ-sāma-bhedena bhinnaḥ* | . . . . *Atharva-vedas tu yajnānupayuktaḥ śānti-paushṭikābhichārādi-karma-pratipādakatvena atyanta-vilakshaṇaḥ eva* | "The Veda is divided into Ṛik, Yajush, and Sāman, for the purpose of carrying out the sacrifice under its three different forms. . . . The Atharvaveda, on the contrary, is totally different. It is not suitable for the sacrifice, but only teaches how to appease, to bless, to curse, etc." (Müller, Sansk. Lit. p. 445). In regard to this Veda, Mr. Whitney remarks: "The Atharva is, like the Rik, a historical and not a liturgical collection." It was, he thinks, originally composed of only eighteen books. A sixth of the matter of which these books consist is not metrical. "Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the Rik, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter; the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. . . . The greater portion of them are plainly shown, both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Veda, and even than its tenth book, with which they yet stand nearly connected in import and origin. The condition of the text also in those passages found likewise in the Ṛik, points as distinctly to a more recent period as that of their collection. This, however, would not necessarily imply that the main body of the Atharva hymns were not already in existence when the compilation of the Ṛik took place. Their character would be ground enough for their rejection and exclusion from the canon, until other and less scrupulous hands were found to undertake their separate gathering into an independent collection. The nineteenth book is . . . made up of matter of a like nature which had either been left out when they were compiled, or had been sinc produced." (Journal of the American Oriental Society, iv. 253, 255

The priority of the Rigveda to the Atharva may also be argued fro the fact that the ṛishis of the hymns in the Rigveda are referred in the Atharvaveda as men of an earlier period; in proof of which may refer to the passages quoted in the first volume of this wo p. 330. It is true that the same thing is noticeable to some deg in the Rigveda itself, in some later hymns of which the ṛishis earlier hymns are referred to by name. In the Atharvaveda, h

ever, the names so specified are
while many of the personages
belong to a more primitive ag
Weda, p. 13.) In the former V
in a somewhat more developed
one point at least in which this
in the caste system, see the first
following extract from Weber's
will exhibit his opinion of the
the Rigveda and the Atharva
sanhitā falls within the period w
. . . . Many of the hymns wh
the Rik-sanhitā, but there they
the period when its compilation
lection they are the just and
spirit of the two collections is
breathes a lively natural feeling,
Atharva, on the contrary, there
of evil spirits and their magical
in the exercise of perfect freedom
Atharva we observe them bound
superstition." 224*

(ii.) The Sāmaveda is a coll
at particular parts of the sacrifi
few, are all to be found in d
cially the 8th and 9th maṇḍalas
hymns: in the first part of the
of those hymns, dislocated fro
the second part the extracts
It is not, however, quite clear w
collection may have been first
Lit., pp. 9, 62), that the texts o
ancient grammatical forms tha
that as the former contains no
of the latter, it may have bee

224* See Appendix, Note B.

been composed; but adds that this point has not been yet investigated.[226] Whitney also leaves the question undecided (Journ. Am. Or. Society, iv. 253, 254).

Müller, on the other hand, says (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 457):—"The other two Sanhitās were more likely the production of the Brāhmaṇa period. These two Vedas, the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda, were, in truth, what they are called in the Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa, the attendants of the Rigveda."[227] He supposes that the hymns found in the three Vedas were not "collected at three times by three independent collectors. If so, their differences would have been greater than they are." Their actual differences are rather those of Sākhās or branches, he thinks, than of independent Sanhitās or collections.

(iii.) Both the Sanhitās of the Yajurveda are collections of sacrificial formulas in prose, as well as of verses which are partly extracted

226 In his Ind. Stud. i. 63, f. the same author writes as follows:—"As regards the relation of the Sāmaveda to the Rigveda, we must clearly represent to ourselves the manner in which in general these hymns arose, how they were then carried to a distance by the tribes when they migrated further, and were then regarded as sacred; whilst in the country where they were produced, they either, as living in the immediate popular consciousness, underwent alterations, or made way for new hymns, and were thus displaced and fell into oblivion. It is only a foreign country which surrounds what was produced at home with a sacred enchantment. The emigrants remain at the old stage, preserving what is ancient with painful exactness; whilst at home life opens out for itself new paths. New emigrants follow the first from their home, join those already settled in the new seats; and now the old and the new songs and rites are blended together, and exactly, but uncritically, learned by travelling scholars from different masters, and then inculcated (on this point several stories of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka are especially instructive), so that a varied intermixture arises. Others again, more learned, endeavour to introduce arrangement, to bring together things which are related, to separate what is diverse; and thus a theological intolerance is generated, without which the fixation of a text or a canon is impossible. We should not overlook the influence of courts in this process, e.g. of Janaka, King of Videha, who had found in Yājnavalkya his Homer. Neither the Purāṇas nor the Charanavyūha afford us the means of arriving at an approximately clear insight into the mutual relations of the different schools, which could only be attained by a comparison of the different teachers named in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras with one another, as well as with the text of Pāṇini and the Gaṇapāṭha and Scholium thereto belonging. . . . Further, the relation between the Rigveda and the Sāmaveda presents a certain analogy to that between the white and the black Yajush; and as we frequently see the teachers who represent the latter abused in the Brāhmaṇa of the former, it cannot surprise us if the Panigins and Kaushītakins [teachers connected with the Rigveda] are similarly treated in the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇa."

227 *Tat-paricharaṇāv itarau vedau* | vi. 11.

from the Rigveda. There is, however, th
white (or Vājasaneyi) and black (or Taittirīya
the latter has partly the character of a Brāhm
a separate Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Many part
a more advanced development of religious in
than the Rigveda. Professor Weber, the e
siders (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 10), that it "bel
Brahmanical element had already become pr
still exposed to strenuous opposition; and
Brahmanical hierarchy and the system of ca
formed." The same writer tells us (pp. 1(
book of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yaj
the different classes of men who are to be co
medha, or Human sacrifice, refers to the nam
mixed castes, so that we may thence conclu
solidation of the Brahmanical system had ta
saneyi-sanhitā is divided into forty Adhyāy
Weber thinks (Hist. of Ind. Lit. pp. 103, 1
19th to the 25th may be later than the first e
he remarks, no doubt that the last fifteen
perhaps much later, than the rest of the collec
this portion of the Sanhitā being called a K
in the anukramaṇī or index, which is ascribe
in Mahīdhara's Commentary on the Veda.[229]
posteriority in date of the last parts of the Vāj

[228] In his Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 140, Weber tells u
Kātyāyana to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurved
to the particular verses (rich) usually coincide with th
verses in the Anukramaṇī of the Rigveda; but tha
this remark. In particular (as happens also in th
the author appears often to be borrowed from som
And in the case (a very frequent one) of a verse be
the Vāj.-san., it is often assigned to an author diff
had previously been ascribed. Many of the ṛishis
among those of the Rigveda, and belong to a later st
these ṛishis peculiar to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā there
the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa as teachers."

[229] The words of Mahīdhara at the commencemen
follows: *Idānīm khilāny uchyante* | "The Khilas ar
also Müller's Sansk. Lit., p. 358.

observes, derived from the fact that they are not found in the Sanhitâ of the Black Yajurveda, but only in its Brâhmaṇa or in its Âraṇyaka parts, which by their very character are in date subsequent to the Sanhitâ (p. 104). Weber is further of opinion (pp. 44, 105 and 106), that the names (Îśâna and Mahâdeva) assigned to the god Rudra in adhyâya 39, in addition to those by which he is designated in adhyâya 16 (where he is regarded as the divinity of fire, though addressed by many of the epithets which were subsequently applied to the god Śiva), indicate a more advanced stage in the worship of the deity in question at the time when adhyâya 39 was composed, than at the period when adhyâya 16 was written. Professor Müller thinks that "there is nothing to prove that the hymn book of the Vâjasaneyins [the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ] existed previous to their Brâhmaṇa" [the Śatapatha]. Sansk. Lit. p. 360.

(iv.) We come now to the Rigveda-sanhitâ, which contains the most ancient Vedic hymns in their most extensive collection of the most ancient Vedic hymns in their complete form. It is divided into ten maṇḍalas, and contains in all 1017 hymns (Müller, p. 497). "The Vedas," says Mr. Whitney (Journ. Am. Or. Soc., iii. 295), "contain the songs in which the first ancestors of the Hindû people, at the very dawn of their existence as a separate nation, while they were still only on the threshold of the great country which they were afterwards to fill with their civilization, praised the gods, extolled heroic deeds, and sang of other matters which kindled their poetical fervour.[230] . . . The mass, as it lies before us, is almost exclusively of a religious character; this may have had its ground partly in the end for which the collections were afterwards made, but it is probably in a far higher degree due to the character of the people itself, which thus shows itself to have been at the beginning what it continued to be throughout its whole history, an essentially religious one. . . . Hymns of a very different character are not entirely wanting, and this might be taken as an indication that, had they been more numerous, more would have been preserved to us."[231]

[230] See also, for an account of the contents of the hymns, Professor Wilson's Introduction to his translation of the Rigveda, p. xxiv. ff.; and for numerous specimens, the other volumes of this work, passim.

[231] See my art. "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," in the Journal of the Royal As. Soc., vol. ii. (new series) pp. 26, ff. and the fifth volume

These hymns are said, by later Ind
by the ancient rishis or bards. Thu
darśanāt | "stomān dadarśa" ity
"tapasyamānān Brahma svayambh
tad rishīṇām rishitvam" iti vijnā
seeing. He saw the hymns:'—
They became rishis, because Br
himself to them when they were
generally understood, they acqui
is, however, no doubt that the
of these ancient songs, which
they were solicitous to obtain
occasions. The scope of these
in the following passage from th
quoted by Colebrooke (Misc. E
devatāś chhandobhir abhyadhāv
objects, hastened to the gods w
in the Nirukta, vii. 1 :— Yat-ka
tyam ichhan stutim prayunkte
hymn has for its deity the pa
to obtain any particular obje
praises." The compositions c
distinguished by the repetition
close of the lines. This pecul
42 :—Abhyāse bhūyāṁsam art
darśanīya." Tat Paruchhepas
consider that greater force is
the expression, 'O beautiful,
turn of mind. He was a r
Nirukta, speaks of a partic
Paruchhepa, one of the Ved
position was the result of
he must have done more

of this work, pp. 421, ff. Prof
"possibly only a small portion o
the Rik-sanhitā."
[232] See the third volume of th

have determined its particular form. The hymn could not therefore have existed eternally,[233] expressed in its present words. Yāska, therefore, appears to be inconsistent with himself, when he states this doctrine in other passages, as x. 10, 46, where he says, *ṛisher drishṭārthasya pritir ākhyāna-saṁyuktā*: "Here the ṛishi, after he had beheld the contents [of a hymn], expresses his pleasure in narration." If, indeed, we are to understand by the word *artha*, "contents," the matter of the hymn only, without the words, was revealed, there will be no inconsistency. See, in addition to the passages quoted here, those adduced in the third volume of this work, pp. 211, f.

For many ages the successive generations of these ancient ṛishis continued to make new contributions to the stock of hymns, while they carefully preserved those which had been handed down to them by their forefathers.[234] The fact of this successive composition of the

[233] See the third volume of this work, pp. 71, ff., 91, f., and 208.

[234] "The Indian Āryas were disposed to piety, both by their natural character and by the institutions of Manu. They were sustained in these sentiments by the chiefs of certain families in which their religious traditions had been more especially preserved. In those primitive ages the political system was precisely the same as that which Homer depicts;—kings the veritable shepherds of their people; cultivators or herdsmen united around their chiefs, and prepared, whenever necessity arose, to transform themselves into warriors; numerous flocks and a profusion of rural wealth; towns which were only large villages. Some of these villages served as retreats to renowned sages, who, while their dependents were tending their fields and flocks, were themselves engaged in the cultivation of sacred science, in the company of their sons, or their pupils, and fulfilled the functions of a Calchas or a Tiresias to some Indian Agamemnon or Œdipus in their neighbourhood. Invited by the chiefs to perform sacrifice, they arrived with their sacred retinue; they ascended the mountain where an inclosure of lattice-work had been constructed; for temples were then unknown. There, beneath the vault of heaven, they recited their hereditary songs, or a newly-composed hymn; they invoked the grand agents in nature to grant success to the labours of the field, increase to the flocks, and a succession of brave and virtuous descendants. They implored, they threatened their gods; and when the sacred rites had been scrupulously performed, they retired loaded with gifts, carrying away cows, horses, and cars filled with provisions, gold, and precious stuffs. We see thus by what fortune these hymns have been preserved, forming as they did, a patrimony to certain families, a species of productive capital, which it was their interest to turn to the very best account. Composed on certain recognized and venerable themes, and sometimes retouched and renovated by the imagination of a new bard, they grew old, as they were transmitted from age to age, bearing on them, sometimes, the date of their composition, which was indicated by the name of the inspired author, or of some generous prince." Langlois, French translation of Rigveda, vol. i., pref. pp. x, xi. See also Mr. Whitney's remarks in the Journal of the Am. Or. Soc., iv. 249.

hymns is evident from the ancient index (*anukrama*ṇī) wh
as continually quoted in the commentary of Sāyaṇa, wh
these compositions are ascribed to different generatio
families, as their "seers." For example, some of the
3rd maṇḍala are assigned to Gāthin, the father of Viśvā
Viśvāmitra himself, others to Ṛishabha, his son, others
his descendant, and others to Utkila, of the race of I
have the "seers" of hymns extending over five gene
The same fact, viz. that a long interval elapsed betwe
sition of the different hymns, is manifest from vario
these compositions themselves.[235] Thus the second ve
hymn of the 1st maṇḍala of the Rigveda is to the fo
Agniḥ pūrvebhir ṛishibhir īḍyo nūtanair uta | sa devān
"Let Agni, who is to be worshipped by the former ris
recent ones, bring hither the gods."[236] There are ma
alluding to a difference of antiquity in the hymns and
Such are the following (R.V. i. 48, 14):—*Ye chid hi*
pūrve ūtaye juhūre | "The former ṛishis who invoked
cour," etc. (R.V. i. 62, 13) *Sanāyate Gotamaḥ Indra na*
brahma hari-yojanāya | "Nodhas, a Gotama, has fabrica
prayer to thee, O Indra, who art from of old, that thou may
coursers," etc.[237] (R.V. iii. 32, 13) *Yaḥ stomebhir vavṛidhe*
yo madhyamebhir uta nūtanebhiḥ | "Who [Indra] has grow
praises, ancient, middle, and modern."[238] (R.V. vi. 44,

[235] This subject is more fully treated in the third volume of this work, p
[236] The comment of Yāska on this passage (Nirukta vii. 16) is as follow
yaḥ pūrvair ṛishibhir īlitavyo vanditavyaḥ asmābhiś navataraiḥ sa devān ih
iti | "Let Agni, who is to be worshipped, reverenced, by the former rishi
us the more modern ones, bring the gods hither." Sāyaṇa annotates thu
passage: *Ayam Agniḥ "pūrvebhiḥ" purātanair Bhṛigv-angirah-prab*
"*īḍyaḥ*" *stutyo* "*nūtanair uta*" *idānīntanair asmābhir api stutyaḥ* |
"*īḍyaḥ*," i.e. to be worshipped, i.e. celebrated, by the former, i.e. the ancient
Agni, who is to be worshipped, i.e. celebrated, by the recent, i.e. the present [ṛishis], or
Bhṛigu, Angiras, and the rest, and by the recent, i.e. the present [ṛishis], o
also," etc.
[237] "*Navyam*" *nūtanam* "*brahma*" *etat sūkta-rūpaṁ stotraṁ* "*no*"
artham "*atakshad*" *akarot* | Sāyaṇa. "Fabricated, i.e. made for us th
brahma, i.e. praise in the form of this *sūkta*." The same verb *taksh* is also a
to the composition of hymns in R.V. i. 109, 1; ii. 19, 8; and vi. 32, 1.
[238] *Purātanaiḥ* | *madhye bhavaiḥ* | *asmābhiḥ kriyamāṇair adhunātanaiḥ st*
"Praises ancient, intermediate, and formed by us at present." This verse is re
to by Müller, p. 482.

pūrvyābhir uta nūtanābhir gīrbhir vavṛidhe gṛiṇatām ṛishīṇām | "He [Indra] who has grown by the ancient and modern hymns of the ṛishis who praised him." (R.V. vii. 22, 9) *Ye cha pūrve ṛishayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprāḥ* | "O Indra, the wise ṛishis, both ancient and modern, have generated prayers." (R.V. x. 23, 6) *Stomaṁ te Indra Vimadāḥ ajījanan apūrvyam purutamaṁ sudānave* | "The Vimadas have generated,[239] O Indra, for thee, the beneficent, a copious hymn, before unheard."

In the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurveda (xviii. 52), we meet with the following text: *Imau tu pakshāv ajarau patatriṇau yābhyāṁ rakshāṁsi apahaṁsi Agne | tābhyām patema sukṛitām u lokaṁ yatra ṛishayo jagmuḥ prathamajāḥ purāṇāḥ* | "But these undecaying feathered pinions, with which, O Agni, thou slayest the Rakshases,—with these let us ascend to the world of the righteous, whither the earliest-born ancient ṛishis have gone."[240] The writer of this verse was himself a ṛishi, and it is clear, according to his statement, that long before his time other ṛishis had gone to the regions of the blessed.

And in the Rigveda we find reference made in numerous hymns to earlier ṛishis (who themselves are yet declared by later writers to have been authors of hymns included in the same Veda) having been delivered by the gods in ancient times. Thus Atri, the author of several Vedic hymns (37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 85, and 86, of the 5th maṇḍala), Kaṇva, the author of hymns 37–43 of the 1st maṇḍala, and Vasishṭha, the author of the greater part of the 7th maṇḍala, are spoken of in several other hymns, e.g. in maṇḍala i. 112, 7, 9, i. 117, 3, 8; i. 118, 7, as if they belonged to an earlier age.

The descendants of the most celebrated ṛishis would, no doubt, form complete collections of the hymns which had been composed by their respective ancestors. After being thus handed down, with little alteration, in the families of the original authors for several centuries, during which many of them were continually applied to the purposes

[239] The verb *ajījanan*, "generated," as applied to hymns, also occurs in viii. 77, 4, and viii. 84, 5. See also Sāmaveda, ii. 108, 109, and 1059, with Benfey's translation and note, p. 245.

[240] On the last words the commentator on v. 58 annotates: "*Prathamajāḥ pūrvotpannāḥ | purāṇāḥ" purā 'pi navāḥ ajarāmarāḥ ṛishayo yatra loke jagmuḥ* | "The world whither the ṛishis, first-born, i.e. earliest-produced, ancient, i.e. in former times also young, imperishable, and immortal, have gone."

of this work), which Mr. Colebrooke[243] characterizes in the following terms:—

"That remarkable hymn is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanskrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes, serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanskrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Vedas was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane (*purāṇas* and *cāvyas*), have been written." (See also the remarks made on this hymn by Prof. Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 571.) The last-named author thinks it is a mistake to regard any hymn as modern, merely from the presence in it of philosophical ideas. But I must refer to his own work, pp. 556, ff., for a statement of his views on this point.

The sketch which I have now given of Sanskrit literature shows that we can trace it back, by a series of almost continuous links up to the period of its rise.[244] If the Vedic hymns cannot be connected immediately with the literature which follows next after them, they are at least separated from it by no very distant interval; and they are evidently the natural product of the same fertile Indian mind which afterwards gave birth to the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, the Darśanas, and the different epic and mythological poems.

In the Rigveda we possess, as has been already remarked, a collection of hymns which were composed during many successive generations, but its most ancient portions constitute the earliest of all the extant remains of Indian authorship, and not only display to us the Sanskrit language in the oldest phase in which we can ever see i

243 *Misc. Ess.*, i. 309, note.

244 It may, perhaps, be thought that this subject has been treated at a length di proportioned to the purpose which I have immediately in view, viz., to trace th mutations of the Sanskrit language. But a full exhibition of the character a antiquity of the Vedic hymns, and of the relation in which they stand to the oth parts of Indian literature, will be found to form a necessary basis for various ot discussions which will appear in the sequel of this work, and I have deemed present a convenient opportunity for its introduction.

different signification—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in aftertime the appearance of SIVA in such a head-dress, as identified with AGNI; for instance, KAPARDDIN may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to SIVA occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India—that of the Linga or Phallus; neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism, the Trimūrtti, or Tri-une combination of BRAHMĀ, VISHṆU, and SIVA, as typified by the mystical syllable Om, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the Trimūrtti was the first element in the faith of the Hindus, and the second was the Lingam. —Creuzer, 'Religions de l'Antiquité,' book i. chap. i. p. 140."

Even so late as the time when the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa was composed, the names afterwards appropriated to Mahādeva were applied to Agni, as appears from the following passage, i. 7, 3, 8, p. 70:—*Agnir vai devaḥ | tasya etāni nāmāni "S'arvaḥ" iti yathā Prāchyāḥ āchakshate "Bhavaḥ" iti yathā Bāhīkāḥ "Paśūnām patiḥ" "Rudraḥ" "Agnir" iti | tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni | "Agnir" ity eva śāntatamam |* "Agni is a god. These are his names, viz., 'Sarva,' as the eastern people call him; 'Bhava,' as the Bāhīkas; 'Paśūnām pati,' 'the lord of animals'; 'Rudra;' and 'Agni.' These others are his ill-omened names. Agni is his mildest appellation." (See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 189, ii. 19-22, 37, 302; the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 3, 10-17, ix. 1, 1, 1, 2, quoted in pp. 283, ff. and 289, f., of the fourth volume of this work; and Jour. Am. Or. Soc. iii. 319.)[246]

[246] I add here some passages not adduced in my fourth volume. The Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 5, 1, 1, has the following "ākhyāyikā" (little story): *Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan | te devāḥ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vāmaṁ vasu sannyadadhata "idam u no bhavishyati yadi no jeshyanti" iti | tad Agnir nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | tad devāḥ vijitya avarurutsamānāḥ anvāyan | tad asya sahasā āditsanta | so 'rodīt | yad arodīt tad Rudrasya rudratvam |* "The Gods and Asuras contended. The Gods, on the eve of gaining a victory, deposited their desirable property with Agni, in order that, as they said, they might retain it in case their enemies should vanquish them. Agni coveted this property, and absconded with it. Then the gods, having conquered their enemies, desired to recover their property, followed Agni, and sought to take it from him by force. He wept. From the fact that 'he wept' (*arodīt*, from the root *rud*), he derives his name and character of 'Rudra.'" In the same Sanhitā, book v., p. 466 of India Office MS., we find the words: *Rudro vai esha*

ırth volume of

already quoted
commentator,
passage of the
ḥ | *katham iti* |
am padaiḥ[?] |
ikapūṇiḥ | *pār-*
l vikramate tad
ryātmanā | *yad*
. x. 88, 10) |
vishṇupade ma-
avābhaḥ āchāryo

ırice he planted
the firmament,
rrestrial fire, he
f lightning in the
s it is said, 'they
.0). Aurṇavābha
on the 'Samāro-
eastern mountain,
sky, (a third) on

h the later Hindu
hese Vedic repre-
va and Vishṇu.[250]
ds, must have been
other proof of the
ıe other portions of

Vālakhilya iv. 3, where
nitrasya dharmabhiḥ |
quality of a friend, or
.e last words of the line

ions of these two deities
hich I refer for further

This fact of the frequent diversity between the Vedic and ordinary Sanskrit is recognized in every page of his work by the great grammarian Pāṇini. I will quote one of the Sūtras, in which he refers to some instances of this, together with the illustrations given in the Vārttika (vii. 2, 64):—*Babhūtha ātatantha jagṛibhma vavartha iti nigame || ity etāni vede nipātyante | bhū | "hotā prathamo babhūtha" | "babhūvitha" iti loke | tanu | "yena antariksham uru ātatantha" | "ātenitha" iti loke | graha | "jagṛibhma te dakshiṇam Indra hastam" | "jagṛihima" iti loke | vṛiñ | "vavartha tvaṁ hi jyotishā" | "vavaritha" iti loke|* "The exceptional forms *babhūtha, ātatantha, jagṛibhma* and *vavartha* are employed in the Veda instead of the ordinary forms, *babhūvitha, ātenitha, jagṛihima,* and *vavaritha;* as in the texts, 'thou wast the first priest,' 'whereby thou didst stretch out the wide firmament,' 'we have seized, O Indra, thy right hand,' 'thou didst envelope with light.'"

In Sutra vi. 4, 102, other instances are alluded to of grammatical forms which are peculiar to the Veda, viz., the imperatives *śrudhi* for *śriṇu,* 'hear'; *kṛidhi* for *kuru,* 'do'; *vṛidhi* for *vṛiṇu,* 'cover'; *pūrdhi* for *pṛiṇīhi,* 'fill.'

In the Vivaraṇa of Nāgesa Bhaṭṭa on the Mahābhāshya, the following reference is made to certain forms which are employed in the Veda only: *Evaṁ cha veda-mātrāntargata-"karṇebhir-devāso-gṛibhṇāmi"-ity-ādy-atirikta-paratā laukika-śabdasya tais tad-vyavahārādarśanāt |* "The term 'secular' (*laukika*) refers to words different from such as *karṇebhiḥ* (for *karṇaiḥ*), *devāsaḥ* (for *devāḥ*), and *gṛibhṇāmi* (for *gṛihṇāmi*), which are to be found in the Veda alone, for we never see them employed by secular people."

Neuter plurals in *ī* and *ā* are also of frequent occurrence in the Vedic hymns, as *trī* and *pūrṇā* for *trīṇi* and *pūrṇāni.* So too the final *i* in nouns ending in *n,* is often left out in the locative, as in *ajman, adhvan, karman, charman, janman, dhanvan, śarman, vyoman,* for *ajmani, adhvani,* etc. So also *ā* is substituted for *au* in the nom. and accus. dual, as in *yā surathā* for *yau surathau,* etc.

In nouns in *i* the instrumental singular is often formed by *ī*, instead of *yā,* as *śaktī* for *śaktyā,* and the locative by *ā* instead of *au,* as *nābhā* for *nābhau.* Nouns in *u* frequently form the instrumental case in *vā* instead of *unā,* as *kratvā, madhvā, śarvā,* for *kratunā,* etc.; the dative

became obsolete, or acquired new meanings, while other new words, borrowed from the dialects of the Mlechhas, were introduced into currency; and forms of inflection which were once current got gradually into disuse, and made way for other novel forms. Thus a twofold alteration was produced in the ancient Indian language (the Sanskrit of the Vedas). First, the Pâli and the Prākṛit, or vernacular dialects, were formed out of it in the manner which has already been described (pp. 33, 68, f., 134, 146); and secondly, a learned language, based upon the Sanskrit of the Vedas, but variously modified (see pp. 138, f.), and polished, was gradually constructed by grammarians, which being removed from the corrupting influences of popular use, has thenceforward continued unchanged (p. 162).

When the process of change had been going on for many generations, the Vedic hymns became exceedingly difficult to understand. The obstacles to comprehension, arising from these intermediate changes of language, were greatly augmented by the obscure and elliptical style in which the hymns were originally composed, which rendered it hard for the men of subsequent ages to understand the brief allusions to ancient ideas, practices, and events with which they abound.

These considerations will sufficiently account for the difficulty which was experienced in the comprehension of the Vedic hymns in later ages, without there being the least necessity for our supposing that they were composed in a language at all different from that which was ordinarily current in India, among the common people of the Āryan race, at the time of their composition.

CHAPTER II.

AFFINITIES OF THE INDIANS WITH THE PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND ROMANS, AND DERIVATION OF ALL THESE NATIONS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.

From the preceding review it is clear that the Sanskrit language has been undergoing a continual change, from the very earliest times up to which we can follow its course. But if this be the case, it would be contrary to all analogy to suppose that that language had remained unaltered in those yet earlier ages before the Vedas were composed. It must, therefore, now become my object to inquire, whether we can discover any means of following it back to its origin. We are not, it must be confessed, in a position to do this in any other way than that of reasoning and inference; for, in the absence of any Sanskrit writings anterior to the Vedas, we possess no direct means of tracing the history of the Sanskrit language and its mutations any further back than the date of the composition of those hymns. There is, however, another way in which we can arrive at some conception of that history. From facts which are established and evident, we must reason to the unapparent causes which they presuppose, and out of which they have arisen.[1]

Learned men have remarked, that there is a great resemblance between the Sanskrit and other languages, some of which, like it, are now no longer spoken, but were formerly the current and popular speech of ancient nations, and are preserved in written records which

[1] Ὡς 'εγὼ συμβάλλομαι, τοῖσι 'εμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, "As I conjecture, inferring things unknown from things that are manifest," says Herodotus, ii. 33. Compare Euripides, fragment 5 of the Phœnix, τἀφανῆ τεκμηρίοισιν εἰκότως ἁλίσκεται, "A probable conclusion regarding things unapparent is reached by proofs."

have descended to us from a remote antiquity. These are 1st, the Zend and other varieties of the ancient Persic; 2nd, the Greek; and 3rd, the Latin.[2] The Zend language is preserved in the Zend Avesta, a collection of writings connected with the ancient religion of Persia. The poems of Homer, which form the oldest relic of the extensive literature of ancient Greece, are supposed to have been written about 2,700 years ago. And there are many Latin books which are 2,000 years old. From the great similarity which exists between these languages and the Sanskrit, of which proofs and instances will be presently adduced, learned men have inferred: 1st, That these forms of speech have all one common origin, i.e., that Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin are all, as it were, sisters,[3] the daughters (some perhaps older and some younger, but still all daughters) of one mother who died in giving them birth, or, to speak without a figure, that they are derivatives from, and the surviving representatives of, one older language, which now no longer exists;[4] and 2ndly, That the races of men who spoke these several languages are also all descended from one stock, and that their ancestors at a very early period all lived together in some country (situated out of Hindustan), speaking one language; but afterwards separated, to travel away from their primeval abodes, at different times and in different directions; the forefathers of the

[2] It is not necessary for my purpose to insist much on the affinities of the Sanskrit to any other languages besides those I have named.

[3] Facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

[4] From a comparison of the various forms which words of identical signification have assumed in the different derivative tongues, and of the laws which in each case must have governed the mutations which they have undergone, it becomes possible to ascertain, in many cases with certainty, or with high probability, the form which the words had at first in the mother-language, the original Indo-European speech. In the work of the late August Schleicher, entitled "Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen" (i.e. "Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages") 3rd ed., 1871, the letters of the mother-language which continue unaltered in the derivative tongues, and those which have been replaced by others, are specified, and the original forms of inflection and conjugation, as well as of numerous words, are stated. And in August Fick's "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen," (i.e. "Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages"), 2nd ed., 1870, the words of the original language are given according to the author's conception of their form. These writers, however, though generally, are not always, at one as to the original forms. Thus Schleicher thinks the word for "five" was *kankan*, whilst Fick makes it *pankan*. The former takes *svastars* to have been at first the word for "sister," whilst the latter makes it *svasar*.

The languages which belong to the Semitic branch are the Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, etc. Now all who have studied these languages are well aware that they closely resemble each other in respect of their roots and general character; while they have scarcely any affinity at all in any respect with the languages of the Indo-European stock, in which are included Sanskrit, Zend, the later forms of pure Persian, Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic and Sclavonic languages. Any person who knows both Arabic and Sanskrit is perfectly aware that they have little resemblance to each other either in verbal roots, or nouns, and none in the forms of conjugation and declension.[7]

Now, here we discover the very remarkable fact that two languages,

[7] The question of the difference between the Semitic and Indo-European languages, in point of structure, with their partial correspondence in respect of roots, is ably treated by Renan, "Histoire des Langues Sémitiques," 2nd ed. p. 434, ff. He observes that the criterion of the distinctness of families in languages is to be found in the impossibility of deriving one from another. Thus, he says, it is quite intelligible how, notwithstanding their differences, all the Indo-European tongues may be related to the same type, and have sprung from the same primitive idiom; while it is impossible to explain how, by any series of corruptions, the Zend or the Sanskrit could have become Hebrew, or how the Hebrew could have become changed to Sanskrit or Chinese (p. 434). It is generally recognized that there is a wide distinction between the grammatical system of the Semitic languages and that of the Indo-European tongues, and that the one system could not be derived from the other by any procedure known to comparative philology. If we except the principles common to all, or to most, languages (which are nothing else than an expression of the laws of the human mind), there is scarcely any grammatical mechanism of importance which is common to the two families (p. 444). But in the classification of languages, grammatical are much more important than lexicographical considerations [i.e. the inflections of a language are of much more consequence than the words of which it is composed]. Many languages could be quoted which have enriched or renewed their vocabulary, but very few which have corrected their grammar. Grammar is, therefore, the essential form of language, that which constitutes its individuality (pp. 447, 448). On the other hand, M. Renan admits that the Semitic and Indo-European languages have a considerable number of roots which are common to both, independently of such as they have borrowed from each other within the historical period. But he doubts whether this circumstance is sufficient to prove the primitive unity of the two families, and scarcely ventures to hope that a demonstrative result will ever be attained on this point. The greater part of the roots common to the two families owe their similarity, he considers, to natural causes, as they belong to the class of biliteral and monosyllabic onomatopœias, which reappear in the triliteral radicals actually existing, and in which original sensations appear to have left their traces. Is it at all strange, he asks, that in order to express outward action, the primitive man, still sympathizing so closely with nature, and scarcely separated from her, should have sought to imitate her, and that the same objects should have been universally imitated by the same sounds? (pp. 449, 450.) M. Renan illustrates these remarks by a number of instances, but admits that,

y of the same origin as the Sanskrit nouns or verbs ation.

st of words may suffice to prove the assertion just sian language has, in its purely Persic element, an rit, while Arabic has no such affinity:—

Table No. IX.

Table of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Words.

PERSIAN.	ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
padar[8]	*ăbū*	father.
mādar	*ămm*	mother.
dukhtar	*bint*	daughter.
dāmād	*hāfid*	son-in-law.
jawān	*shābb*	young man.
nar	*zhăkăr*	male.
garm	*hărr*	heat.
ăsp	*fărăs*	horse.
āb	*mā*	water.
nām	*ism*	name.
khushk	*yābis*	dry.
pā	*qădăm*	foot.
bāhū, bāsū	*sā'id*	arm.
nau	*jădīd*	new.
yak	*ăhăd*	one.
do	*ithnăn*	two.
chăhār	*ărbă'a*	four.
pănj	*khams*	five.
shăsh	*sătt*[9]	six.
hăft	*saba'a*	seven.
hăsht	*thămāniyat*	eight.
nuh	*tasa'a*	nine.
dăh	*'ashar*	ten.
bist	*'ashrūn*	twenty.
ṣad, sad	*māyat*	hundred.
hāzār	*alaf*	thousand.

additional instances of affinity between Persian and ing the equivalents in the Zend, one of the earliest language, but omitting all reference to the Arabic.[10]

abic word does resemble the Sanskrit.

of these lists I have had the advantage of drawing from the nd Latin Lexicon of Dr. J. A. Vullers, including the supple- Persian roots illustrated by reference to the older Persic tc.; the Persian Grammar of the same author (1st edition, ; and Dr. Justi's Zend Dictionary. Dr. Vullers's Grammar, is compared with the ancient Persic dialects and with islated from Latin into English, form a useful handbook for of learning the history and affinities of the Persian language.

I. VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
dar	. . .	*darīdan*	to tear.
kar	*kar*	*kardan*	to do.
kriṇu (imperat. vedic)	. . .	*kun*	do thou.
dā	*dā*	*dādan*	to give.
grabh (vedic)[11]	*garew, garefsh*	*giriftan*	to take.
bhar	*bar*	*burdan*	to bear.
bandh	*bañd*	*bastan, bandad* (3rd pers. sing. pres.)	to bind.
āp	*ap, āf*	*yāftan*	to obtain.
śru (*śriṇoti*)	*śru*	*shanūdan*	to hear.
sthā	*śtā*	*istādan*	to stand.
jīv	*ji, jīsh, jīv*	*zīstan*	to live.
mar	*mar*	*murdan*	to die.
svap	*qap, qafś*	*khuftan*	to sleep.
svapna	*qafna*	*khwāb*	sleep.
char	*char*	*charīdan*	to wander, graze.
dhāv	. . .	*davīdan*	to run.
pach	*pach*	*pukhtan*	to cook.
duh	. . .	*dokhtan* / *doshīdan*	to milk.
jnā	*zā*	*dānistan*	to know.
jānāti	. . .	[*mī*] *dānad*	he knows.
jānāmi	. . .	[*mī*] *dānam*	I know.
sṛij	. . .	*sirishtan*	to create.
sṛishṭi	. . .	*sirisht*	creation, nature.
han	*jan*	*zadan* (*zanad* 3rd pers. sing.)	to strike.
tras	*tarsś*	*tarsīdan*	to fear.
trāsa	*tarsti*	*tars*	fear, trembling.
mih	*miz*	*mekhtan*	to make water.
jaj, janj	. . .	*jangīdan*	to fight.
tapas	*tafnu*	*tap, tāb*	heat, fever.
ruh	*rud*	*rustan, royīdan*	to grow.
prachh (*pṛichhati*)	*pareś*	*pursīdan*	to ask.
ve, vabh[12]	. . .	*bāftan*	to weave.
khan	. . .	*kandan*	to dig.
karsh	*karesh, kash*	*kashīdan*	to draw.
krī	. . .	*kharīdan*	to buy.
dham	*dam*	*damīdan*	to blow (as wind or breath).
jan	*zan*	*zādan*	be born, beget.
jāta	*zāta*	*zādah*	born.
tan (*tanoti*)	*tan*	*tanīdan, tanūdan*	to extend.
śuch	*śuch*	*sokhtan*	to shine, burn.
varsh, vār, vāri (water)	*vār*	*bārīdan*	to rain.
ni+dhā	*ni+dā*	*nihādan*	to place.

[11] The later form *grah* is one of the early instances of the same process by which in Prākṛit *h* was substituted for *kh, gh, th, dh, ph,* and *bh.*

[12] The existence of this root may be inferred from the presence of a derivative from it in the word *ūrṇavābhi*, "spider."

	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
	. . .	*chamīdan*	to go, walk.
	. . .	*zamīdan*	to eat.
	. . .	*chīdan*	to collect.
	fra+śtā	*feristādan*	to send, go forward.
	nam	*namīdan*	to bend, be disposed
	paṭ	*uftādan, fitādan*	to fall. [to.
c)	*dī*	*dīdan*	to perceive, see.
	bū	*būdan*	to be.
i	. . .	[*mī*] *buwam*	I am.
	. . .	[*mī*] *buwad*	he is.
m	. . .	*būdam*	I was.
	. . .	*būd*	he was.
in	. . .	*būdand*	they were.
	ahmi	*am, hastam*	I am.
	aśti	*hast, ast*	he is.
	heñti	*and*	they are.
	śtu	*sitūdan*	to praise.
	śud	*shustan*	to cleanse, wash.
d	*mared*	*mālīdan* [13]	to grind, rub, etc.
l	. . .	*nālīdan*	to sound, lament.
r	*dăr*	*dāshtan* (imperat. *dār*)	to hold.
rsh	*karesh*	*kāshtan*(imperat. *kār*)	to cultivate.
p	*tap*	*tapīdan, tāftan* (imperat. *tāb*)	to be hot, to heat.
ah	*vaz*	*wazīdan*	to carry, blow (as
hraj	. . .	*birishtan*	to roast. [wind).
kshar	*khshar*	*shārīdan*	to flow.
chhid	*śkeñd, śchiñd*	*shikastan*	to cut, break.
svan	*qan*	*<u>kh</u>wāndan*	to sound, call, read.
śak (*śaktum*, infin.)	*śach* (to give, learn)	*sākhtan*(imperat. *sāz*)	to be able, make.
kush (to tear, tear out)	. . .	*kushtan*	to kill.

II. NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, PRONOUNS, PARTICLES, ETC. [14]

bhrātar	*brātar*	*birādar*	brother.
svasar	*qañhar*	*<u>kh</u>wāhar*	sister.
putra	*puthra*	*pisar, pusar*	son.
śvasura	*qaśura*	*<u>kh</u>usr*	father-in-law.
śvaśrū	. . .	*<u>kh</u>usrū*, or *<u>kh</u>usrah*	mother-in-law.
vidhavā	. . .	*bewah*	widow.
jani, gnā	*jēni, ghĕna*	*zan*	woman, wife.
martya	*marĕta*	*mard*	mortal, man.
vatsa	. . .	*bachah* [15]	child.
jīva, jīvita	*jīti, jīsti*	*zī, zīst, zindagī*	life.

[13] See p. 23 above, note 41, and the line to which it refers.

[14] It is possible that in some of the instances of similarity here adduced, the Persian word may have been borrowed at a comparatively recent period from the Sanskrit, or vice versâ; but this cannot well be the case when an ancient Zend equivalent also is forthcoming.

[15] See page 16, note 10.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
tanu	*tanu, tanus*	*tan*	body.
majjā	*mazga*	*maghz*	brain.
śiras	*śara*	*sar*	head.
asthi	*aśti, aśta*	*astah, ustukhān*	bone.
pārshṇi	*pāshna*	*pāshnah*	heel.
chakshu	*chashman*	*chashm*	eye.
aśru	*aśru*	*ars*	tear.
dant	*dañtan*	*dandān*	tooth.
jihvā	*hizva*	*zabān*	tongue.
dos	. . .	*dosh*	shoulder.
aratni	. . .	*āranj*	elbow.
hasta [16]	*zaśta*	*dast*	hand.
mushṭi	*musti*	*musht*	fist, handful.
angushṭha	*añgusta*	*angusht*	thumb, finger.
nakha	. . .	*nākhūn*	nail.
rom	. . .	*roman*	hair.
stana	*fstāna*	*pastān*	female breast.
yakṛit	. . .	*jigar*	liver.
jānu	*zhnu*	*zānu*	knee.
pād	*pādha*	*pā*	foot.
keśa	. . .	*ges, geso*	hair, ringlet.
pṛishṭha	*parsti*	*pusht*	back.
ushṭra	*ustra*	*ushtar, shutr*	camel.
kapi	. . .	*kabī, kapī*	ape.
go	*gāo*	*gāo*	ox, or cow.
śūkara	*hu*	*khūk*	boar.
khara	*khara*	*khar*	ass, or wild ass.
aśvatara	. . .	*astar*	mule.
mesha	*maēsha*	*mesh*	sheep, ram.
mūsha	. . .	*mūsh*	mouse.
parṇa	*parĕna*	*par*	feather, wing.
parṇin	*perenin*	*parindah*	winged, a bird.
chanchu	. . .	*chang*	beak of a bird.
kapota	. . .	*kabūtar*	pigeon.
gṛidhra	. . .	*gīd*	a vulture.
śṛigāla	. . .	*shaghāl*	jackal.
kurankara	. . .	*kulang*	crane.
makshikā	*makshi*	*magas*	fly.
kṛimi	*kerema*	*kirm*	worm.
kaśyapa, *kachhapa*	*kaśyapa*	*kashaf*	tortoise.
karka	. . .	*kark, kharchang*	crab.
gūtha	. . .	*gūh*	excrement.
matsya	*maśya*	*māhī*	fish.
kshīra	*kshīra*	*shīr*	milk.
hiraṇya	*zaranya*	*zar*	gold.
ayas	*ayañh*	*āhan*	iron.
charman	. . .	*charm*	skin.
āhāra	. . .	*āhār*	food.
nirāhāra, *anāhāra*	. . .	*nāhār*	fasting.
kṛishi (*kṛishṭa*)	*karsti*	*kisht*	cultivation, ploughed field.
vrīhi	*berejya* [17]	*birinj*	rice.

[16] Could the original form of this word have been *dhasta*?

[17] See Vullers's Persian Grammar, 2nd edition, pp. 50, 56. In Justi's Lexicon *berejya* is said to be the name of a deity who protects crops.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
godhūma	. . .	*gandum*	wheat.
yava	*yava*	*jau*	barley.
dhānya	*dāna*	*dānah*	grain.
jangala	. . .	*jangal*	thicket.
kshupa	. . .	*chob*	a bush, wood.
dāru	*dāuru*	*darod*	wood.
śākhā	. . .	*shākh, shākhchah*	branch.
ārā	. . .	*ărăh*	saw.
yuga	. . .	*jugh*	yoke.
jāla	. . .	*jāl*	net.
bhāra	. . .	*bār*	weight.
vāra	. . .	*bār*	time.
ekavāra	. . .	*yakbār*	once.
dvāra	*dvără*	*dar*	door.
panjara	. . .	*pinjarah, panjarah*	cage.
dāman	. . .	*dām*	net, bond.
chakra	*chakhra*	*charkh*	wheel.
deva	*daēva*	*dev*	god, demon.
aśman	*aśman*	*āsmān*	stone, heaven.
jagat	. . .	*jahān*	the world.
bhūmi	*būmi*	*būm*	ground, earth.
jmā, gmā	*zem*	*zamīn*	earth.
svar, sūrya	*hvare*	*khūr*	heaven, sun.
mitra, mihira[18]	*mithra*	*mihr*	name of a god, sun, friend, friendship.
vasishṭha	*añhu vahista*	*behisht*	best, paradise.
mās	*māoñh*	*māh*	moon, month.
stăr (vedic)	*ștăre*	*sitārah*	star.
abhra	*awra*	*abr*	cloud.
megha	*maegha*	*megh*	cloud.
kshapā	*kshap*	*shab*	night.
gharma	*garĕma*	*garmā*	heat, summer.
hima	*zima*	*zam*	winter, cold.
vāta	*vāta*	*bād*	wind.
chhāyā	. . .	*sāyah*	shade.
chhatra	. . .	*chatar*	umbrella.
ranga	. . .	*rang*	colour.
gandha	*gaiñti*	*gand*	smell, bad smell.
karpūra	. . .	*kāfūr*	camphor.
soma	*haoma*	*hom*	soma plant.
atharvan	*ātharvan*	*āturbān*	priest, fire-priest, saint.
namas	*nĕmañh*	*namāz*	adoration, prayers.
manas	*manañh*	*mansh*	mind, disposition.
guṇa	*gaona*	*gūnah*	quality, colour.
drugdha	*draogha*	*darogh*	injury, lie.
tṛishṇā	*tarshna*	*tishnagī*	thirst.
tṛishita, tṛishṇaj	. . .	*tishnah*	thirsty.
śoka	. . .	*sog*	grief.
bhī, bhīma	. . .	*bīm*	fear, terrible.
kāma	. . .	*kām*	wish, desire.
rahas	. . .	*rāz*	secret.
kārya	*kāra*	*kār*	work.

[18] *Mihira* is mentioned by Böhtlingk and Roth as occurring in the Mahābhārata iii. 191, as a name of the sun. Mitra occurs in the same sense in the same line.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
bhishaj	*bhaĕshaza*	*băchashk,* *bijishk*	physician.
kulāla	. . .	*kulāl*	potter.
ishṭikā (?)	*istya*	*khisht*	brick.
yātu	*yātu*	*jādū*	sorcerer, sorcery.
gola	. . .	*golah*	a ball.
tāra	. . .	*tār*	wire, chord, musical note.
jyā	. . .	*zih, zĕh*	a bowstring.
tīra	. . .	*tīr*	arrow.
vistara	. . .	*bistar*	bed.
paryanka, *palyanka*	. . .	*palang*[19]	bed.
rathyā	*raithya*	*rāh*	road.
kumbha	. . .	*khumb*	jar.
sthūṇā	. . .	*sitūn*	pillar.
sthāna	*śtāna*	*āstān*	place, threshold.
dāha	*dăgha*	*dāgh*	burning, a mark from burning.
ārāma	*rāman*	*ārām*	rest, pleasure, garden.
kunja	. . .	*kunj*	corner, arbour.
drapsa	*drafsha*	*dirafsh*	drop, spark, banner, lightning.
tokman	*taokhman*	*tukhm*	a blade of grain, seed.
sangama	*hañjamana*	*anjuman*	an assemblage.
pratāpa	. . .	*parto*	lustre.
śakuna	. . .	*shagūn*	bird, omen.
chaturanga	. . .	*shatrang*	chess.
dūra	*dūra*	*dūr*	far.
nedishṭha	*nazda*	*nizd*	near.
mahat	*maz, mazañt*	*mih*	great.
mahattara	. . .	*mihtar*	greater, chief.
guru, garīyas	. . .	*girān*	heavy.
tanu	. . .	*tanuk*	slender.
sama	. . .	*hamah*	all.
sam	. . .	*ham*	together.
sarva	*haurva*	*har*	all.
nema	*naēma*	*nīm*	half.
śukra (bright)	*śukhra*	*surkh*	red.
śubha	. . .	*khūb*	fair.
savya	*havya*	*chap*	left.
rajishṭha (vedic)	*razista*	*rāst*	straight.
śveta	*śpaēta*	*saped, safed*	white.
śyāma, śyāva	*śyāva*	*siyāh*	black, brown.
pūrṇa	*pĕrĕna*	*pur*	full.
tigma, tīkshṇa, tejas, tij (to sharpen)	*tighra, tishin*	*tej*	sharp, sharpness.
dīrgha	*darĕgha*	*darāz*	long.
rāma	*rāma*	*rām*	pleasant, pleasantness, happy.
nashṭa	. . .	*nashat*	destroyed.
sthāvara	*śtawra*	*ustuwār*	firm
matta	. . .	*mast*	intoxicated.

[19] See p. 19, note 26.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
durnāman	. . .	*dushnām*	bad name, abuse.
durmanas	. . .	*dujmanish*, *dushman*	hostile, disturbed in mind.
kva, *kutra*, *kuha* (vedic)	*kuthra*	*ku*[*jā*]	where?
na	*na*	*nah*	not.
tvam	*tūm*	*tū*	thou.
yushmat	. . .	*shumā*	you.
sva	*qa*, *hava*, *hva*,	*khūd*	you, own, self.
katama	. . .	*kadām*	who?
tara	*tara*	*tar*	sign of comp. degree.
antar	*añtare*	*andar*	within.
upari	*upairi*	*bar*	above.
paśchāt, *paśca*	*paśkāt*, *paśca*	*pas*	after.
idānīm	. . .	*īdūn*	now.
viṁśati	*vīśaiti*	*bīst*	twenty.
panchāśat	. . .	*panjāh*	fifty.
shashṭi	*khshasti*	*shast*	sixty.
saptati	*haptāiti*	*haftād*	seventy.
aśīti	*astāiti*	*hashtād*	eighty.
navati	*navaiti*	*navad*	ninety.
śata	*śata*	*ṣad*	a hundred.
sahasra	*hazañra*	*hazār*	a thousand.
durvāra	. . .	*dushwār*[20]	difficult to stop, difficult.

NOTE.—On the other hand, I may specify the instance of *āfat* (Ar.) and *āpad* (Sans.), in which a word of similar sound has the same sense of "calamity" in Arabic and Sanskrit.

Now the old language of Bactria or Persia, from which the words in the above list, still forming part of the modern Persian, must be derived, was a language closely connected with the Sanskrit. That language, in one of its branches, and at a certain stage of its progress, was the Zend, which we find employed in the Zendavesta, or sacred volume of the Zoroastrians, or Parsīs, a work which still exists, and is studied with increasing success by European scholars.

In the same way, if we compare Sanskrit with the language of the ancient Greeks (who lived to the north-west of Persia, on the eastern and western shores of the Ægean Sea), and with that of the Romans, who inhabited Italy, we shall find a close resemblance, and frequently an almost perfect identity in very many words, both as regards the roots and the inflection.

[20] *Wār* is a Persian suffix, perhaps unconnected with the Sanskrit *vāra*; but there is no doubt of the identity of the Persian particle *dush* and the Sanskrit *dus*.

The resemblances between languages may be twofold. First, as regards the roots of the words. For instance, in Sanskrit we have the word *nāman*, "name," and we find the same word *nām* in the same sense both in Persian and Hindī. The second resemblance is in the mode of inflection. Here we do not find any resemblance in regard to the way in which this word *nāman* is declined between the Sanskrit and the Persian and Hindī languages. The Sanskrit has three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, and seven cases (besides the vocative) in each number, whereas the Persian and Hindī have only two numbers, singular and plural, and the cases are formed in quite a different way from those of the Sanskrit. To prove this it will be sufficient to give the different cases of the singular number of this word in each of the languages.

	SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.	HINDĪ.
NOM.	nāma	nām	nām
ACC.	nāma	nāmrā	nāmko
INST.	nāmnā	wanting, and supplied by prepositions.	nām se, nām karke
DAT.	nāmne		nāmko
ABL.	nāmnas		nām se
GEN.	nāmnas		nāmkā
LOC.	nāmni		nām meñ
VOC.	nāma	nām	nām

If now we compare the Latin word for "name" with the Sanskrit, we shall find not only that the root is the same, but also that the mode of inflection is very similar: thus,—

Singular.

	SAKSKRIT.	LATIN.
NOM.	nāma (from crude form nāman)	nomen
ACC.	nāma	nomen
INST.	nāmnā	nomine
DAT.	nāmne	nomini
ABL.	nāmnas	nomine
GEN.	nāmnas	nominis
LOC.	nāmni	nomine
VOC.	nāma	nomen

Plural.

	SANSKRIT.	LATIN.
NOM.	nāmāni	nomina
ACC.	nāmāni	nomina
INST.	nāmabhis	nominibus
DAT.	nāmabhyas	nominibus
ABL.	nāmabhyas	nominibus
GEN.	nāmnām	nominum
LOC.	nāmāsu	nominibus
VOC.	nāmāni	nomina

The Latin language has no dual.

We see here that while the same root expressing the word "name" is common to all these languages, the Persian and Hindī have lost the ancient forms of inflection, while the Sanskrit and Latin have preserved them. There thus exists a double resemblance, viz.; first of roots, and second of inflections, between the Latin and the Sanskrit, and the same remark is equally true of the Greek and the Zend.

Now, when we find that a multitude of roots coincide in any two languages, of which the one does not derive them from the other, we may be sure (even though the one may have no complex system of inflections, while the other has), that those two languages have a common origin, especially if we can show that the one which is deficient in inflections has gradually lost them by a particular process of alteration which can still be traced. But if any two languages resemble one another both in roots and inflections, the proof of their affinity is then greatly strengthened.

SECT. II.—*Detailed illustrations of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin languages.*

I proceed now to furnish, first, some specimens of words which as roots correspond to each other in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin; and I shall afterwards exhibit the mutual resemblances of these four languages in point of inflection also.

The following is a list of words (derived from the publications of Bopp, Benfey, Aufrecht, Curtius, Fick, Justi, and others) which correspond both in sound and sense in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin. In many of these words the resemblance is so close that no doubt can be entertained of their affinity, that they are all the representatives (more or less changed) of some one particular word in the original language from which they have all been derived. In other cases where the resemblance is not so apparent, the affinity can nevertheless be satisfactorily proved by observation of the fact that one or more of the letters of words having the same signification in the different languages always or generally vary from one another in a uniform manner in the different languages. It will be necessary to illustrate this point in detail.

I should first remark that the original forms of the cognate words in question, as they existed in their assumed mother-language, cannot in all cases be fixed with certainty, but in most instances they can be determined with an approach to precision. Thus, from a comparison of the Sanskrit *ahi* with the Greek *ekhis*, and the Latin *anguis*, we may gather with probability that the original form was *aghi*, or *anghi*. Similarly the Sanskrit *duhitar* and the Greek *thugater* seem to come from *dughatar* or *dhughatar*; *aśva* and *equus* from *akva*; *śvan* and *kuon*

from *kvan; jānu* and *gonu* from *gānu; jnā, gignosko* and *nosco* (*cognosco*) from *gnā*, etc. Some of the consonants found in Sanskrit do not appear to have existed in the original Indo-European tongue, such as *cha, chha, ja, jha*, which are considered to have been developed out of *k* and *g*. From a comparison of the different cognate words, it results that certain consonants of the original language remain uniform in all the derivative tongues, whilst others vary in one or more of the latter. This is shown in the following table, abridged from that given in Schleicher's Compendium der vergl. Grammatik (3rd ed.), p. 328.

INDO-EUROPEAN.	SANSKRIT (or old Indian).	ZEND (or old Bactrian).	GREEK.	LATIN.
k	k (kh), ch ś, p	k (kh), ch ś, p	k (κ), g (γ) p (π), t (τ)	c, qv
g	g, j	g (gh), j ž, z	g (γ), b (b)	g, gv, v.
gh	gh, h	g, gh, z̃, z	kh (χ)	g, gv, v, h, f.
t	t, th	t (th, ṭ)	t (τ)	t
d	d	d (dh)	d (δ)	d, l.
dh	dh	d (dh)	th (θ)	d, f, b.
p b [31]	p, ph b	p (f) b [17]	p (π) b (β)	p. b.
bh	bh	b (w)	ph (φ)	b, f.
n	n	n	n (ν)	n.
m	m	m	m (μ)	m.
r	r, l, (r, ṛ, & l as vowels)	r	r (ρ), l (λ)	r, l.
y	y	y	i (ι), ĕ (ε), ds (ζ), h (ʽ)	j, i.
s	s, sh	s, sh, ś, h, ṅh, n'h, qh	s (σ), h (ʽ)	s, r.
v	v	v, (w), p, b	u (υ) *F*	v, u.
sk	chh	. . .	. . .	. . .
sv	. . .	qh	. . .	. . .

In Sanskrit the dental letters (t, th, d, dh, s) sometimes become linguals (or cerebrals *ṭ, ḍ*, etc.), and the nasals n and m become ṅ, ń, and ñ, in consequence of certain phonetic laws. In Greek ky, khy, ty, thy = ss; dy, gy = ζ (ds).

These laws and variations are exemplified in such words as the following:—

(*a*) where k remains common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin—as in aksha, axon(=aksōn); axis(=aksis) or dakshina, dexios (=deksios), dexter (=dekster); or kshura = xuron (=kshuron).

(*b*) where k in Greek and c (=k) in Latin are represented by ś (श) in

[31] Schleicher places a mark of interrogation (?) after the b, and in the Zend column omits the b and puts only a mark of interrogation.

Sanskrit—as in deka, decem = daśan; ekaton, centum = śatam; kuōn, canis = śvan; derk = darś. According to Bopp, (Comp. Gram., 2nd ed.) sec. 21*a*, the Sanskrit ś is almost always the corruption of an original k. Schleicher (p. 165) says it was originally a k, and ought perhaps properly to be pronounced as the German ch, which is in sound not unlike the Persian and Arabic k͟he (خ).

(*c*) G in Greek and Latin is in Sanskrit frequently represented by j, as in ago, ago = ajāmi; in gignosko, nosco = jānāmi; gennao, gigno = jajanmi; agros, ager = ajra.

(*d*) Kh (χ) in Greek is represented by gh, and h in Sanskrit, and by h and g in Latin, as in elakhus = laghus, ekhis = ahi and anguis, kheima = hima and hiems.

(*e*) Th (θ) in Greek is represented by dh in Sanskrit, and by f or d in Latin, as in tithēmi = dadhāmi; mĕthu = madhu; thumos = dhūma, fumus.

(*f*) Ph (φ) in Greek is represented in Sanskrit by bh, and in Latin by f and b, as in phuo = bhavāmi and fui; ophrus = bhrū; phero = bharāmi and fero; phratria = bhratār, frater.

(*g*) G in Sanskrit is sometimes represented by b in Greek and Latin, as in go = būs, bos.

Numerous other illustrations will be found in the tables which follow.

Table No. X.

I. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
pitar	*patar*	*patēr*	*pater*	father.
mātar	*mātar*	*mētēr*	*mater*	mother.
tāta	. . .	*tetta*	*tata*	father.
nǎnā	. . .	*nanna*	. . .	mother, aunt.
bhrātar	*brātar*	*phratria* (a clan)	*frater*	brother.
svasar	*qañhar*	. . .	*soror*	sister.
duhitar	*dughdhar*	*thugatēr*	. . .	daughter.
naptar, napāt	*napa*	*anepsios*	*nepos*	grandson, cousin
naptrī	*napti*	. . .	*neptis*	grand-daughter.
devar, devara	. . .	*daer*	. . .	husband's brother.
snushā	. . .	*nuos*	*nurus*	daughter-in-law.
jāmātar	*zāmātar*	*gambros*	*gener*	son-in-law.
śvaśura	*qaśura*	*hekuros*	*socer*	father-in-law.
śvaśrū	. . .	*hekura*	*socrus*	mother-in-law.
pitṛivya	. . .	*patrōs*	*patruus*	father's brother.
sūnu	*hunu*	*huios*	. . .	son.
vidhavā	. . .	. . .	*vidua*	widow.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
nara	*nara*	*anēr*	. . .	man.
jani, gnā	*jēni*	*gunē*	. . .	woman.
vīra	. . .	*hērōs* ?	*vir*	hero, man.
vīratā	. . .	. . .	*virtus*	valour.
śūra	*śūra*	. . .	*kurios*	strong, hero, lord.
rājan	. . .	. . .	*rex*	king.
rājnī	. . .	. . .	*regina*	queen.
jaras	*zaurva*	*gēras*	. . .	old age.
jaran	*zaorura*	*gĕron*	. . .	old man.
yuvan	*yavan*	. . .	*juvenis*	young man.
pati	*paiti*	*posis*	*potis, potens*	lord, husband, able.
patnī	. . .	*potnia*	. . .	mistress, honourable.
ātman	. . .	*atmos, aütmēn*	. . .	breath, soul, vapour.
an (to breathe)	. . .	*anemos*	*animus*	wind, mind.
kṛip (to make)	*kerefs* (nom.)	. . .	*corpus*	body.
hṛidaya	*zaredhaya*	*kardia*	*cor*	heart.
śiras	*śara*	*kara*	*cerebrum*	head, brain.
kapāla	. . .	*kephale*	*caput*	head.
akshi	*ashi*	*ōps, ŏkŏs, ŏkkŏs*	*oculus*	eye.
nās, nāsā, nāsikā	*nāoṅha*	. . .	*nāsus, nāres*	nose.
bhrū	*brvaṭ*	*ophrus*	. . .	eyebrow.
ās, āsya	*āoṅh*	. . .	*ōs*	face.
dat, dantam (acc.)	*dañtan*	*odonta* (acc.)	*dentem* (acc.)	tooth.
hănu	. . .	*genus*	*gena*	jaw, chin, cheek.
nakha	. . .	*onux, onukhos* (gen.)	*unguis*	nail.
jambha	. . .	*gomphos*	. . .	tooth.
gir	. . .	*gērus*	. . .	speech.
bāhu	*bāzu*	*pēkhus*	. . .	arm.
asthi	*aśti*	*osteon*	*ŏs*	bone.
kravya, kravis	. . .	*krĕas*	*caro*	raw flesh, flesh.
păd, pāda	*pādha*	*pūs pŏdŏs* (gen.)	*pēs pĕdis* (gen.)	foot.
padāti	. . .	*pezos*	*pedes* (*peditis*)	footman.
păda	. . .	*pĕdon*	. . .	field.
jānu	*zhnu*	*gŏnu*	*genu*	knee.
udara	*udara*	. . .	*uterus*	belly.
jaṭhara	. . .	*gastēr*	. . .	belly.
antra	. . .	*entĕron*	*venter* ?	entrails, belly.
yakṛit	. . .	*hēpar*	*jecur*	liver.
nābhi	. . .	*omphalos*	*umbilicus*	navel.
śrōṇi	*śraoni*	*klonis*	*clūnis*	hip, end of spine.
kukshi	. . .	*kokhōnē*	*cox*	belly, hipbone, etc.
plīhan	. . .	*splēn*	*lien*	spleen.
keśa, kesa, keśara, kesara	. . .	. . .	*cæsaries*	hair of the head.
ūdhas	. . .	*ūthar* [gen.)	*ūber*	udder.
sakṛit	. . .	*skōr* (*skatos,*	*stercus*	dung.
āyus	. . .	*aiōn*	*ævum*	life.
toka, takman	. . .	*tĕkos, tĕknon*	. . .	child.
paśu	*paśu*	*pōu* ?	*pecu*	cattle.
go	*gāo*	*būs*	*bōs*	ox.
sthūra	*śtaora*	*tauros*	*taurus*	bull, etc.
aśva	*aśpa*	*hippos*	*equus*	horse.
avi	. . .	*oïs*	*ovis*	sheep.
aja	. . .	*aïs*	. . .	goat.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
śvan	*śpā, śūni*	*kuōn*	*cănis*	dog.
śvānam (acc.)	*śpānĕm*	*kuna*	*canem*	dog (nom.)
'ūkara, sūkara	*hu*	*sus, hus*	*sus*	hog.
vṛika	*vehrka*	*lukos*	*lupus*	wolf.
ṛiksha	. . .	*arkos*	*ursus*	bear.
lopāśaka	. . .	*alōpēx*	. . .	jackall, fox.
mūsh, mūsha	. . .	*mūs*	*mus*	mouse.
vi	*vi*	*oiōnos*	*avis*	bird.
vartikā	. . .	*ortux*	. . .	quail.
haṁsa	. . .	*khēn*	*anser*	goose.
kuhūka, kokila	. . .	*kokkux*	*cuculus*	cuckoo.
kārava	. . .	*corax*	*corvus*	crow.
ulūka	. . .	. . .	*ulula*	owl.
tittiri	. . .	*tetrix*	. . .	partridge.
pika	. . .	. . .	*pīca*	{Indian cuckoo, magpie.
udra, urdra	. . .	*hudros, enudris*	. . .	otter, water serpent.
ahi	*azhi*	*ĕkhis*	*anguis*	serpent.
karka	. . .	*karkinos*	*cancer*	crab.
śarabha	. . .	*karabos*	. . .	locust, beetle.
puluka	. . .	*psulla, psullos*	*pūlex*	insect, flea.
makshikā	*makshi*	*muia*	*musca*	fly.
Varuṇa	. . .	*Uranos*	. . .	Varuṇa, Heaven.
Dyaus	. . .	*Zeus*	. . .	The Sky, Zeus.
divya	. . .	*dīos*	*dīvus*	celestial, divine.
Dyaus pitar	. . .	*Zeus pătēr*	{*Diespiter* *Jupiter*	}Dyaus the father, etc.
deva	*daeva*	*theos* ?	*deus*	{god [in Zend, demon].
divasa, divā	. . .	. . .	*dies*	day, by day.
naktam, naktā	. . .	*nukta* (acc.)	*noctem* (acc.)	night.
ushas	*usha*	*ēōs, auōs*	*aurora*	dawn.
agni	. . .	. . .	*ignis*	fire.
mās, māsa	*māoṅh*	*mēn, mēnē*	*mensis*	moon, month.
stăr (vedic), *tāra*	*stāre*	*astēr, astron*	*astrum*	star.
śaru	. . .	*keraunos*	. . .	thunderbolt.
nabhas	. . .	*nĕphos*	*nubes*	sky, cloud.
abhra	*awra*	*ombros, aphros*	*imber*	cloud, rain, foam.
uda, udaka	. . .	*hudor*	*unda*	water, wave.
ap, āpas (nom.pl.)	*ap*	. . .	*aqua*	water.
śankha	. . .	*konkhos*	*concha*	shell, cockle.
hima	*zima*	*khion, kheimon*	*hiems*	winter, snow.
chhāyā	. . .	*skia*	. . .	shadow.
go, gmā	. . .	*gē, gaia*	. . .	the earth.
kshmā	*zem*	*khamai*	. . .	{earth, on the ground.
kshoṇi	. . .	*kthōn*	. . .	the earth.
kakud, kakudmat	. . .	. . .	*cacumen*	peak, mountain.
ajra (vedic)	. . .	*agros*	*ager*	field.
dru, druma	*dru*	*dru, drumos*	. . .	tree, wood.
dāru	*dāuru*	*doru*	. . .	wood, spear.
madhu	*madhu*	*methu*	. . .	honey, wine.
yava	*yava*	*zĕa*	. . .	barley, etc.
andhas	. . .	*anthos*	. . .	plant, flower.
ayas	. . .	. . .	*aes*	iron, copper.
rajata	*erezăta*	*arguros*	*argentum*	silver.
apas	. . .	. . .	*opus*	work.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
apnas	. . .	*aphenos*	*opes*	wealth.
pur, *purī*	. . .	*pŏlis*	. . .	city.
dama	*demāna*	*domos*	*domus*	house.
veśa (*okas* ?)	. . .	*Foikos*	*vicus*	house, village.
dvār	. . .	*thura*	*fores*	door.
rai	. . .	. . .	*rēs*	thing, possession.
svapna (*svap*, to sleep)	*gafna*	*hupnos*	*sopor*, *somnus*	sleep.
aśman	*aśman*	*akmōn*	. . .	stone, anvil, thunderbolt.
śarkarā, *karkara*	. . .	. . .	*calx*	limestone.
nau	. . .	*naus*	*navis*	ship.
aritra	. . .	*eretmos*	. . .	oar.
aritar	. . .	*eretēs*	. . .	rower.
aksha	. . .	*axōn*	*axis*	axle.
kshura	. . .	*xuron*	. . .	razor.
paraśu	. . .	*pĕlĕkus*	. . .	axe.
asi	. . . [dom)	. . .	*ensis*	sword.
kratu (vedic)	*khratu* (wis-	*kratos*	. . .	strength.
vanas, *van*, (to love)	*van*	. . .	*venus*, *venustas*	beauty, Venus.
pathin	*pathan*	*patos*	. . .	road.
āgas	. . .	*agos*	. . .	sin, guilt.
dhūma	. . .	*thumos*	*fumus*	smoke, spirit.
budhna	*buna*	*puthmēn*	*fundus*	bottom.
chakra	*chakhra*	*kuklos*	*circus*	wheel, circle, etc.
dhūpa	. . .	*tuphos*	. . .	incense, smoke.
kalama	. . .	*kalamos*	*calamus*	reed.
sthūṇā, *sthūla* (thick)	*śtūna*	*stulos*	. . .	pillar.
kumbha	. . .	*kumbē*, *kumbos*	. . .	vessel, jar.
svara	. . .	*surinx*	*susurrus*	sound, pipe, whisper.
marmara	. . .	*mormuro* (to murmur)	*murmur*	murmur.
khalīna, *khalina*	. . .	*khalīnos*	. . .	bridle, etc.
aṁhas	*azaṅh*	*ankhō* (to strangle)	*ango* (to afflict)	straits. [sion.
ūrjā, *ūrjas*	. . .	*orgē*	. . .	sap, power, pas-
ojas	. . .	*augē*	. . .	brilliance.
makha	. . .	*makhē* (battle), *makhaira* (sword, knife)	*mactare* (to kill)	[illegible]ifice.
sana	*hana*	*henos*	*senex*	old.
maṇḍa	. . .	. . .	*mundus*	ornament, world.
koṇa	. . .	*gōnia*	. . .	corner.
rasa	. . .	*drosos*	*ros*	liquid, dew.
kūpa	. . .	*kupē*, *gupe*	. . .	hole, well.
stūpa	. . .	*tumbos*	*tumulus*	mound.
phulla	. . .	*phullon*	*folium*	flower, leaf.
arjana	. . .	*ergon*	. . .	earning, work.
puru, *pulu* (vedic)	. . .	*pŏlus*	*plus*	much, more.
uru, *prithu*	. . .	*eurus*, *platus*	. . .	broad.
guru	. . .	*barus*	*gravis*	heavy.
garīyas	. . .	. . .	*gravius*	heavier.
garishṭha	. . .	. . .	*gravissimus*	heaviest.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
varishṭha	. . .	*aristos* ?	. . .	best.
laghu	. . .	*elakhus*	*levis*	light, small.
laghishṭha	. . .	*elakhistos*	*levissimus*	lightest.
mahān	. . .	*megas*	*magnus*	great.
mahīyān	. . .	*meizōn*	*major*	greater.
mañhishṭha (vedic)	. . .	*megistos*	*maximus*	greatest, venerable.
bahu	. . .	*pakhus*	. . .	great, thick.
āśu	. . .	*ōkus*	*ocior*	swift, swifter.
mṛidu	. . .	*bradus*	. . .	soft, slow.
tanu	. . .	. . .	*tenuis*	slender.
rudhira	. . .	*eruthros*	*ruber*	blood, red.
gharma	. . .	*thermos*	*formus*	heat, hot.
śushka	*hisku, huska*	. . .	*siccus*	dry.
pūrṇa	. . .	*pleos*	*plenus*	full.
dīrgha	. . .	*dolikhos*	. . .	long.
barbara, varbara	. . .	*barbaros*	*barbarus*	barbarous.
sama	*hama*	*homos*	*similis*	like.
sthira	. . .	*stereos*	. . .	firm.
bala (strong, strength)	. . .	. . .	*validus* (*valeo*, to be strong)	strong.
dakshiṇa	*dashina*	*dexios*	*dexter*	right (side).
nava	*nava*	*neos*	*novus*	new.
sāmi	. . .	*hēmi*	*sēmi*	half.
madhya	*maidhya*	*mesos*	*medius*	middle.
ekatara	. . .	*hekateros*	. . .	one of two.
satya	. . .	*eteos*	. . .	true.
svādu	. . .	*hēdus*	*suavis*	sweet.
āma	. . .	*ōmos*	. . .	raw.
uttara	. . .	*hustĕros*	. . .	subsequent.
pīvan, pīna	. . .	*piōn*	. . .	fat.
dhrishṭa	. . .	*thrasus*	. . .	bold, rash.
ārdra	. . .	*ardō*	. . .	moist, to moisten.
pṛiśni	. . .	*perknos*	. . .	speckled.
kalya, kalyāṇa	. . .	*kălos*	. . .	agreeable, beautiful.
palita	. . .	*polios*	*pallidus*	hoary, pale.
mala (dirt), *malina*	. . .	*mĕlas*	*mălus*	dirty, black, bad.
kāla	. . .	*kelainos*	*caligo* (darkness)	black.
tumula, tumala	. . .	. . .	*tumultus* (tumult)	noisy.

II. PREPOSITIONS, PARTICLES, AND PRONOUNS.

sam	*ham*	*sun*	*con*	with.
pari	*pairi*	*peri*	*per*	round.
upari	*upairi*	*huper*	*super*	above.
upa	. . .	*hupo*	*sub*	near, under.
prati	*paiti*	*pros, proti*	. . .	towards.
pra	*fra*	*prŏ*	*prō*	before.
antar	*añtare*	*entos*	*inter, intus*	within.
apa	*apa*	*apo*	*ab*	away.
api	*avi*	*ĕpi*	. . .	towards, on.
abhi	*aibi, aiwi*	*amphi*	. . .	towards, round.
samā, samayā	. . .	*hama*	. . .	together.
păram, pāra	*pāra*	*perā*	. . .	other side, beyond.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
parā	. . .	*para*	. . .	past.
puras, purā	*parō*	*paros*	. . .	before.
tar (to cross), *tiras*	*tarō*	*terma* (limit)	*trans*	across.
su	*hu*	*eu*	. . .	well.
dus	*dush*	*dus*	. . .	ill.
sumanas	*humanañh*	*eumenēs*	. . .	kindly-minded.
durmanas	*dusmanañh*	*dusmenēs*	. . .	evil-minded.
nūnam	*nū*	*nūn*	*nunc*	now.
a, an	*a, an*	*a, an*	*in*	privative particle.
na	*na*	*nē*	*nĕ* (*fas*), *non*	negative.
nanu	. . .		*nonne*	is not?
kas, kis	*ko, chis*	*tis*	*quis*	who?
nakis, mākis	*mā+chis*	*ūtis* *mētis*	*nemo* *nequis*	no one, let no one.
kim, kad	*kaṭ*	*ti*	*quid*	what?
kataras	*katāro*	*poteros*	*uter*	which of two?
itaras	. . .	*hĕtĕros*	*alter*	other.
ubha	*uba*	*ampho*	*ambo*	both.
anya	*anya*	*enioi*	. . .	other, some.
kva, kuha, kutra	*kva, katha, kuthra*	*pū, kū* (Ionic)	*quo*	where?
kutaḥ	. . .	*pŏthĕn*	. . .	whence.
kati	*chaiti, chvañṭ*	*pŏsoi, kosoi* (Ionic)	*quot, quotus, quantus*	how many?
tati	. . .	*tosoi*	*tot*	so many.
kadā	*kadha*	*pŏtĕ, kŏtĕ* (Ionic)	*quando*	when?
tadā	*tadha*	*tote*	. . .	then
yadā	*yadā*	*hote*	. . .	when
tatas	. . .	*tothen*	. . .	thence.
yatas	. . .	*hothen*	. . .	whence.
ittham, itthā (vedic)	*uiti, avatha*	. . .	*item, ita*	thus
paśchāt, paścha	*paśkāt, paśnē*	*opisthen*	*post*	after.
makshu	. . .	. . .	*mox*	quickly.
anti	. . .	*anti*	*ante*	opposite, near, before.
ati	. . .	*eti*	. . .	beyond, further.
mithas	. . .	*meta*	. . .	mutual, with.
cha	*cha*	*kai*	*que*	and.

III. NUMERALS.

dvi	*dva*	*duo*	*duo*	two.
trayas *tisras* (fem.)	*thrāyō* *tishāro* (fem.)	*treis*	*tres*	three.
chatvāras	*chathwāro*	*tessares*	*quatuor*	four.
panchan	*pañchan*	*pente*	*quinque*	five.
shaṭ	*khshvas*	*hex*	*sex*	six.
saptan	*hăptan*	*hepta*	*septem*	seven.
ashṭan	*astan*	*oktō*	*octo*	eight.
navan	*navan*	*hennea*	*novem*	nine.
daśan	*daśan*	*deka*	*decem*	ten.
viṁśati	*vīśaiti*	*eikosi*	*viginti*	twenty.
śatam	*śatĕm*	*hekaton*	*centum*	hundred.
prathamas	*frătemo*	*prōtos*	*primus*	first.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
dvitīyas	*daibityo, bityo*	*deuteros*	*secundus*	second.
tṛitīyas	*thrityo*	*tritos*	*tertius*	third.
chaturthas, turyas	*tūiryo*	*tetartos*	*quartus*	fourth.
panchathas (vedic), *panchamas*	*pukhdho*	*pemptos*	*quintus*	fifth.
shashṭhas	*khstvo*	*hektos*	*sextus*	sixth.
saptamas	*haptatho*	*hebdomos*	*septimus*	seventh.
ashṭamas	*astĕmo*	*ogdoos*	*octavus*	eighth.
navamas	*naomo, nāumo*	*hennatos*	*nonus*	ninth.
daśamas	*daśĕmo*	*dekatos*	*decimus*	tenth.
dvis	*bizhvaṭ, bis*	*dis*	*bis.*	twice.
tris	*thrizhvaṭ, thris*	*tris*	*ter*	thrice.
dvidhā	. . .	*dikha*	. . .	in two ways.
tridhā	. . .	*trikha*	. . .	in three ways.
chaturdhā	. . .	*tetrakha*	. . .	in four ways.
panchadhā	. . .	*pentakha*	. . .	in five ways.
parut	. . .	*perusi*	. . .	last year.
parutna	. . .	*perusinos*	. . .	of last year.
hyas	. . .	*khĕs*	*heri*	yesterday.
hyastana	. . .	. . .	*hesternus*	of yesterday.

IV. VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

dar	*dar*	*derō*	. . .	to tear, flay.
dā, dadāmi	*dadhāmi*	*didōmi*	*do*	to give.
dātar	*dātar*	*dotēr*	*dator*	giver (masc.)
dātrī	. . .	*doteira*	*datrix*	giver (fem.)
dāna	*dāta, dāthra*	*dōron*	*donum*	gift.
dhā, dadhāmi	. . .	*tithēmi*	. . .	to place.
sthā, tishṭhāmi	*śtā, histāmi*	*histēmi*	*sto*	to stand, place.
asthām	. . .	*estōn*	. . .	I stood.
sthāman	. . .	. . .	*stamen*	strength, thread.
miśrayāmi, mikshāmi	. . .	*mignumi*	*misceo*	to mix.
star, stṛiṇōmi	*śtar*	*stornumi, strōnnumi*	*sterno*	to spread.
stariman	*śtarema*	*strōma*	*stramen*	bed, litter, carpet.
bhar	*bar*	*pherō*	*fero*	to bear.
bhāra	. . .	*phoros, phortion*	. . .	load.
bhū	*bū*	*phuō*	*fui*	to be, I was.
lih, lehmi	. . .	*leikhō*	*lingo*	to lick.
tan, tanōmi	*thañj*	*tanuō, teinō*	*tendo*	to stretch.
tatāna	. . .	. . .	*tetendi*	I stretched.
jan, jajanmi	*zan*	*gennao*	*gigno*	to beget.
janitar	*zāthar*	*genetōr*	*genitor*	father.
janitrī	. . .	*geneteira*	*genetrix*	mother.
jāta	*zāta*	. . .	*gnatus*	born, son.
janus	*gaona*	*genos*	*genus*	birth, kind.
prajā, prajāti	. . .	. . .	*progenies*	progeny.
jnā, jānāmi	*zā*	*gignōscō*	*gnosco*	to know.
jnāta	. . .	*gnōtos*	*(g)notus*	known.
ajnāta	. . .	*agnōtos*	*ignotus*	unknown.
nāman (jnāman)	*nāman*	*onoma*	*(g)nomen, cognomen*	name, surname.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
tudāmi	. . .	. . .	*tundo*	to wound, to beat.
tutōda	. . .	. . .	*tutudi*	I have beaten.
sēv, sap [22]	. . .	*sebŏmai*	. . .	to reverence.
lubhyati	. . .	*liptomai* (to long for)	*lubet*	he desires (S.) it pleases. (L.)
tup	. . .	*tuptō*	. . .	to hurt, beat.
ad	*ad*	*edō*	*edo*	to eat.
adana, anna	. . .	*edănos* *edētus*	. . . . . .	eatable, food.
vah, vahāmi	*vas, vazāmi*	*ocheomai*	*veho*	to carry.
avākshīt	. . .	. . .	*vexit*	he carried.
skand	. . .	. . .	*scando*	to go, ascend.
lip, limpāmi	. . .	*aleiphō*	. . .	to anoint.
sarp	. . .	*hĕrpō*	*serpo*	to creep.
sarpa	. . .	*hĕrpĕton*	*serpens*	serpent.
vāstu *vas* (to dwell)	. . .	*Fastu*	. . .	habitation, city.
vas	*vanh*	*hĕnnumi*	*vestio*	to clothe.
vastra	*vastra*	*hesthēs*	*vestis*	clothing, garment.
vā	*vā*	*aō, aēmi*	. . .	to blow.
vāta	*vāta*	. . .	*ventus*	wind.
pat, patāmi	. . .	*petomai*	*peto*	to fall, fly, seek.
apaptam	. . .	*epipton*	. . .	I fell.
apaptat	. . .	*epipte*	. . .	he fell.
patatri	. . .	*peteinos*	. . .	winged.
śad	*śad*	. . .	*cado*	to fall.
sad, sīdāmi	*had*	*hezŏmai*	*sedeo*	to sink, sit.
sadas	. . .	*hĕdos*	*sedes*	seat.
chhid, chhinadmi	. . .	*schizō*	*scindo*	to cut.
chhindanti	. . .	. . .	*scindunt*	they cut.
bhid, bhinadmi	. . .	. . .	*findo*	to cleave.
bhindanti	. . .	. . .	*findunt*	they cleave.
tarp	. . .	*terpō*	. . .	to be satisfied, please.
dam	. . .	*damaō, damnēmi*	*domo*	to subdue.
arindama	. . .	*ippodamos*	. . .	subduer, of foes (S), horses (G.).
labh	. . .	*lambanō*	. . .	to take.
lapsye	. . .	*lēpsomai*	. . .	I will take.
anj	*añj*	. . .	*ungo*	to anoint.
anktum	. . .	. . .	*unctum*	to anoint.
plu	. . .	*pleō*	*fluo, pluo*	to swim, sail, flow, rain.
man, manye *mnā, manāmi*	. . .	*mnaomai*	*memini*	I think, remember.
manas	*manañh*	*mĕnos*	*mens*	mind, spirit.
hu, juhōmi	. . .	*kheō*	. . .	to pour out.
huta	. . .	*khutos*	. . .	poured out, offered
daś	*daś*	*daknō*	. . .	to bite.
dashṭa	. . .	*dēktos*	. . .	bitten.
kar, karōmi	*kar*	*krainō*	*creo*	to do, fulfil, create.
ās, āse	*āh*	*hēmai*	. . .	to sit.
āste	. . .	*hēstai*	. . .	he sits.
vam	*vam*	*emeō*	*vomo*	to vomit.

[22] See Benfey's Glossary to S.V.; and *asapanta* in R.V. vii. 83, 8; and Curtius, pp. 474 and 519.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
pard	. . .	*perdomai*	*pedo*	ventris crepitum edere.
svid	. . .	*hidroō*	*sudo*	to sweat.
sveda	. . .	*hidrōs*	*sudor*	sweat.
ard	. . .	. . .	*ardeo*	to afflict, be on fire.
svan	. . .	. . .	*sono*	to sound.
stan	. . .	*stenō*	*tono*	groan, sound, thunder.
stanayitnu	. . .	. . .	*tonitru*	thunder.
lu	. . .	*luō*	*luo*	to cut, loose, pay.
vart	. . .	. . .	*verto*	to be, turn.
varttatē	. . .	. . .	*vertit*	he is, turns.
mih	*miz*	*omikheō*	*mingo*	to make water.
ēmi (from *i*)	. . .	*eimi*	*eo*	I go.
mar	*mar*	. . .	*morior*	to die.
mṛityu	*mĕrĕthyu*	. . .	*mors*	death.
mṛita	[*ava*] *mĕrĕta*	. . .	*mortuus*	dead.
martya	*mărĕta*	*brŏtŏs*	*mortalis*	mortal.
amṛita	*amahrka*	*ambrŏtŏs*	*immortalis*	immortal.
amṛitam	. . .	*ambrŏsia*	*ambrosia*	food of the gods.
darś	. . .	*derkomai*	. . .	to see.
vid, vēdmi	*vid*	*Feido*	*video*	to know, see.
vēda	. . .	*Foida*	. . .	I know.
vidma	. . .	*Fidmen*	*vidimus*	we know, see.
vettha	. . .	*oistha*	. . .	thou knowest.
chi, chiketi	. . .	. . .	*scio*	to perceive, know.
pū, punāmi	. . .	. . .	*puto, pūrus* (pure)	to cleanse.
tap	*tafś* .	. . .	*tepeo*	to be hot.
prachh, pṛichhāmi	*parĕś*	. . .	*precor*	to ask, pray.
spaś	*śpaś*	*skeptomai*	*specio*	to see, observe.
tras	*tareś*	*trĕō*	*terreo*	to fear, frighten.
naś	. . .	*nekus* (a dead body)	*necare, nex* (death)	to perish, kill.
sparś	. . .	. . .	*spargo*	to touch, scatter.
masj, majjāmi	. . .	. . .	*mergo*	to sink.
lag	. . .	*legō*	*lego*	to touch, lay, gather.
pṛich (*parch*)	. . .	*plekō*	*plecto*	to touch, twine.
pṛikta	. . .	*plektos*	*plexus*	touched, twined.
arh	*arej*	*arkhō*	. . .	to be worthy, rule.
lōch, lōk	. . .	*leusso*	. . .	to look.
āloka	. . .	*leukos* (white)	*lux*	light.
ruch	*ruch*	*leukos* (white)	*luceo, lux* (light)	to shine.
vach, vachmi	*vach*	. . .	*voco*	to speak, call.
vāch	*vāch*	*ops*	*vox*	voice.
taksh[23]	*tash*	*tiktō, teukho*	*texo*	to fabricate, beget.
takshan	. . .	*tektōn*	*textor*	carpenter, weaver.
budh	. . .	*punthanomai*	*puto*	to think, ascertain.
vap[24]	*vap*	*huphaino*	. . .	to weave.

[23] Compare the words *tōka, takman, teknon*, in the list of nouns.

[24] Prof. Aufrecht finds in the word *ūrṉavābhi* the trace of an old root *vabh*, "to weave," which is still closer to the Greek form. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, *sub voce ūrṉavābhi*.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
vṛish, varsha	*vār*	*hersē, ersē*	. . .	rain, dew.
bhañj, bhanajmi	. . .	*Fagnumi*	*frango*	to break.
bhuj	. . .	. . .	*fruor* ?	to enjoy.
bhukta	. . .	. . .	*fructus*	enjoyed, fruit.
kṛip, kalp	. . .	. . .	*carpo*	to cut, pluck.
bhaj, bhaksh	. . .	*phagō*	. . .	to obtain, eat.
kup	. . .	. . .	*cupio*	to be excited, angry, desirous.
śru, śriṇōmi	*śru*	*kluō*	*cluo*	to hear.
jīv [25]	*jīv*	*bioō*	*vivo*	to live.
van [26]	*van*	. . .	*venero*	to love, worship.
kshan	. . .	*kteinō*,[27] *ktinnūmi*	. . .	to kill.
kshi	. . .	*eu-kti-menos* *peri-kti-ones*	. . .	to dwell, well-built, dwellers around.
guh, gudh *gūḍha* (hidden)	. . .	*keuthō*	. . .	to hide.
kir	. . .	*krinō*	*cerno*	I scatter, separate.
pā, pibāmi	*pā*	*pinō*	*bibo, potare*	I drink.
papau	. . .	*pepōka*	. . .	I have drunk.
pātum (to drink)	. . .	*pōtos*	*potus*	drunk.
gar, jāgarmi	. . .	*eger, egeiro*	. . .	I wake, rouse.
ajīgar	. . .	*egrēgora*	. . .	he awoke, I am awake.
pish, pinashmi	. . .	. . .	*pinso*	I pound.
pishṭa	. . .	. . .	*pistus*	pounded.
kamp (to tremble)	. . .	*kamptō* ?	. . .	to bend.
(ni)dhana	. . .	*thanatos*	. . .	death.
bhaṇāmi	. . .	*phōneō*	. . .	I speak.
siv, sīvyāmi	. . .	*(kas)suō*	*suo*	I sew, patch.
syūta	. . .	. . .	*sutus*	sewn.
nah	. . .	. . .	*necto*	I bind.
drāmi	. . .	*(apo) drānai,* *didraskō*	. . .	I run.
adrămăm	. . .	*edramon*	. . .	I went, ran.
apādrān	. . .	*apedran*	. . .	they ran.
diś	*diś*	*deiknumi*	*dico*	I show, tell.
adiksham	. . .	*edeixa*	*dixi*	I showed, told.
adikshata	. . .	*edeixate*	*dixistis*	ye showed.
mā, māmi, mimē	*mā*	*metreō*	*metior*	I measure.
mātra	. . .	*metron*	*metrum*	a measure.
trap [28]	. . .	*trepō* [28]	. . .	I am ashamed, I turn.
trup, truph, *trump*	. . .	*thruptō*	. . .	to hurt, break.
yat	. . .	*zētō*	. . .	to strive, seek.
mard	. . .	. . .	*mordeo*	to rub, crush, bite.

[25] The original root is supposed to have been *gīv*, afterwards enlarged to *gvīv*, whence the Greek bios, bioo, etc., and the Latin vivo were derived by dropping the initial *g*. See Curtius, p. 418.

[26] See vanas and venus above, p. 233.

[27] Compare *takshan* and *tektōn*, in which also the Sanskrit *ksh* is equivalent to the Greek *kt*, p. 238 above.

[28] These two roots differ in sense; and perhaps have no affinity.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
mamarda	. . .	. . .	*momordi*	I rubbed, crushed, bit.
medh	. . .	*medomai*	. . .	to understand, think on.
nij	. . .	*nizo*	. . .	to cleanse.
āp	*ăp*	*haptō*	(*ad*)*ipiciscor*	to obtain, touch.
āpta	. . .	. . .	*aptus*	fit.
bandh	*bañd*	. . .	. . .	bind (root).
yuj, yunajmi	*yuj*	*zeugnumi*	*jungo*	to yoke, join.
yuktas	*yukhto*	*zeuktos*	*junctus*	joined.
yuga	. . .	*zugon*	*jugam*	yoke.
lup, lumpāmi	. . .	. . .	*rumpo*	to cut, break.
luptas	. . .	. . .	*ruptus*	dissolved, broken.
sach	. . .	*hepomai*	*sequor*	to follow.
bhrāj	. . .	*phlego*	*fulgeo*	to shine, burn.
bhṛij	. . .	*phrugō*	*frigo*	to roast.
dhāv	. . .	*theō*	. . .	to run.
pach	*pach*	*pepto*	*coquo*	to cook.
pakva	. . .	*pĕpōn, peptos*	*coctus*	cooked.
lămb, ramb	. . .	. . .	*lābor*	to fall.
yaj	*yaz*	*hazŏmai*	. . .	to venerate.
yājya	. . .	*hagios*	. . .	venerable, holy.
sru, sravāmi	. . .	*reo*	. . .	to flow.
snu, snaumi	. . .	*neo, nao*	. . .	to flow, swim.
stambh	. . .	*stembo*	. . .	to prop, shake.
stambh	. . .	*etaphon*	. . .	to be stupefied, confounded.
stambha	. . .	*thambos*	. . .	stupefaction, astonishment.
trā, trai	. . .	*tēreo*	*traho*	to deliver, keep, draw.
mi, mināmi, minomi	. . .	*minutho*	*minus*	to destroy, diminish.
lap	. . .	*lakeo*	*loqui*	to speak.
śraddhā	. . .	. . .	*crēdo*	to believe.
śi, śete	*śī, śāiti, śaētē*	*keitai*	. . .	he lies.
śank	. . .	. . .	*cunctor*	to doubt, delay.
anch, anka	*añku*	*ankulos*	*uncus*	to bend, crooked, hook.
piś	. . .	*poikillo*	*pingo*	to paint.
gunj	. . .	*gongusso*	. . .	to murmur.
aj	*az*	*ago*	*ago*	to lead, drive.
mṛij, (*marj*)	*mares*	*omorgnumi*	. . .	to wipe.
vṛij, (*varj*)	. . .	*eirgo*	. . .	to exclude.
sthag	. . .	*stego*	*tego*	to cover.
spṛih, (*sparh*)	. . .	*sperkhomai*	. . .	to haste, desire.
hary	. . .	*khairo*	. . .	to rejoice.
naś	*naś*	. . .	*nanciscor* (*nactus*, obtained)	to obtain.
ghar, gharāmi, jigharmi	. . .	*khrio*	. . .	anoint.
tij	*tij*	*stizo*	(*di*)*stinguo*	to be sharp, pierce, distinguish.
tigma	. . .	*stigmē*	. . .	sharp, point.
tṛish, (*tarsh*)	*taresh*	*tersomai*	*torreo*	to thirst, be dry, roast.
dā, dyāmi	. . .	*deo, didēmi*	. . .	to bind.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
dāman	. . .	*desmos*	. . .	bond.
dī	. . .	*diemai, diomai*	. . .	to fly, haste, chase.
skhad, skhand	. . .	*skedannumi*	. . .	to shed, spill, scatter.
par, piparmi	*par*	*perao*	. . .	to cross.
par, piparmi	*par*	*pimplēmi*	*(im)pleo*	to fill.
pū	*pū*	*putho*	*puteo*	to be putrid.
bhā	. . .	*phaino*	. . .	to appear.
bhās	. . .	*phaos*	. . .	light
bhī, bibhēmi	. . .	*phebomai*	. . .	to fear.
idh	. . .	*aitho*	. . .	to burn.
smar	*mared*	. . .	*memor*	to recollect, mindful.
sphalāmi, sphulāmi	. . .	*sphallo*	*fallo*	to hesitate, deceive
vaksh	*vaksh*	*auxo*	*augeo*	to increase.
gā, jigāmi	*gā*	*baino*	. . .	to go.
agām	. . .	*ebēn*	. . .	I went.
raksh	. . .	*alexo*	. . .	to protect.
kvaṇ	. . .	*kanazo*	*cano*	to sound, sing.
much, munchāmi	. . .	*apo (musso)*	*mungo*	to remove, free, wipe.
stigh	. . .	*steikho*	. . .	to ascend, walk.
hlād	. . .	*kekhlāda*	. . .	to rejoice, be wanton.
sphar, sphur	. . .	*aspairo, spairo*	. . .	to quiver.
mṛi, mṛiṇāmi	. . .	*marnamai*	. . .	to kill, fight.
ṛiṇomi	*ar*	*ornumi*	*oriri*	to go, rise, excite.
ārta	. . .	*ōrto*	*ortus* (risen)	he rose.
śiñj	. . .	*sizo*	. . .	to hiss.
sphurj, sphūrj	. . .	*spharages*	. . .	to thunder, crack.
kṛit	*kareṭ*	*kertomeos*	. . .	to cut, cutting (as language).
nid	. . .	*oneidizo*	. . .	to reproach.
rad	. . .	. . .	*rādere, rodere*	to scratch, split, gnaw.
manyu	. . .	*mainomai*	. . .	anger, to rage.
śam, śram	. . .	*kamno*	. . .	to be tired.
dāy	*dā*	*daio*	. . .	to divide.
bharv	. . .	*pherbo*	. . .	to eat.

When the Zend word has been omitted in the proper column of the preceding list, I have not found it readily accessible. It will be gathered from the list that in many cases where the Greek language furnishes words equivalent both in sound and sense to certain Sanskrit words, the Latin, as preserved to us, has no words of corresponding form; and that, vice versâ, the Latin has often forms corresponding to the Sanskrit, where the Greek has none. In all the instances I have adduced, the affinity is, of course, not equally certain. Doubtful cases I have generally indicated by a mark of interrogation.

I now proceed, secondly, to exhibit the resemblances which exist between Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, in respect of their modes of declension and conjugation, as well as generally in the formation of words from nominal and verbal roots.

I shall first of all adduce as an instance of this similarity, the first and second personal pronouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom.	ăhăm	azem	ĕgō	ego	I.
Acc.	mām	mâm, mā	mĕ	me	me
Inst.	măyā	. . .	. . .	. . .	by me.
Dat.	mănhyăm, mē	maibyō mê, môi	ĕmoi, moi	mihi	to me
Abl.	măt	. . .	. . .	. . .	from me.
Gen.	mămă, mĕ	mana,me,môi	ĕmou, mou	mei	of me.
Loc.	măyi	. . .	emoi, moi	me	in me.

PLURAL.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom.	văyăm, asmē (Vedic)	vaêm	hēmeis	nos	we.
Acc.	asmān, nas	ahma, nô	hēmas	nos	us.
Inst.	ăsmābhis	ehmā	. . .	. . .	by us.
Dat.	ăsmābhyăm, or nas	ahmaibya, ahmāi, nô	hēmin	nobis	to us.
Abl.	ăsmăt	. . .	. . .	. . .	from us.
Gen.	ăsmākăm, or nas	ăhmākĕm	hēmōn	nostrum	of us.
Loc.	ăsmāsu	. . .	hēmin	nobis	in us.

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom.	twăm	tūm	su	tu	thou.
Acc.	twām	thwâm, thwā, tĕ	se	te	thee.
Inst.	twăyā	thwâ	. . .	. . .	by thee.
Dat.	tubhyam, or tĕ	taibyō, tōi, tĕ	soi	tibi	to thee.
Abl.	twăt	thwaṭ	. . .	. . .	from thee.
Gen.	tăvă, tē	tava, tôi, tē	sou	tui . .	of thee.
Loc.	twăyi	thōi	soi	te	in thee.

PLURAL.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom.	yūyam, yushmē (Vedic)	yūzhem yūs	humeis	vos	you.
Acc.	yushmān, vas	vāo, vō	humas	vos	you.
Inst.	yusbmābhis	khshmā, vāo	. . .	. . .	by you.
Dat.	yushmabyam, vas	yūsmaibyā, vō	humin	vobis	to you.
Abl.	yushmat	yūshmaṭ	. . .	. . .	from you.
Gen.	yushmâkam	yūshmākĕm, vo, vāo	humōn	vestrum	of you.
Loc.	yushmāsu	. . .	humin	vobis	in you.

The following are examples of the similarity as regards the declension of nouns between the four languages in question.

NOUNS MASCULINE, ending in *a*.

Vṛika, "a wolf."

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	vṛikas	vĕhrko	lukos	lupus.
Acc.	vṛikam	vĕhrkem	lukon	lupum.
Inst.	vṛikeṇa	vĕhrkă, vĕhrkā	lukō	lupo.
Dat.	vṛikāya	vĕhrkāi	lukō	lupo.
Abl.	vṛikāt	vĕhrkāṭ	lukō	lupo.
Gen.	vṛikasya	vĕhrkahê	lukou	lupi.
Loc.	vrikē	vĕhrkê	lukō	lupo.
Voc.	vṛika	vehrkă	luke	lupe.

DUAL.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom. Acc. Voc.	vṛikau	vĕhrka	lukō	No dual.
Gen. Loc.	vṛikayōs	vĕhrkayāo	lukoin	
Inst. Dat. & Abl.	vṛikābhyām	vĕkrkaeibya	lukoin.	

PLURAL.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom. & Voc.	vṛikās.	vĕhrkâoñhô	lukoi	lupî.
Acc.	vṛikān	vĕhrkân	lukous	lupos.
Inst.	vṛikais	vĕhrkâis	lukois	lupis.
Dat.	vṛikebhyas	vĕhrkaeibyô	lukois	lupis.
Abl.	vṛikebhyas		lukois	lupis.
Gen.	vṛikāṇām	vĕkrkănâm	lukōn	luporum.
Loc.	vṛikeshu	vehrkaēshva	lukois	lupis.

NOUN FEMININE.

Jihvā, "tongue."

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	jihvā	hizvă	glossa	lingua.
Acc.	jihvām	hizvâm	glossan	linguam.
Inst.	jihvāyā	hizvaya	glossē	linguā.
Dat.	jihvāyai	hizvăyāi	glossē	linguæ.
Abl.	jihvāyāḥ	hizvayāṭ	glossē	linguā.
Gen.	jihvāyāḥ	hizvayâo	glossēs	linguæ.
Loc.	jihvāyām	hizvăya	glossē	linguâ.
Voc.	jihve	hizve, hizva	glossa	lingua.

NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

SINGULAR.

Pitṛi, "father," and in the Zend column bhrātṛi, "brother."[29]

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	pitā	brāta	patēr	pater.
Acc.	pitaram	brātarĕm	patĕra	patrem
Inst.	pitrā	brāthra	patĕri, patri	patre.
Dat.	pitre	brāthrē	patĕri, patri	patri.
Abl.	pitus	brāthraṭ	patĕri, patri	patre.
Gen.	pitus	brāthrō	patros	patris.
Loc.	pitari	brāthri ?	patĕri, patri	patre.
Voc.	pitaḥ	brātarĕ	patĕr	pater.

PLURAL.

Nom.	pitaras	brāthrō	patĕrĕs	patres.
Acc.	pitṛīn	brāthrō	pateras	patres.
Inst.	pitṛibhis	brātarebis	patrasi	patribus.
Dat.	pitṛibhyas	brātarĕbyō	patrasi	patribus.
Abl.	pitṛibhyas	brātarĕbyō	patrasi	patribus.
Gen.	pitṛīṇām	brāthrām	paterōn, patrōn	patrium.
Loc.	pitṛishu	brātareshva ?	patrasi	patribus.

ANOTHER FORM OF NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	dātā	dātā	dŏtēr	dator.
Acc.	dātāram	dātārĕm	dŏtēra	datorem.
Inst.	dātrā	dāthra	dotēri	datore.
Dat.	dātrē	dāthrē	dotēri	datori.
Abl.	dātŭs	dāthraṭ	dotēri	datore.
Gen.	dātus.	dāthrō	dotēros	datoris.
Loc.	dātări	dāthri	dotēri	datore.

PLURAL.

Nom.	dātāras	dātārō	dotēres	datores.
Acc.	dātṛīn	dātāro	dotēras	datores.
Inst.	dātṛibhis	dātarebis	dotērsi	datoribus.
Dat.	dātṛibhyas }	dātarebhyō	{ dotērsi	datoribus.
Abl.	dātṛibhyas }		{ dotērsi	datoribus.
Gen.	dātṛīṇām	dāthraṁm	dotērōn	datorum.
Loc.	dātṛishu	. . .	dotērsi	datoribus.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

Bharat, "supporting."

SINGULAR.

Nom.	bharan	barąś	pherōn	ferens.
Acc.	bharantam	barĕntem	pherontă	ferentem.
Inst.	bharatā	barata	pheronti	ferente.
Dat.	bharatē	barĕntê	pheronti	ferenti.
Abl.	bharatas	barantaṭ	pheronti	ferente.
Gen.	bharatas	barĕntô	pherontos	ferentis
Loc.	bharati	barĕntĭ ?	pheronti	ferente.
Voc.	bharan	. . .	pheron	ferens.

[29] The paradigms of nouns, etc., given in Justi's Handbuch are often incom-

NEUTER NOUNS.

Dāna, "a gift." Dāta, "an ordinance" (Zend).

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	dānăm	dātĕm	dōrŏn	donum.
Acc.	dānăm	dātĕm	dōron	donum.
Inst.	dānēna	dātă	dōrō	dono.
Dat.	dānāya	dātāi	dōrō	dono.
Abl.	dānāt	dātāt̨	dōrō	dono.
Gen.	dānasya	dātăhê	dōron	doni.
Loc.	dāne	dātê	dōrō	dono
Voc.	dānă	dātă	dōron	donum.

NEUTER NOUN ending with a consonant.

Nāman, "a name."

SINGULAR.

Nom.	nāmă	nàmă	ŏnŏma	nomen.
Acc.	nāmă	nàmă	ŏnŏma	nomen.
Inst.	nāmnā	nàmănă	onomati	nomine.
Dat.	nāmnē	nàmainē	onomati	nomini.
Abl.	nāmnas	nàmanat̨	onomati	nomine.
Gen.	nāmnas	nàmanô	onomatos	nominis.
Loc.	nāmni	nàmaini	onomati	nomine.
Voc.	nāman	nàmă	onoma.	nomen.

PLURAL.

Nom.	nāmāni	nāméni	onomăta	nomina.
Acc.	nāmāni	nāmàn, nāméni	onomăta	nomina.
Inst.	nāmăbhis	naménīs	onomasi	nominibus.
Dat.	nāmăbhyas }	nāmăbyô	{ onomasi	nominibus.
Abl.	nāmabhyăs }	nāmăbyô	{ onomasi	nominibus.
Gen.	nāmnām	nāmanàm	onomatōn	nominum.
Loc.	nāmasu	namahva	onomasi	nominibus.

The forms of conjugating verbs in Sanskrit and Greek have a remarkable resemblance, particularly in those Greek verbs in *mi*, in which reduplication of the consonant of the root takes place in the present and imperfect tenses. Greek as well as Sanskrit has the augment in *ĕ* = *ă* in the imperfect and aorist, and the reduplication of the consonant in the perfect. The most striking instance of resemblance is, perhaps, the root *dā* or *do*, 'to give'; which I subjoin, together with several other examples; adding occasionally the Latin forms, and the Zend also, where they are easily accessible.

plete, in consequence of all the forms of particular words not being found in the Zend Avesta, and the fact that there is no native grammar of Zend extant. Compare the Tables in Schleicher's Compendium, pp. 576, ff.

THE VERB *to give.*

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	dadāmi	dadâhmi	didōmi	do.
	dadāsi	dadhāhi	didōs	das.
	dadāti	dadhâiti	didōsi	dat.
Dual	dadvas	. . .	. . .	. . .
	datthas	. . .	didoton	. . .
	dattas	. . .	didoton	. . .
Plural	dadmas	dadĕmahi	didomen	damus.
	dattha	. . .	didote	datis.
	dadati	dadĕnti?	didousi	dant.

Imperfect.

Sing.	adadām	. . .	edidōn	dabam.
	adadās	. . .	edidōs	dabas.
	adadāt	. . .	edidō	dabat.
Dual	adadva	. . .	. . .	. . .
	adattam	. . .	edidoton	. . .
	adattām	. . .	edidotēn	. . .
Plural	adadma	. . .	edidomen	dabamus.
	adatta	. . .	edidote	dabatis.
	adadus	. . .	edidosan	dabant

Third Preterite.

Sing.	adām	. . .	edōn	. . .
	adās	. . .	edōs	. . .
	adāt	. . .	edō	. . .
Dual	adāva	. . .	. . .	. . .
	adātam	. . .	edoton	. . .
	adātām	. . .	edotēn	. . .
Plural	adāma	. . .	edomen	. . .
	adāta	. . .	edote	. . .
	adus	. . .	edosan	. . .

Reduplicated Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	dădau	dedōka	dedi.
	daditha	dedōkas	dedisti.
	dădau	dedōke	dedit.
Dual	dadiva	. . .	. . .
	dădathus	dedōkaton	. . .
	dădătus	dedōkatēn	. . .
Plural	dădīma	dedōkamen	dedimus.
	dada	dedōkate	dedistis.
	dādus	dedōkasi	dederunt.

The subjunctive and precative moods of the Sanskrit also answer nearly to the optatives of the present and aorist in Greek: thus,

Subjunctive.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*		*Sanskrit.*	*Greek.*
Sing.	dădyām	didoiēn.	Plur.	dadyāma	didoiēmen.
	dădyās	didoiēs.		dadyāta	didoiēte.
	dădyāt	didoiē.		dadyus	didoiēsan.

Precative.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
SING.	dēyāsam	doiēn.
	dēyās	doiēs.
	dēyāt	doiē, etc.

There is also a resemblance in the Greek future *dōsō*, "I will give," and the future particle *dōsōn*, to the Sanskrit *dāsyāmi* and *dāsyān*; and a perfect identity in the Latin gerund, *datum*, with the Sanskrit infinitive *dātum*. The affinity between the Sanskrit form *dātṛi*, "a giver," or "one who will give," (which makes *dātāras* in the plural), and the Latin future particle *daturus*, is also striking.

THE VERB *to place*.

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
SING.	dadhāmi	tithēmi.
	dadhāsi	tithēs.
	dadhāti	tithēsi.
DUAL	dadhvas	. . .
	dhatthas	titheton.
	dhattas	titheton.
PLUR.	dadhmas	tithemen.
	dhattha	tithete.
	dadhati	titheisi.

Imperfect.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
SING.	adadhām	etithēn.
	adadhās	etithēs.
	adadhāt	etithē.
DUAL	adadhva	. . .
	adhattam	etitheton.
	adhattām	etithetēn.
PLUR.	adadhma	etithemen.
	adhatta	etithete.
	adadhus	etithesan.

Third Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
SING.	adhām	ethēn.
	adhās	ethēs.
	adhāt	ethē.
DUAL	adhāva	. . .
	adhātam	etheton.
	adhātām	ethetēn.
PLURAL	adhāma	ethemen.
	adhāta	ethete.
	adhus	ethesan.

THE VERB *to spread*.

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
SING.	stṛiṇōmi	strōnnūmi	sterno.
	stṛiṇōshi	strōnnus	sternis.
	stṛiṇōti	strōnnūsi	sternit.
DUAL	stṛiṇuvas	. . .	. . .
	stṛiṇuthas	strōnnuton	. . .
	stṛiṇutas	stronnuton	. . .
PLURAL	stṛiṇumas	stronnumen	sternimus
	stṛiṇutha	stronnute	sternitis.
	stṛiṇvanti	strōnnûsi	sternunt.

Imperfect.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	astṛin̲avam	estronnun	sternebam.
	astṛin̲ōs	estronnus	sternebas.
	astṛin̲ōt	estronnu	sternebat.
Dual	astṛin̲uva	. . .	. . .
	astṛin̲utam	estronnuton	. . .
	astṛin̲utām	estronnutēn	. . .
Plural	astṛin̲uma	estronnumen	sternebamus.
	astṛin̲uta	estronnute	sternebatis.
	astṛin̲van	estronnusan	sternebant.

THE VERB *to creep.*

Present Tense.

Sing.	sarpāmi	herpō	serpo.
	sarpasi	herpeis	serpis.
	sarpati	herpei	serpit.
Dual.	sarpāvas	. .	. .
	sarpathas	herpeton	. .
	sarpatas	herpeton	. .
Plural	sarpāmas	herpomen	serpimus.
	sarpatha	herpete	serpitis.
	sarpanti	herpousi	serpunt.

Imperfect.

Sing.	asarpam	heirpon	serpebam.
	asarpas	heirpes	serpebas.
	asarpat	heirpe	serpebat.
Dual.	asarpāva	. .	. .
	asarpatam	heirpeton	. .
	asarpatām	heirpetēn	. .
Plural	asarpāma	heirpomen	serpebamus.
	asarpata	heirpete	serpebatis.
	asarpan	heirpon	serpebant.

Subjunctive, optative, and future (Latin).

Sing.	sarpēyam	herpoimi	serpem.
	sarpēs	herpois	serpes.
	sarpēt	herpoi	serpet.
Plural	sarpēma	herpoimen	serpemus.
	sarpēta	herpoite	serpetis.
	sarpēyus	herpoien	serpent.

Perfect.

sasarpa	heirpa	serpsi.

Participles.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	sarpan	herpōn	serpens.
Acc.	sarpantam	herpŏnta	serpentem.
Dat.	sarpatē	herpŏnti	serpenti.

PLURAL.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	sarpantas	herpontes	serpentes.
Dat.	sarpadbhyas	herpousi	serpentibus.

THE VERB *to be.*

Present.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	asmi	ahmi	eimi, emmi	sum.
	asi	ahi	eis, essi	es.
	asti	asti	esti	est.
Dual.	svas	. .	. .	. .
	sthas	. .	eston	. .
	stas	. .	eston	. .
Plur.	smas	mahi	esmen	sumus.
	stha	sta	este	estis.
	santi	hĕnti	eisi	sunt.

Imperative.

Sing.	astu	. .	estō	esto.
Plur.	santu	. .	estōsan	sunto.

Imperfect.

Sing.	āsam	. .	ēn	eram.
	āsīs	. .	ēs, ēstha	eras.
	āsīt	. .	ēn	erat.
Dual.	āsva	. .	. .	. .
	āstam	. .	ēton	. .
	āstām	. .	ētēn	. .
Plur.	āsma	. .	ēmen	eramus.
	āstha	. .	ēte	eratis.
	āsan	. .	ēsan	erant.

THE VERB *to stand.*

Present.

Sing.	tishṭhāmi	. .	histēmi	sto.
	tishṭhasi	histahi	histēs	stas.
	tishṭhati	histaiti	histēsi	stat.
Plur.	tishṭhāmas	. .	histamen	stamus.
	tishṭhatha	. .	histate	statis.
	tishṭhanti	histĕñti	histāsi	stant.

THE VERB *to show* or *say.*

Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	adiksham	edeixa	dixi.
	adikshas	edeixas	dixistis.
	adikshat	edeixe	dixit.
Plur.	adikshāma	edeixamen	diximus.
	adikshata	edeixate	dixistis.
	adikshan	edeixan	dixerunt.

The following are additional examples of similarity of form in the past tenses, combined in most cases with identity of sense.

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
avākshīt	. .	vexit	he carried.
akshipsi [I threw]	. .	scripsi	I wrote.
apaptam	epipton	. .	I fell.
apatam	epeson	. .	I fell.
asthām	estēn	. .	I stood.

The subjoined instances exhibit the similarity in the formation of the reduplicated perfect between the Sanskrit and the Greek.

SANSKRIT.			GREEK.		
Root.	*Perfect.*	*English.*	*Present.*	*Perfect.*	*English.*
lip	lilēpa	I anointed	leipō	leloipa	I left.
śak	śaśāka	I was able	derkō	dedorka	I saw.
tup tuph	tutōpa tutōpha	I injured	tuptō	tetupha	I struck.
tap	tatāpa	I heated	thapto (from taphō.)	tetapha	I buried.

I add some examples of conformity between the Sanskrit infinitive and the Latin supine.

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*English.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
sthātum	statum	to stand.	janitum	genitum	to beget.
anktum	unctum	to anoint.	ētum	itum	to go.
vamitum	vomitum	to vomit.	svanitum	sonitum	to sound.
jnātum	notum	to know.	startum	strātum	to spread.
yōktum	junctum	to join.	sarptum	serptum	to creep.
peshṭum	pistum	to pound.			

The form of the Sanskrit desideratives, though not the signification, is found in Greek and Latin: thus we have *gignōscō* (Greek), and *nosco* (Latin), answering to *jijñāsāmi*, "I desire to know;" and again, *mimnēskō* and [*re*]*miniscor*, answering to *mimnāsāmi*, "I desire to remember."

Again, Greek words like *paipallō*, *daidallō*, *paiphassō*, *pimplēmi*, *pimprēmi*, etc., though without the meaning, have the form of Sanskrit intensives, like *bobhū*, *bambhram*.

In regard to the participles, also, there is a remarkable coincidence between the Sanskrit and the Greek. Some of the participles of the active voice have been already given. The following are some other specimens.

PERFECT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

Greek.			*Sanskrit.*		
Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.	Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.
tetuphōs	tetuphuia	tetuphos.	tetupivān	tutupūshī	tutupivat.

PASSIVE AND MIDDLE PARTICIPLES.

	Greek.			*Sanskrit.*	
PRESENT.	dīyamānas	didomenos	FUTURE.	dāsyamānas	dōsomenos.

Sanskrit (neuter and masculine) bases in *man* correspond to the Latin in men: thus we have *sthāman* = *stamen*; *stariman* = *stramen*. Nominal forms in *tra*, also, are common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin: thus the Sanskrit *aritram*, *nētram*, *śrotram*, *mātram*, *gātram*, *vaktram*, *khanitram*, *vāditram*, *varutram*, correspond in form to the Greek *niptron*, *plectron*, *lektron*, *pheretron*, *lutron*, *arotron*, and the Latin *mulctrum*, *spectrum*, *aratrum*.

The nominal form in *nās* is common to Greek and Sanskrit: thus, the *hupnos* (sleep) of the one answers to the *svapnas* of the other.

Passive past participles in *ta* are common to Sanskrit with the other languages: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
jnātas	. . .	gnōtos	(g)notus.
ajnātas	. . .	agnōtos	ignotus.
dattas	dātō	dōtŏs	dātus.
yuktas	yukhtō	zeuktos	junctus.
labdhas	. . .	lēptos	. . .

Compare also *bhăgnās* in Sanskrit, with *stugnos*, *terpnos*, in Greek.

Abstract or other substantives in *tā*, *tāt*, *tēs*, *tas*, are also found in them all: thus,—

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
nava-tā	amĕrĕtāṭ	neo-tēs	novi-tas.
sama-tā	uparatāṭ	homo-tēs	facili-tas.
laghu-tā	isharestāṭ	platu-tēs	levi-tas.

Forms in *tis* occur both in Sanskrit and Greek; but the latter has mostly *sis* for the *tis* of the former: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
ma-tis	mē-tis.
uk-tis	phă-tis.
ṭrip-tis	terp-sis.
yuk-tis	zeuk-sis (=zeuxis).

Instances of adjectives similarly formed:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
malinas	pedinos	marīnus.
kulīnas	skoteinos	ferīnus.
divyas	hălios	egregius.
pitryas	patrios	patrius.
yaśasyas	thaumasios	censorius.

Forms in *las* and *ras:*

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
chapālas	eikelos	tremulus.
taralas	trapelos	stridulus.
madhuras	phoberos	. . .
subhras	psukhros	gnarus.
bhadras	lampros	purus.

Feminine nouns are also similarly formed, as follows:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
indrāṇī	theaina	matrona.
vārunāṇī	lukaina	patrona.
rudrāṇī	despoina	. . .

Abstract nouns are also formed in Greek, as in Sanskrit, by changing the vowel of the root: thus, from the roots *bhid, krudh,* and *lubh,* are formed the nouns *bhēda, krodha,* and *lobha;* and so in Greek we have *tromos, phobos, trokhos, nomos, loipos,* from *tremo, phebomai, trekho, nemo,* and *leipō.*

We have examples of nouns in Latin and Greek resembling Sanskrit nouns in *ya,* such as these:

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*Greek.*
mādhuryam	mendacium	theopropion.
naipunyam	principium	monomachion.

Simple radicals, or radicals slightly modified, are used in all three languages at the end of compound nouns and adjectives:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
dharma-vid	pĕdo-trips	artifex.
netra-mush	pros-phux	index.
brahma-dvish	bou-plēx	princeps.

The use of *eu* and *dus* in Greek corresponds to that of *su* and *dus* in Sanskrit: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
sukaras	euphoros.
sulabhas	eutrophos.
dustaras	dustropos.
dussahas	dusphoros.

The following are instances of the employment of *a, an, i,* or *in* privative, in the three languages:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
ajnāta	agnotos	ignotus.
an-ishṭhas	an-osios	ineffabilis.

The subjoined adjectives are formed in a manner nearly alike in Sanskrit and Latin from adverbs of time:

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Latin.*
hyastanas	hesternus.	sāyantanas	vespertinus.
śvastanas	crastinus.	sanātanas	sempiternus.

The use of various sorts of compound words is common to Sanskrit with Greek and Latin. Thus we have,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
trirātram	trinuction	trinoctium	a period of three nights.
svapnakaras	hupnophoros	somnifer	bringing sleep.
sadābhramas	aeiplanos	. . .	always wandering.
arindamas	ippodamos	. . .	foe-, steed-subduing.
devadattas	theodotos	. . .	god-given
mahāmātis	megalomētis	magnanimus	high-souled.
bhūridhanas	polukhrusos	. . .	very rich.
bāhumūrttis	polumorphos	multiformis	multiform.
chatushpād	tetrapous	quadrupes	four-footed.
sarūpas	summorphos	conformis	of the same form.

Forms in *ana*, nouns and adjectives:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
darpaṇam	drepanon.
vahanam	organon.
śobhanas	hikanos.

Forms in *aka* or *ika*:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
nāyakas	polemikos	medicus.
dhārmikas	rhetorikos	bellicus.

Forms in *ant*:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
dhanavān	doloeis.
dhanavantam	doloenta.

Sanskrit nouns ending in *as*, corresponding to Greek and Latin nouns of the third declension:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
ayas	pseudos	foedus.
yaśas	mēdos	scelus
apas	kēdos	opus.

In Greek and Latin the comparative and superlative degrees are formed very much as in Sanskrit. The Greek has, however, two forms like Sanskrit; the Latin only one.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
bhadra	husko	kleinos	longus	different meanings
bhadra-tara	husko-tara	kleino-teros	long-ior	
bhadra-tama	śpentotěma	kleino-tatos	longis-simus	
svādus	. . .	hēdus	suavis	sweet.
svādīyān	. . .	hēdīōn	suavior	sweeter.
svādishṭhas	. . .	hēdistos	suavissimus	sweetest.

In Greek and Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with prepositions.

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
apa-gachhati	ap-erkhetai	abs-cedo.
san-gachhati	sun-erkhetai	con-venit.
upa-dadhāti	hupo-tithēsi	sup-ponit.
pari-bhrāmyati	peri-erkhetai	circu-it.
pra-sarpati	pro-bainei	pro-cedit.

In Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with nouns or adjectives.

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*
parikhīkaroti	significat.
krishṇīkaroti	magnificat.

In Greek and Latin adjectives agree in gender and number with the noun, just as in Sanskrit: thus,

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom. Sin.	svādŭs svăpnăs	hēdus hupnos	suavis somnus	sweet sleep.
Acc. Sin.	svādŭm svăpnăm	hēdum hupnon	suavem somnum	sweet sleep.
Nom. Plu.	svādăvas svapnās	hēdues hupnoi	suaves somni	sweet sleeps.
Nom. Sin.	năvo dātā	neos dotēr	novus dator	new giver.
Acc. Sin.	năvăm dātārăm	neon dotēra	novum datorem	new giver.

We must, therefore, conclude from the illustrations which have been given above, of the resemblances existing both in roots and inflections, between the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin (viewed in contrast with the almost total want of similarity between the Sanskrit and other tongues, e.g. the Arabic), that there is a close affinity between the various members of the former group of languages; and that in fact they are all descended from one common stock.

It may, however, be objected that the affinity which I have been seeking to establish between the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin, is disproved by the fact that (while a portion of the words in these languages are identical with or akin to each other) the great majority of their words are different. If these languages had in reality had a common origin, their vocabularies must, it may be urged, have been entirely or nearly homogeneous, i.e. must, with few exceptions, have consisted of the same identical words, just as is the case with the Bengalī, the Hindī, and the Mahrattī, which are confessedly kindred dialects. To this I reply, First, that even such a small proportion of common words, combined with great similarity in point of structure and inflection, is sufficient to demonstrate the common derivation of any two languages from one original stem, provided it can be shown (as it assuredly can in the case under consideration) that neither the words nor the inflections have been borrowed by the one language from the other. For how could the common possession by these two supposed languages of even a comparatively small stock of words be otherwise accounted for? This community of words could not be accidental; for had there been anything of accident in the case, we should, beyond a doubt, have discovered the same casual resemblances between other languages—

tiger; while in others these plants and animals were not indigen[ous]. In consequence of all these local influences, the temperaments a[nd] habits of the men of different nations became exceedingly diversifi[ed]. In level and fertile countries, with hot climates, men became less acti[ve] and energetic, owing to the relaxing effects of the heat, and th[e] diminished necessity for labour; while the frames of those who settle[d] in colder countries were both braced by the greater severity of th[e] climate, and by the necessity of labour for extracting a subsistence from the less genial soil. Men settled on the shores of the sea naturally became addicted to maritime pursuits, from which those living inland were debarred. In this way different arts arose, different sciences were cultivated, and different social and political institutions were established. In some countries the active energies of the people were fostered by the existence of free forms of government: in others the feeling of independence, perhaps originally feeble, was altogether crushed by despotism; while, on the other hand, the thoughtful tendencies which were native to the race found their full scope in scientific pursuits, or in philosophical and religious contemplation. With these great and manifold changes in all the conditions of life, corresponding alterations in language, intended to express new objects and new ideas, would be necessarily introduced, which became more and more extensive and decided as centuries rolled on.[34] The different stages of this process which I have been describing are more or less distinctly exemplified in the different languages which have been specified as connected by affinity with the Sanskrit. Of these languages the Zend (or language of the Zend Avesta) is that which had been separated from the Sanskrit for the shortest space of time, and subjected to the action of the smallest modifying influences, at the period when it took the form in which the most ancient of the extant Zoroastrian writings are composed; and accordingly, it has a far closer resemblance to the Sanskrit than either the Greek or the Latin. This has been made clear by the evidence which has been already adduced. The Greek and Latin languages, on the other hand, had been separated

[34] The divergences, apparent or real, between the Arian languages, are due "to alterations, to losses occasioned by the lapse of time, and also to the incessant efforts (so to speak) of the language to replace the lost forms, and to follow step by step the gradual developments of the several nationalities."—Pictet, "Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs," p. 5. See Appendix, Note C.

the same is the case with the languages current in the south of In
the Tamil, the Telugu, the Canarese, and the Malayalim (the tong
spoken by the inhabitants of Draviḍa, Telinga, Karnāṭa, etc.).
Manu himself (as we have already seen, p. 151, n. 164) makes a distinct
between the languages employed by the people of India; which sho
that forms of speech of a non-Arian, i.e. non-Sanskrit, character we
spoken by part of the population. So that the point which the ob
jector is, perhaps, really seeking to establish, viz., that the Arian
Indians are the original progenitors of all the surrounding nations,[37] and
their language, Sanskrit, the parent of all other languages, could never
be proved. It cannot be admitted, however, as I have already re-
marked, that Greek and Latin are derivatives from Sanskrit. There is
no proof of this theory, and all probability is against it. The whole
grammatical character of Greek and Latin is that of independent
languages; and any one who will compare their structure and com-
position with that of the Indian Prākṛits, which every one allows to
be derived from Sanskrit, will at once perceive the difference of the
two cases.

First.—The grammatical forms of the Prākṛits (as we have already
seen, p. 69), have evidently resulted from a disintegration or simplifi-
cation of the older Sanskrit forms. Thus (as we have already seen by
the comparative tables, introduced above, pp. 76, ff.), the Sanskrit
words *mukta*, *gupta*, *sūtra*, *mārga*, *artha*, *śreshṭha*, *drishṭi*, *pushpa*,
dakshiṇa, *madhya*, *satya*, *tushṇīm*, *laghu*, *sādhu*, *sabhā*, are in Prākṛit
softened down into *mutta*, *gutta*, *sutta*, *magga*, *attha*, *seṭṭha*, *diṭṭhi*,
puppha, *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, *majjha*, *saccha*, *tuṇhīm*, *lahu*, *sāhu*, and
sahā. The further back we trace the Prākṛit forms, the more nearly
do they resemble the Sanskrit, till the two are found to be almost
identical; while the more modern the grammatical forms are which
the Prākṛits have taken, the more widely do they diverge from their
Sanskrit prototypes. The case is quite different with the Latin and
Greek. A few instances may, no doubt, be discovered where the
modes in which the Latin or Greek forms vary from the Sanskrit cor-

37 Compare the Mahābhārata i. 3533, which says, *Yados tu Yādavāḥ jātāḥ Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ | Druhyoḥ sutās tu Vaibhojāḥ Anos tu Mlechha-jātayaḥ*. "The Yādavas sprang from Yadu. The Yavanas are said to be Turvasu's offspring; the Vaibhojas are descended from Druhyu, and the Mlechha tribes from Anu." These four progenitors, and Pūru, were *sons of* the Kshatriya monarch Yayāti.

so peculiar, that they could not be deduced from it according to any laws of mutation recognized by philologists. The Greek and Latin forms can, therefore, only be derived from another and anterior source, from which the Sanskrit forms also, as well as they, have flowed. It is, further, the opinion of distinguished comparative philologists, that Latin and Greek have preserved some forms of inflection, which are more ancient than those preserved in Sanskrit; and represent more exactly the original forms of the supposed parent language. For instance, the Latin has preserved the nominative of the present participle ending in *ens*, such as *ferens* (carrying), while Sanskrit has only the form in *at*, *bharat* for example, which seems to have been originally *bharans* or *bharant*.[40] The same is the case with various roots, nominal and verbal, in which the Sanskrit appears to have lost the original form of the word, while it has been preserved in Greek or Latin, or both. Thus the word for "a star," which seems to have been originally *star*,—a form which has been preserved in the Rigveda and in the Greek *aster* and *astron*, and in the Latin *astrum*, as well as in the Zend *stāre*, and the Persian *sitārah*,—has been lost in the later Sanskrit, where it becomes *tāra*. Again, on the supposition that the *h*, *j*, ... *chh* of Sanskrit are corrupted from the *k* or *gh*, *g*, and *sk* of the earlier language, the following Sanskrit words appear to have departed further from the original forms than the corresponding words in Greek and Latin, viz., S. *hridaya* = Gr. *kardia*, Lat. *cor*; S. *hanu* = Gr. *g*... S. *mih* = Gr. *omikheo*; S. *bāhu* = Gr. *pēkhus*; S. *jānāmi* = Gr. *gi*... Lat. *gnosco*; S. *jajanmi* = Gr. *gennao*, Lat. *gigno*; S. *ajra* = Gr. ... Lat. *ager*; S. *rajata* = Gr. *arguros*, Lat. *argentum*; S. *jambha* ... *gomphos*; S. *jaras* = Gr. *gēras*; S. *jānu* = Gr. *gonu*; S. *chhāyā* ... *skia*; S. *chhid* (*chhinadmi*) = Gr. *skhizo*, Lat. *scindo*; and S. *ash*... G. *oktō*.

Second: But the fact that the Greek and Latin languages ... their origin independent of the Sanskrit may be further shown ... following considerations:[41]

40 Bopp, *Comp. Grammar*, para. 129. Ad. Regnier, Traité de la forma... mots dans la langue Grecque, note 1, pp. 68, 69.

41 *I am indebted for the* substance of the paragraphs marked with an ast... *to the kindness of Professor* Goldstücker, who is dissatisfied with some v... *pounded in the passage immediately* preceding, as he rejects the theory w... *hitherto been in favour* with philologists that the fullest forms are necess...

modern Sanskrit has still *rudh* in the sense of "to stop,") now survives only in its weakened form *ruh*.[18] In like manner it appears from the nouns *dhanus*, "a bow," *pra-dhana*, "battle," and *ni+dhana*, "death," that the root *han*, "to kill," must once have existed in the stronger form *dhan*=Greek *than*.

* (4.) Some of the verbal roots which have been lost by both the modern and the Vedic Sanskrit, and which cannot be traced there even through their preservation in derivatives, may yet be recovered from oblivion by the aid of the Greek or Latin. Thus the Sanskrit *h*… "to sacrifice," must have originally existed in the stronger form *dh*… as we may infer from the Greek *thuō*; and in the same way t… earliest form of the Sanskrit *guh*, "to hide," was probably *gudh*, as … Greek *keuthō*, would lead us to suppose. So too from the Greek *f*… *nēthō*, "to spin," and *leikhō*, "to lick," we may argue that the ori… Sanskrit forms of *nah* and *lih* must have been *nadh* and *ligh*.[19] S… forms of substantives and other words also can be shown, in whi…

[18] See Pictet's "Origines Indo-Européennes," p. 145.

[19] So the root *duh*, "to milk," must have once been *dugh*, as is proved no… its passive participle *dugdha*, but also by the Zend substantive *dughdhar*… Greek *thugatēr*, "daughter," a word which most philologists think … signified "milker." Professor Goldstücker is of opinion "that in all th… *dhātus* the sonant *h* is weakened from a sonant aspirate, or, though more r… a surd aspirate, or, though likewise rarely, from a sibilant. Thus he … *gāh*, *vrih*, *sprih*, for instance, were originally *gādh*, *vridh*, *spridh*; *vah*… *vadh* (compare *ūḍhā* and *vadhū*); *trih*, 'injure,' *triph*; *suh*, 'deli… *māh*, 'measure,' *mās*; *mih*—*mīsh*; *hul*—*śal* or *śval*, etc. *Dah*, he… *dadh*, as is shown by the substantive *antardadhana*, lit., that which bu… heat (when) in the middle (of a liquor); and since, in his opinion, *ah* (… is the more original form of *dah*, he believes that this view of *dadh* is … the Greek *aithō* (originally *aθ*, whence 'Aθήνη), which points to a Sanskr… from *dah*, *nidagha* and similar forms are derived, is no disproof of an … for when *dah* settled down as a new *dhātu*, its final *h* would naturally… guttural. Thus, though *han* was undoubtedly *dhan*, from the late… *ghnat*, *jaghāna*, *jeghnīy*, *ghāta*, etc. And not only sounds, but even m… the influence of a confused recollection of what once was a more… Thus *hṛi* represents an older *dhṛi*, *bhṛi*, and *ghṛi*, 'sprinkle, mois… refers in some of its meanings not to *dhṛi*, but—through the inf… *ghṛi*."

In the same way we sometimes see the aspirated consonant of … into *h*, as in the case of the participle *hita* (*vi-hita*, *ni-hita*, &c.) f… "to hold." This weakening process, commenced in Sanskrit, has b… carried much further in Prākrit, where the aspirated consonan… softened into *h*, as where the root *kath*, "to say," becomes *kah*.

Third:—The Indian Prākṛits have derived by far their largest of words from the Sanskrit; the few which they contain that ar Sanskrit having been derived from the languages of the indig tribes who inhabited Northern India before the arrival of the Ā On the other hand, only a certain proportion, as we have seen, o words which compose the vocabulary of the Greek and Latin guages, are common to them with the Sanskrit: the greater p the words are, if not different, at least difficult to identify a same. Now, had Latin and Greek been derived from the mode even from the Vedic Sanskrit, the number of words indispu common to all three languages must have been very much g It is true that more may be said in favour of the hypothesis th Zend has been derived from Sanskrit; but there are sufficient r for believing that Zend is a sister and not a daughter of Sanskrit; consequently, that both have a common mother of a more pri date.

I therefore conclude, that Greek and Latin, as well as Zend, a derived from Sanskrit, but have, together with it, grown out of older parent language,[46] which was superseded by its daughters, became extinct, because it ceased to be employed as a spoken to and because (as being the language of a very early stage of so it has not been preserved in any literary records. To render supposition conceivable, I may remark that the same fate—exti —might have befallen the Sanskrit itself, and the Latin, when in like manner, gave birth to the various dialects which have s seded them as living and popular forms of speech, had it not bee

46 "An *indubitable* result of the researches which have recently been p into the Arian tongues is, that, notwithstanding the various alterations whi have undergone, they all bear the clear impress of one common type, and a sequently descended from one real, living, primeval language, which was c in itself, and which was employed by a whole nation as its common organ munication. This is not a mere hypothesis devised to explain the relations b those languages which are connected with each other: it is a conclusion which forc irresistibly on our belief, and which possesses all the validity of the best esta fact. When we perceive so large a number of languages, of a character so converging in all the details of their structure towards a common centre i every particular fact finds its cause, it becomes impossible to admit that tha has never had any other than a purely imaginary existence, and that that ma agreement arises solely from an instinctive impulse peculiar to a certain race o —A. Pictet, *Origines Indo-Européennes*, p. 43.

although at some period after their separation their forefathers have become intermingled with other and alien races; or seco that the ancestors of the four nations above mentioned must been brought into close contact with each other before that o parent language had been broken up into different forms of sp or, thirdly, that their forefathers must have derived their resp languages from the descendants of those who originally spoke Unless, therefore, we resort to the third alternative, it must, the reservation made in the preceding sentence, be taken f established fact either that the ancestors of the Indians at on existed together with the ancestors of the Persians, the Greek the Romans, in one country, as one nation, or that at lea forefathers of these several nations must have lived long in c with each other at an early stage of their history. It is true th have no historical record of this primeval period; but we a evitably led to assume the existence of an anterior state of thing as I have asserted, by the fact, that no other supposition will a for the philological phenomena which we encounter in later h From the effects, we are entitled to reason back to the existenc cause adequate to their production. We have to explain the fac there have been found in different regions of the world, lying far from each other, various nations speaking languages which evin unmistakable affinity to one another; and there is no other m explaining this circumstance but by supposing that the progenit these nations, or, at least, the progenitors of those tribes which municated to them their several languages, have radiated in di directions from one central country which was their common place, or their common abode, and where they all employed on mon form of speech.

If we pursue our inquiries further, we shall find that certai exist, by means of which we can discover with some probabilit was the order of time in which the ancestors of these several separated themselves from the original stock, or departed fro

may with certainty infer the existence, at a pre-historic period, of an Arian free, originally, from all foreign intermixture, sufficiently numerous to have those swarms of men which issued from its bosom, and sufficiently endowed b to have created for itself the most beautiful perhaps of all languages. This though unknown to tradition, is in a certain degree revealed to us by phi science."—*Pictet*, pp. 5, 6.

primeval abodes, encountering novel and strange objects, and in new pursuits, would gradually lose many of their ancient cu and in exchange would acquire new habits, and along with the new modes of speech. Those portions of the original populati the contrary, which continued to live together in their ancient or had gradually extended themselves together over adjacent would preserve more nearly their original customs, religion, a guage. But at length a period might arrive when the same which had occasioned the separation of the earlier emigrants, other causes of a different nature, would lead to a disruption remaining part of the nation also. It would become divid different sections; which would separate from one another tablish themselves in different, but probably adjacent, countr would never exhibit so wide a divergence from each other in of their religion, their institutions, and their general chara those earlier emigrants who had settled in regions at a greater

The first case which I have above hypothetically put is tha Greeks and Romans,[80] who appear to have broken off at an earl from the great Arian nation and departed to the westward, in new habitations. The distance of the countries, viz., Greece and the surrounding provinces, where they ultimately settled, cradle of the Arian race, and their wide divergence in relig language from the eastern branches of the same stock, concur that they separated themselves from the latter at a very rem On the other hand, the vicinity of the region occupied by the to that inhabited by the Romans, would lead us to suppose ancestors of these two nations migrated from the east at a same period, though the differences which we discover betw language and religion of the one people as compared with the other, compel us to assume a subsequent separation of and an independent development of each.

The second case which I have above supposed, of two br the original Arian stock continuing to live together for a co time after the other branches had become separated, is tha Perso-Arians and the Indo-Arians. Both from the closer v

[80] For the sake of simplifying the view I give of the question, I pur all mention of the German and other branches of this great family, periods at which they migrated westward.

of a mixture of distinct tribes, still these tribes must, during the period when their common language was in process of formation, have lived together in intimate union, and by the intermarriage of the different sections[51] have become eventually blended into one community. The formation and universal adoption of one common language is scarcely conceivable on any other conditions. When, therefore, this community was at length broken up, and its different fractions began to depart from their original home in different directions in search of new abodes, —an event which we must imagine to have occurred after the lapse of several generations from their (supposed) first coalition,—these different sections must, as the result of this long cohabitation, and the consequent commingling of blood, have been all composed in a great measure of the same elements. We may perhaps, however, be allowed to set aside this objection, which has been last dealt with, and assume that the tribes which, several thousand years ago, radiated from the supposed common home in Central Asia, were originally homogeneous, or of one and the same stock. If this assumption is admitted, it will hardly be denied that, for a short time at least, these several tribes, as, one b one, they diverged in different directions from the postulated centr may have maintained the purity of their blood. But it will be urge that this would not long continue to be the case. It will be said 'Supposing that all the assumptions which you have made up to th point are conceded, what proof can be adduced to show that tho tribes which, as you allege, carried with them one or more diale which were ultimately developed into the Sanskrit, Old Persian, Gre and Latin languages, into India, Persia, Greece, and Italy respective were really the descendants of those tribes which you imagine to h started from your assumed centre at an unknown period? Admitti for the sake of argument, that certain sections of your Indo-Europ race branched off in different directions in search of new abodes, t then disappear. There is no longer the slightest probability that we s ever be able to recover at any point of the long line of their all journeyings the smallest traces of their progress onward to their assu destinations. The supposed streams of population no longer begi flow onward, than, like the waters of the fabled fountain of Areth

[51] Unless we suppose that at the early period in question they were divide separate castes, which, however, is an improbable supposition.

[52] See, however, Pictet, vol. i. pp. 54–88; and p. 536, quoted further on.

"I shall take up these several arguments in succession.

"Supposing that the affinities alleged to exist between the langua
spoken at the dawn of history in India, Persia, Greece, and Italy,
admitted to be real, we have to discover the most natural explana
of this phenomenon. The kindred forms of speech must, as we h
seen, have had a common origin, and must have been conveyed to
localities in which they were found, either (1) by the remote des
dants of the races, derived from a common stock, by which, at first
were severally spoken, or (2) by tribes which had been in long
intimate contact with those races at some period of their histo

"The question to be answered is therefore this: Whether is it
probable that the colonists who conveyed to India, Persia, Greece
Italy the forms of speech which were thenceforward prevalent in
countries had (1) inherited the languages which they brought
them by direct descent from their remotest forefathers; or that
some intermediate period of their national history, their ancesto
adopted, in whole or in part, the language of some alien race?
questions, I allow, can receive no positive answer. A probab
lution is all that can be offered. It is freely admitted that
utterly unable to define the date, or the course, or the duration,
migrations which have been assumed, or to conjecture the
events by which they may have been attended. But if there
historical proof, or other indication, to the contrary, the presu
I think, is always in favour of the conclusion that a people
tained the language of its ancestors. Languages which, on the
already stated, may be maintained to have had a long and co
existence, must, in the absence of any written literature, ha
orally handed down by some people or other. But no probab
can be alleged for supposing that the descendants of those
spoke them have become extinct. Even conceding that at some
other of its history any particular form of speech has been c
cated by the race which inherited it to people of another st
not thereby rendered necessary or even likely that it sh

53 It is also possible that the tribes which brought the language to th
which it was first found to exist may have transferred the language to a
and have themselves entirely disappeared; but this hypothesis appe
unlikely that it may be left out of consideration.

oped by those who had inherited it. Arguing, there
f probability, the utmost which we can be fairly requ
egard to any language is, that at some period or other
may have begun to be spoken by an alien tribe whi
from another tribe to which it had descended by inhe
e same time it continued to be spoken by the latter
refore, I think, justified in concluding that some
he people by whom these languages were severally
earliest historical periods were the lineal represen
s which emigrated from Central Asia at the un
referred to, or, at any rate, were in part of that
other reasons for adopting this conclusion. It
has been already admitted, that people of one stoc
nguage from people of an alien race. But in
dopting the language would generally, if not invar
oral and intellectual power to that whose langu
reverse is scarcely credible. When, therefore, w
ental endowments speaking a particular tongue,
osing (so long as we have no historical proof
is using the speech of its forefathers. But bo
r Vedic Indians, and the earliest known G
intellect, whilst they were at least equal in
tions with which they were brought into conta
scended from peoples possessed of the same
therefore unlikely to have had their languag
y conquerors of any other race, or to have
speech of any other people. I will adduce
t of a linguistic character, but derived fr
Indians and Greeks—for believing that th
from the same stock, I mean the remark
the intellectual capacity and endowments
nence attained and the originality evinced
, and speculation. As this similarity is ge
ot adduce any evidence of the fact.

that either the Sanskrit, or the Persian, or the Gree
nployed by different tribes living in different regio
ry that all these languages were at first spoken by

"As regards the objection which I have supposed to be made that alongside of the remarkable proofs of affinity between the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, there exist differences in vocabulary so much more extensive as to be explicable only on the supposition that the tribes which inherited these languages from their ancestors must have undergone from time to time a large intermixture of foreign blood,—as it would otherwise be impossible to account for the wide divergence which ultimately prevailed between those different forms of speech,—I repeat (see pp. 257, f.) that the phenomenon in question is susceptible of another explanation. The increasing change in the different dialects of the mother-language, after the tribes by which they were spoken had radiated in different directions from their central home, may be accounted for (even on the supposition of their remaining free from any material intermixture of blood), by the necessary conditions of a nascent civilization as well as by the vicissitudes necessarily attendant on their migrations. At that early stage when these tribes had made little progress in arts and culture, and had no literature to fix their spoken dialect, constant alterations would naturally occur, old words would be modified or disused, whilst new ones, suggested by the different circumstances, physical, social, and political, through which they passed, would be introduced. Such a gradual process of alteration is a necessary result of the laws which regulate the development of thought and language in the early periods of society, and does not therefore require the hypothesis of any intermingling of foreign elements of population to render it intelligible. At the same time, it need not be denied that many words now found in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin may have been borrowed from people of other races.

"But supposing it to be held that the above conclusions regarding language as a test of race are too uncertain and conjectural to be of any value, there can be no doubt that this much at least is established by the mutual affinities of the Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, and Latin, that the ancestors of the earliest known Indians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, had immediately or remotely derived their respective languages from races which had at one time been in the closest contact with each other as constituent parts of the same community, governed by the same institutions, and adherents of the same religion and wo[rship] (see the abstract of the Rev. G. C. Geldart's paper, "Language r

Race," in the Transactions of the British Association for
of the Transactions of the Sections).[55]
see what conclusion this proposition involves in regard
the Hindus, a question the consideration of which first
of the problems discussed in this paper. The Hindus
d are either directly descended from the people wh
rit in its oldest form, or they are not. If they are
ust have derived their language (now esteemed sacre
some alien race which communicated it to their
as the traditions contained in their own sacred
f this, they cannot, on this hypothesis, be regard
worthy or sufficient account of the origin and h
If, on the other hand, the early Indians derive
ge by direct descent from those who first spoke it,
t at some period have lived in close contact either
the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, or with some
h at some time or other the forefathers of the Per
mans, had been socially and politically connected
ncestors of the Hindus must have formed part
y, which also embraced the forefathers of other
separated themselves from that community; and
the distinct and peculiar origin assigned to the
ooks. Where, then, did the separation refer
or out of, India? To this I reply that, look
ositions ultimately occupied by the different n
rious languages cognate to Sanskrit, the prob
tion to which I have referred took place at
ediate between the countries in which these p
, at a point, consequently, to the west or nort
her the populations composing the several nati
elves the descendants of the tribes which ori
assumed parent stock, or whether one or m
nguages from those descendants, we must i
re likely that the migrations which termin
ion of the Indian, Persian, Greek, and
ceeded from an intermediate point than fr

55 See Appendix D.

"Supposing it now to be considered as established or probable that a tribe of Indo-European descent had at an early period immigrated into India from the north-west, but that insuperable physiological difficulties are opposed to the supposition that their descendants could ever, from the mere influence of climate, have gradually acquired their present dusky complexion, we must resort to the hypothesis, *to be hereafter* referred to, that those original immigrants, or their descendants, intermarried with the darker tribes whom they found settled in the country; and that the offspring of these intermarriages were born with swarthier complexions than their Indo-European ancestors. If this be the true explanation of the fact, it must be admitted that the Brahmanical or Sanskrit-speaking Indians are not of pure Indo-European blood, though they are in part of Indo-European extraction. In any case they have inherited the high mental endowments which are characteristic of that race."]

The propositions which I have already proved, or shall now attempt to prove, are the following:—

First: That the Indo-Arians, that is, the higher classes of the northern Indians, or the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas and Vaiśyas, are descended either exclusively or partially from the same Arian race as the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

Second: That the primeval abode of this original Arian race was in some country of central Asia, situated out of, and to the north-west of, India.

Third: That different branches gradually separated themselves from this parent stock, and migrated to new countries, west, south, or east of their early home.

Fourth: That the ancestors of the Indians and Persians appear to have lived together as one nation to a later period than the other branches of the Arian race, but at length separated, the Indo-Arians migrating into India, while the Perso-Arians occupied the territory of Bactria, and the adjacent provinces.

I shall not consider it necessary, in the discussion of the subject, to handle each of these propositions in the succession here indicated; but shall rather take up the different topics in the order in which the process of proof which I shall follow may render most convenient.

...V.—Whether there is any objection arising from physi... ...derations, to classing the Indians among the Indo-Eu...

...ving, as I have already done, that the Greek and ...have a common origin with the Sanskrit, I have a... ...l portion of the proof which I had to bring forward ...gin of the nations by which those several languages ... And yet language is not the only respect in wh... ...s between the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and Ro... ...ogies also present some points of contact. As re... ...nd Iranians, this will be shown in a following se... ...tion of the proofs that exist that the mythologies ...dians, how much soever they subsequently div... ...r, must have issued from one common source. I ... volume of this work, pp. 2, ff., 33, f., and 76, ...e words Dyaus and Zeus, and of Varuṇa and Ur... The mythology of the Greeks has also been consi... ...ther points of contact with that of India, as whe... Greeks has been identified with the Saraṇyū ...rs with the Gandharvas, Minos with Manu, ...rmes with Sārameya, the Phlegyes with the Bh... ...d carry me too far if I were to attempt to of... ...s which have been propounded on this subje... ...direct my attention mainly to exhibiting at ... which exist for supposing that the Persia... ...ended from the same common ancestors; an... ...ed together, as the constituent parts of one ...uent to the migration to the westward of th... ...e stock, they, too, were at last broken up, ...s, into two distinct nations, which settled ...cent... regions. I will subsequently pass in... ...s which can be adduced for supposing th... ...nto India from the north-west.

...unft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, Berlin, 185...

...arative Mythology, in the Oxford Essays for 1856.

Before, however, proceeding to carry out the intention here indicated, it will be expedient briefly to inquire whether, on physiological grounds, there is any reason for denying that the Indians are descended from the same stock as the nations of Europe.[57] "In their physical characteristics the Brahmanical and other high caste Indians belong, as well as the other nations who have just been mentioned, to the so-called Caucasian type. It might, indeed, at first sight, be supposed that the dark-complexioned Hindus could not possibly be of the same race as the fair-coloured natives of England or Germany. But a closer examination of the different nations to whom, on philological grounds, we are led to assign a common origin, will show that they vary in complexion very much according to the climatic influences of the regions in which they ultimately settled, and in which they have been resident for a long series of ages. If we look to the south-eastern and north-western extremities only of the vast tract over which the Indo-European races have spread, we shall, no doubt, find that there is a complete contrast in point of colour between the occupants of those widely separated countries. But the same wide contrast does not exist between the inhabitants of those tracts (included within the same limits) which are adjacent to each other. The Indians do not differ very much in complexion from the Persians, nor the Persians from the Greeks, nor the Greeks from the Italians, nor the Italians from the Germans or the Anglo-Saxons. These different nations alter in complexion by almost imperceptible shades varying nearly according as their respective countries range successively from south-east to north-west. While the Indians may be denominated black, the Persians are olive-coloured, the Greeks have a still fairer complexion with a ruddy tinge, and the Italians approach yet more nearly in hue to the Teutonic tribes. It is therefore to the varying action of different climatic influences that we have to ascribe the diversity of colour which characterizes these several nations. The scorching rays of an Indian sun, the high temperature of an Indian climate, and the peculiar diet afforded by an Indian soil, acting on the Indo-Arians

[57] [I reprint here, nearly as it originally stood, but now marked by inverted commas, the answer which I gave to this question in the first edition of this work; and shall add a reference to the difficulties raised on physiological grounds against the views there stated.]

the long period of 3,000 years or more since they first
...dustan, appear amply sufficient to account for the
...ities of complexion, of feature, and of corporeal st...
...ow distinguish that section of the Indo-European famil...
...red branches to the west. In fact, the action of these
...ntly conspicuous in India itself. The people of Beng...
...same race as the inhabitants of the north-western pro...
...g to the greater moisture of their climate, and the
...g temperature which the latter enjoy for three
...very year, gradually become darker in complexion a...
...ir structure. Again, it is notorious to every one w...
...hern India, that a Brāhman from the temperate pr...
...s far fairer than a Brāhman of Mathurā or Benar...
...ite the look of a foreigner. It has also been ob...
Briton, or person partly of European and par...
..., becomes fairer from living in the colder clim...
...mediately recovers his ancient complexion on bei...
...he heat of the tropics. It does not appear necess...
...o the discussion of this subject, as the preceding
...ce to remove any doubts as to the common origin
...nations of Europe, which may have arisen from...
...plexion.[58] I will only add that, if the conside...
...ny foundation, the Indo-Arians must have been
...ion at the period of their first arrival in Indi...

...of this subject may be found in Lassen's Indische Alt...
...-487. [His conclusion as summed up in p. 487 is as
...elong to the Caucasian race in virtue of their langu...
...eir darker complexion does not amount to such a d...
...erivable from the effects of climatic influences. The
...dark shades through intermixture and the continu...
...Portuguese in India, descendants of native wom...
...s negroes; and the northern and western Asiatics
...ations in India are now, even without intermarri...
...ded an olive-yellow complexion as the native Indi...
...at Lassen here refers to the intermarriage of the Ari...
...skier] races as one of the possible causes of thei...
...W. von Schlegel, Essais, pp. 466, ff., and Müller...
...Researches," in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Uni...
...ted in his "Chips," vol. i., pp. 63, f. Compare h...
...Researches," in Bunsen as above, pp. 349, ff.

ontinued to occupy the north-westerly regions of the
y became at a later period, when they had been longer
fierceness of the Indian sun, and when they had
ner to the south-east. And we accordingly find that
n tallies with some expressions in the Vedic hymns,
hich, no doubt, date from a very early period. Thus, in
Rigveda, iii. 34, 9, we find an allusion made to the
Arian immigrants: *Hatvî Dasyûn pra âryam varnam*
estroyed the Dasyus, and protected the Arian colour:'
eda, ii. 12, 4, the same word is applied to designate the
Yo dâsam varnam adharam guhâ kaḥ | 'He who swept
s = Dâsa colour.' Though the word *varna*, 'colour,'
base employed, came afterwards to be current as the de-
here
of caste, there is some reason to suppose that it may have
inally used to discriminate the fair-coloured Âryas from the
plexioned aborigines. But such a term of contrast, if em-
now, would not perhaps possess half the force which it may
d at a time when we may suppose the distinction of colour
n the Aryas and the savage tribes whom they encountered, to
een far more palpable than it is in modern times."

e above views are, however, disputed on physiological grounds
ifferent writers, such as the late Mr. John Crawfurd, Professor
ley, and other authors referred to by the latter. Thus, in his
er on "Language as a Test of the Races of Man,"[59] Mr. Crawfurd
tes as follows: "In phonetic character, in grammatical structure,
d in some cases even in words, there exists a near resemblance be-
een certain languages of Northern, but not of Southern India, and
ost, but by no means between all the ancient and modern languages
f Europe. From this fact some ethnologists have jumped to the
conclusion that the Oriental and Western people, between whose lan-
guages this affinity exists, must necessarily be of the same blood, or
in other terms, of one and the same race of man. In India, however,
there neither now exists, nor does history tell us that there ever did
exist, a race of fair complexion resembling Europeans: neither does
there exist in Europe, nor is there even a tradition of there ever

[59] In the Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London (published in 1865), vol. iii., p. 2.

existed, a race of black men like Hindus. Hence, as
n well ascertained, that neither time, climate, nor loca
any material alteration of race, and assuredly not su
l turn a black skin into a white one, or the reverse,
the inevitable conclusion that the theory which ma
nage synonymous is, in this instance at least, nothing
hnological figment." And in another paper on the
of Man," in the same vol., pp. 346, ff., the same
opinion which "makes the peopling of India and
resent inhabitants to depend on an emigration from a
f northern Asia." Mr. Crawfurd proceeds to q
n Professor Max Müller's "History of Ancient S
p. 12, ff., in which this view is maintained; an
The entire theory developed in the passages now
philology, and sets aside all the well-established qu
intellectual, which from the dawn of authentic
shed the many races of man, which it include
." And further on Mr. Crawfurd urges: "All
l in the face of the notorious fact that history
a people becoming white from black, or black
or white from brown. No black race of man
inhabited Europe, or white man to have inh
or white to have inhabited the parent land
iginal stock." In an article in the Fort
r 15th June, 1865, pp. 257, ff., Professor Hux
ls and results of ethnology; and inquires whet
d by that science are to be determined by m
logy, or history, or by any one of several
he refers. After stating the claims that ha
half of philology, and quoting from an essay
icher, who held that the natural classific
he natural classification of mankind, Prof.
'Without the least desire to depreciate the
uvant to ethnology, I must venture to doub
ins, Crawfurd, and others, its title to the
r it by the writers whom I have just quote
ng der Sprache für die Naturgeschichte der Mens

ontrary, it seems to me obvious that, though, in t
vidence to the contrary, unity of languages may af
mption in favour of the unity of stock of the peo
languages, it cannot be held to prove that unity of
logers are prepared to demonstrate that no nation
age and acquire that of a distinct nation, without
corresponding with the change of language." An
rites: "Thus we come, at last, to the purely zoologi
which it is not unnatural to expect more than from
that, after all, the problems of ethnology are si
are presented to the zoologist by every widely
he studies." In a subsequent part of the same
f.) the writer—referring to the opinion that "the o
existing diversities of climate and other conditions on
ting, is sufficient to account for all the diversities of ma
ves that he "can find no sufficient ground for acceptin
he doubts "if it would ever have obtained its general
t for the circumstance that fair Europeans are ver
d and embrowned by the sun." To this he adds: "I
aware that there is a particle of proof that the cutaneou
effected can become hereditary, any more than the enlarg
which plague our countrymen in India can be transmitted
there is very strong evidence to the contrary. Not only, in
there such cases as those of the English families in Barbado
have remained for six generations unaltered in complexion, bu
are open to the objection that they may have received infu
fresh European blood; but there is the broad fact, that not a
indigenous negro exists either in the great alluvial plains of t
South America, or in the exposed islands of the Polynesian
pelago, or among the populations of equatorial Borneo or Su
No satisfactory explanation of these obvious difficulties ha
offered by the advocates of the direct influence of conditions.
as for the more important modifications observed in the struct
the brain, and in the form of the skull, no one has ever preten
show in what way they can be affected directly by climate."

In a lecture [61] printed in the periodical paper called "Natur

61 "On the Forefathers of the English People."

...arch, 1870, Prof. Huxley gives expression to simil...
...ition to the opinion that climate has any effect up...
He writes: "There is no reason to think that
...have had anything whatever to do with this sing...
...f the fair and the dark types. *Not only do the dark*
...the Scotch Highlands lie five or six degrees farth...
...r Black-foresters of Germany; but, to the north of
...ants of Europe, in Lapland, there lives a race of
...t in their characters from the dark stock of ...
...ing black hair, black eyes, and swarthy yellowish...

...quoted of these papers Dr. Huxley makes no re...
...ular question of the origin of the Sanskrit-sp...
...n the lecture published in "Nature" we find t...
... in which he refers to the immigration of Arian...
...heir absorption in the main into the pre-existing...
...hich it may be concluded that he regards the
...isting North Indian Hindus as partially of Arian
...eir dusky complexion to the intermarriage of
...he darker tribes which were previously in occu...
"Hence, there can be no reasonable doubt th...
...e Celtic-speaking population of these [i.e. the B...
...ars ago was simply the western fringe of th...
...e traced to Central Asia, and the existence of
...China in ancient times is testified by Chinese
...t the central parts of the immense area w...
...of this stock speak Aryan languages—be...
...family as the old Persian or Zend, and the S...
...till largely represented among the Affghans
...ntiers of Persia on the one hand, and of Hi...
...the old Sanskrit literature proves that th...
...came in from the north-west, at least 3,00...
...Vedas these people portray themselves in ch...
...itted the Gauls, the Germans, or the Goth...
...no evidence whether they were fair-haired...
...peopled by a dark-complexioned people m...
...n any one else, and speaking a group of la...

lled Drawidian. They were fenced in on the north by the barrier the Himalayas; but the Aryans poured from the plains of Central sia over the Himalayas, into the great river basins of the Indus and ie Ganges, where they have been, in the main, absorbed into the re-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an xtensive modification of the physical characters of the population, a language, and a literature."

I add some remarks on this subject from the pen of an eminent philologer and orientalist in the North American Review, No. 217, for Oct., 1867, pp. 552, f. After asserting, in opposition to M. Oppert, "that the boundaries of Indo-European language have been approximately determined by the spread and migrations of a race," he adds, "Of course every sound and cautious linguistic scholar is mindful that language is no absolute proof of descent, but only its probable indication, and that he is not to expect to discover, in modern tongues, clear and legible proofs of the mixture which the peoples that speak them have undergone. Such a thing as a pure and unmixed race, doubtless, is not to be met with in the whole joint continent of Europe and Asia, whose restless tribes have been jostling and displacing one another for ages past. And especially in the case of a great stock like the Indo-European, which has spread so widely from a single point over countries which were not before uninhabited, there must have been absorptions of strange peoples, as well as extrusions and exterminations; one fragment after another must have been worked into the mass of the advancing race; and as the result of such gradual dilution, the ethnic character of some parts of the latter may, very probably, have been changed to a notable degree. These are the general probabilities of the case: how far we shall ever get beyond such an indefinite statement of them is at present very uncertain," etc.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these arguments and considerations appears to be that the original Sanskrit-speaking Indians were derived from the same stock as the Iranians, the Greeks, and the Romans, although possibly before their arrival in the Punjab, and most probably at a later period, they and their descendants have not remained free from an intermixture of alien blood.

SECT. V.—*Reasons for supposing ... to have a co...*

I will now proceed to indicate
concluding that the Indians and
only descended from the same orig
to form one community even after
rated from them and migrated to d

The first proof is the closer affin
subsists between the Zend, the lan
the Sanskrit. From the exampl
inflections which have been adduc
upon the whole, the Zend is more
either the Greek or the Latin a
parallel words which have been
Zend words have been often omitt
have been adduced: but this do
having had no existence, but eit
covered in any of the extant Zend
accessible to me. But the Zend
ward will be generally found tc
blance to the Sanskrit than eithe
words do. I subjoin some fur
Sanskrit vocables to which the Gr
lents in form, or equivalents wh
tant resemblance to the Sanskrit t
lists, which contain a few repetiti

I. NOUNS, A

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
yebhyas	yaēibyo	to whom.
yadi[63]	yēdhi, yēzi	if.
mithuna	mithwan	a pair.
giribhyas	gairibyo	to hills.
ukta	aokhta	spoken.
strī	śtri	woman.
antar	añtarĕ	within.
dātāram	dātārem	giver (acc.)
gaus	gāus	cow.

[62] For an account of the various ol
Schleicher's Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachf.

[63] In Greek, *ei*; in Latin, *si*.

[65] In Greek, *thermos*.

Sanskrit.	Zend.	English.
ıdānām	pādhanaṅm	feet (gen. pl.).
	ap	water.
ıbhadra	hufĕdhri	very good, of good lineage.
urya	tūirya	fourth.
ritaya	thrishva	three, a third.
hatushṭhaya	chathrushu	four, a fourth.
ıtharvāṉam	āthravanĕm	priest (acc.).
asmai	ahmāi	to him.
svar	hvarĕ	heaven, sun.
sva	hva	own.
jihvā	hizva	tongue.
sahasra	hazaṅra	thousand.
măhāntam	mazāoñtem	great (acc. masc.).
yūyam	yūzhem	you.
vāri	vairi	water, sea.
tanu	tanu	body.
śayānam	śayanĕm	sleeping (acc.).
sapta sindhavas	hapta hiñdu	country of the seven rivers.
ārya	airya	respectable.
sōma	hōma	moon-plant.
anya	anya	other.
vis'va	vīspa	all.
sarva	haurva	all.
upama	upama	highest.
ugra	ughra	vehement.
taruṉa	tauruna	tender.
savya	havya	left (side).
rajishṭha	razista	most straight.
dūra	dūra	far.
nedishṭa	nazdista	near.
śrīla	śrīra	beautiful.
prathama	fratĕma	first.
agra	aghra	first.
pūrva	paurva	former.
śyāva	śyāva	black.
kṛiśa	kereśa	lean.
sakṛit	hakereṭ	once.
āvis	āvish	manifest.
yama	yéma	twin.
andha	añdāo	blind.
antima	añtĕma	furthest, last.
esha	aēsha	this.
atra	athra	here.
adhara	adhara	lower.
arvan	aurvañṭ	horse.
spaś	spas'	spy, guardian.
drishṭi	darsti	view.
stuti	śtūiti	praise.
stotar	ś'taotar	praiser.
sthūṉā	ś'tūna	pillar.
ratha	ratha	chariot.
gāthā	gātha	verse, poem.
pitu	pitu	food.
rai	rāi	wealth, glitter.
hiraṉya	zaranya	gold.

Sanskrit.	Zend.	English.
peśas	paēs'aṅh	form.
ahan	azan	day.
śarad	s'arĕdha	autumn, year.
asta, kshaya	asta, khshaya	house.
angushṭha	añgusta	thumb, finger.
vana	vana	forest, tree.
kas'yapa	kas'yapa	tortoise.
tamas	temaṅh	darkness.
bhūmī	būmi	earth.
mesha	maēsha	sheep.
varāha	varāza	boar.
ukshan	ukhshan	bull.
kshīra	khshīra	milk.
ishu	ishu	arrow.
dhanvan	thanvana	bow.
bhāga	bāga	lot, fortune.
bhakta	bakhta	allotted, fate.
sakhi	hakhi	friend.
ojas	aojaṅh	vigour.
kshattra	khshathra	royalty, kingdom.
vaśa	vaśaṅh	power.
kṛishti	karsti	ploughing, cultivation.
praśṉa	frashna	question.
pārśhṉi	pāshna	heel.
dasta	zaśta	hand.
mushṭi	musti	fist.
grīvā	grīvă	neck.
pāñśu	pāñśnu	dust.
parśu	pĕrĕśu	rib.
matsya	maśya	fish.
parṉa	parĕna	feather, wing.
parṉin	pĕrĕnin	bird.
charman	charĕman	hide.
aśru	aśru	tear.
añs'a	āśa	part.
vakshatha	vakhshatha	increase.
yakshma	yas'ka	consumption, sickness.
adhvan	adhwan	road.
artha	arĕtha	object, profit.
anartha	anarĕtha	useless, wrong.
vyartha	vyarĕtha	vain, desecration.
amṛita	ameretāṭ	immortality.
dhānya	dāna	grain.
viś	vīs'	people, tribe.
tāyu	tāyu	thief.
garbha	garĕwa	fœtus.
putra	puthra	son.
anta	añta	end.
kshudhā	shudha	hunger.
giri, parvata	gairi, paurvata	mountain.
visha	vis, visha	poison.
kanyā	kanyă	damsel.

II.—VERBAL ROOTS AND FORMS.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
rāj	rāz	to shine.
jush	zush	to love.
rud	rud	to weep.
ruh[66]	rud	to grow.
rudh	rud	to stop.
idh	id	to kindle.
śuch	śuch	to glow.
dharsh	darĕsh	to dare.
much	much	to loose.
muh[67]	mugh	to bewilder, be bewildered.
van	van	to love.
van	van	to smite.
gā	gā	to sing.
chi	chi	to gather.
chi+vi	chi+vi	to distinguish.
dru	dru	to run.
ram	ram	to rest.
gar (girati)	gar	to swallow.
gar (griṇāti)	gar	to praise.
gar (jāgarti)	gar	to awake.
śiksh	śakhsh	to learn.
nī	nī	to lead.
var	var	to cover.
gam	gam	to go.
nam	nam	to bend.
khan	kan	to dig.
druh	druj	to injure, lie.
paś	paś	to bind.
dvish	dvish	to hate, offend.
dhan	dvān	to sound.
ish	ish	to wish.
kam	kam	to desire.
su	hu	to bring forth.
smar	mar	to remember.
sthā+ut	śtā+uś	to rise.
kart	karĕṭ	to cut.
dā	dā	to cut, divide.
jar	zar	to grow old.
ji	ji	to conquer.
bhī	bī	to fear, frighten.
karsh	karĕsh, kash	to draw.
bhaj	baz, bakhsh	to divide, bestow.
pā	pā	to protect.
pātar	pātar	protector.
trā	thrā	to deliver.
trātar	thrātar	deliverer.
ush	ush	to burn.
dah	daz	

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
īś	iś	to be powerful.
bandh	bañd	to bind.
badhnāmi	bañdāmi	I bind.
dădărśa	dādărĕsa	I saw.
vahāmi	vazāmi	I carry.
vahati	vazaiti	he carries.
vahanti	vazĕñti	they carry.[68]
vahantaḥ	vazeñto	carrying (nom. pl.).
bharati	baraiti	he carries.
bharanti	barĕñti	they carry.
pracharati	fracharaiti	he goes forward.
vicharanti	vīchareñti	they roam.
bhavati	bavaiti	he is.
bhavanti	bavañti, bavaiñti	they are.
bhavishyantam	būshyañtem	about to be.
dadāti	dadhāiti	he gives.
dadāmi	dadhāmi	I give.
dădmăsi	dădĕmahi	we give.
tāpayati	tāpayĕiti	he warms.
ātāpayati	ātāpayĕiti	he kindles or lights.
pradĕśayeyam	frādaĕśaêm	may I enjoin.
jagmushīm	jaghmūshīm	(acc. fem. perf. part. of gam, "to go")
stauti	śtaoiti	he praises.
staumi	śtaomi	I praise.
studhi	(avi) śtūidhi	praise thou.
astaut	śtaoṭ	he praised.
hanti	jaiñti	he kills.
hantu	jañtu	let him kill.
yaj	yāz	to sacrifice.
yajate	yazaitĕ	he sacrifices.
yajāmahe	yazamaidĕ	we sacrifice.
yajante	yazeñtĕ	they sacrifice.
prīṇāmi	āfrīnāmi	I love; vow.
prīṇīmasi	frīnāmahi	we love.
veda	vaĕdā	I know.
veda	vaĕdā, vaĕdha	he knows.
vettha	vōiśtā	thou knowest.
vidyāt	vīdyāt	he may know.
vidvān	vīdvāo, vīdhvao	knowing, wise.
vindanti	viñdeñti	they find.
avāmi	avāmi	I protect.
kshayasi	khshayĕhi	thou rulest.
vashṭi	vasti	he desires.

[66] Probably softened from an original form *rudh*.
[67] Probably from an original form *mugh*.
[68] In Justi's Dictionary *s.v. vaz*, I find a form *vazadhyāi*, which would answer exactly to a vedic Sanskrit form *vahadhyai*, supposing the verb *vah* to form the infinitive in that way, which, however, is not the case.

Zend.	English.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	English.
ahmi	I am.	santaḥ	heñto	being (nom.
ahi	thou art.	kriṇomi (vedic)	kerenaomi	I do. [pl.)
asti	he is.	kriṇoshi	kerenūishi	thou dost.
heñti	they are.	kriṇoti	kerenaoiti	he does.
astu	let him be.	kriṇvanti	kerenvaiñti	they do.
heñtū	let them be.	kriṇavāni	kerenavāni	may I do.
heñtem	being (acc. sing.).	kriṇuhi	kerenūidhi	do thou.
		akriṇot	kerenaot	he did.

ι the preceding lists should be compared the comparative tables krit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, as well as of Sanskrit and Persian given above in pp. 220, ff., and 230, ff., which will contribute to their deficiencies. Many Persian words will be found in the latter (p. 220, ff.), which in form closely resemble the Sanskrit terms, ; the same signification, while on the other hand there are in nu- ιs instances no Greek or Latin terms which closely correspond to ιme Sanskrit words both in sound and in sense. Now, if even the rn Persian language, notwithstanding the many modifications s undergone from diverse influences throughout a long course of ıries, can still supply so large a number of words which so closely nble the Sanskrit terms, we may safely conclude that the Zend, of the forms of the early Persian (which was the ancient medium, ιkin to the ancient medium,[70] through which the modern Persian ved all the Arian words which it possesses), must itself have con- ιed a far larger number of words bearing a very much closer re- ιblance to the Sanskrit, even although many of these may not be ›overable in any extant Zend texts.

[These views receive confirmation from the following remarks of ›fessor Müller in his "Last Results of the Persian Researches," 111, 112:—

"It is clear from his (M. E. Burnouf's works) and from Bopp's uable remarks in his Comparative Grammar, that Zend in its gram- r and dictionary is nearer to Sanskrit than any other Indo-European guage. Many Zend words can be re-translated into Sanskrit simply

' Greek *astō*.

› I learn from Prof. Kern of Leyden's recent dissertation on the antiquity of ›es (Indische Theorieën over de Standenverdeeling, Amsterdam, 1871), that he "already on another occasion shown that the Neo-Persian does not descend ›ctly from the old-Persian of the Achæmenidæ, but is a dialect occupying a place ›rmediate between the West and East Iranian languages." No further reference ;iven to the place where this essay is to be found.

ng the Zend into their corresponding forms in Sanskrit
nskrit differs in words or grammatical peculiarities from
embers of the Arian family, it frequently coincides
numerals are the same in all these languages up to
r thousand, however (*sahasra*) is peculiar to Sanskrit
r in any of the Indo-European dialects except in Z
omes *hazanra*. . . . These facts are full of hist
with regard to Zend and Sanskrit, they prove that
continued together long after they were separated
do-European stock."

argument in support of the proposition I have un
s, that both of the nations in question, viz., the In
, apply to themselves, in their earliest written reco
f Āryas.

as I have already shown, the oldest of all the In
, therefore, not only the most authentic source of
d to the earliest language of the Indians, but
y that they would preserve more distinct and
imeval history than we find in the other Sās
osed at a later period, when the most genuine
gin of the race had been obscured and corru
ymns accordingly it does, in fact, appear more
ny other of the Indian writings, that the proge
e originally called Āryas. We find this name
hers of the higher classes among the Indians
the Dasyus, who appear to have been a peo
to have been settled in India before the Ā
the Vedas as the following: Rigveda i. 5
n the Āryas and those who are Dasyus; chas
o sacred rites, subject them to the sacri
Indra, thunderer, who knowest [both], h
syu, and augment the might and glory

ord Ārya, then, we are able to connect the
y Persians. For, first, it appears that in a
(who were eventually included in one

, with many other similar ones, will be cited further

ersians)[73] bore the name of Arians. This is clear from the ssage of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, who narrated the Greeks and Persians. In the seventh book of his history, ave the following statement:—'Εκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς ιοι· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ 'Αθηνέων ους τούτους, μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. "They (the Medes) were formerly by all. But when the Colchian Medea arrived among om Athens, they also changed their name. The Medians s of themselves." A nation or tribe bearing the name entioned by Herodotus in sect. 66 of the same book. τι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατά Αρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης. "The Arii were armed with ut in other respects like the Bactrians. The Arii were isamnes." These last mentioned Arians appear to have hbourhood of Herat. (See Bähr's Herod. iii. 93, and e bearing a similar name is mentioned by the same 300 talents tribute along with the Parthians, Choras- ns: Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ ι τάλαντα (iii. 93). The same people are men- (iii. 8, 4) as forming part of the army of Darius: ὁ 'Αρείων σατράπης 'Αρείους ἦγε. The Arizanti l. i. 101, as one of the seven Median tribes. In er find several proper names which are compounded ιs; thus, vii. 67, the commander of the Kaspians . In the 78th chapter of the same book, another ame, and son of Darius, is mentioned. In other

ons of the Medes and Persians the following remarks are in his Herodotus, vol. i. p. 401: "That the Medes were ian family, closely allied both in language and religion Arian tribe, seems now to be generally admitted. The ith regard to the original Median appellation, combined f the Persians which brought their ancestors from Aria, e to establish this ethnic affinity. Other proofs, however, des are invariably called Arians by the Armenian writers; he inscription upon his tomb, declared himself to be 'a ian, an Arian, of Arian descent.' Thus it appears that ian appertains to the two nations equally; and there is heir language and religion were almost identical."

ame writer and other ancient authors (viz. Xenophon,
and Quintus Curtius), such names as Ariabignes, Aria-
Ariaius, Arimazes and Ariarathes (= Āryaratha), are
ans. The word Ἄριον, which occurs in the ancient
Æschylus, Choephoroi, verse 423 (ἔκοψα κομμὸν
have chaunted a Persian dirge"), is interpreted by
he passage as equivalent to Περσικόν, "Persian."
t is not only in the Greek authors that we find the
pplied to the Medes or Persians; in the most ancient
astrian religion also, which are composed in the Zend
e word, as a designation of the early Persians, is [illegible]
ce. I give, in a somewhat abridged form, Professor [illegible]
of the evidence which exists of the common origin [illegible]
rsians, as the most recent and complete of which I [illegible]
anslation of the Avesta, vol. i. Introduction, pp. 4, [illegible]
idence is their common name of Ārya.
supported by her two handmaids, physiology and [illegible]
recent times demonstrated that a single race (th[illegible]
as spread its branches over the whole space from [illegible]
westerly point of Europe. The most highly gift[illegible]
ns, both of the ancient and modern world, are [illegible]
tock; viz., the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Roman[illegible]
ns, and perhaps also the Celts. All these natio[illegible]
e single original family, whose abodes have not y[illegible]
rmined, and perhaps will never be ascertained in [illegible]
ll dispute; but it is probable that, in the earlies[illegible]
ces dwelt together as one people, on the elevated [illegible]
al Asia. The emigration of this people from their [illegible]
their separation into different branches, are even [illegible]
to all history. Faint indications of the degree of [illegible]
y these tribes before their separation may be derived [illegible]
particular conceptions which have remained com[illegible]
and the amount of their knowledge is not to be [illegible]
. If the state had not been organized by them [illegible]
t, had been already regulated, as is proved by th[illegible]
words designating relationships. We find names [illegible]
for the different kinds of cattle, and for differen[illegible]

ts of husbandry. Their conceptions of the gods, on the con-
m to have continued to be of the most general character.[73]
in addition to this possession by the whole Indo-Germanic
articular words, there exists a closer relationship between
mbers of this family. This closer relationship is to be ex-
r the fact, that some of these races continued to live together
r the others had separated from them. Thus, for example,
s and Romans have much that is common to both in their
and in their ideas, which cannot be explained by their
elationship. But in no instance is this affinity more striking
te than between the Indians and the Persians. These two
must have lived long together after quitting their common
is clearly proved by linguistic and mythological considera-
he three dialects of ancient Persian with which we are ac-
viz., that of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, that of the second
e Yaśna, and the language of the remaining portions of the
ave all such a close affinity to the oldest Indian language,
rit, as exhibited in the Vedas, that they might almost be all
lects of one and the same language. Other grounds, par-
of a mythological character, speak no less strongly in proof
tribes (Indians and Persians) having adhered long to each
is of especial importance that they both call themselves by
name. Ārya, signifying 'honourable,' in ordinary speech,
d from arya, which means 'lord' in the Vedas, is the most
the most ancient name of the Indian people. (R.V. i. 51, 8,
veda, i. 1, 1, 5, 3.) Among the Indians the term Mlechha,
notes an impure barbarian, is the opposite of Ārya. The
e case among the Persians. According to the Persian laws
y, ārya had to be changed to airya, a name which the Per-
applied to themselves, and out of which the more modern

hn's Dissertation in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 321, ff. The elaborate work of
Pictet, above quoted (pp. 258, 266, ff.), has for its object to discover, by a
of the primitive words common to all the Arian nations, what was their
l common country, and what the condition of the parent nation as
civilization and its intellectual and religious culture before the separation
l branches. The first volume, relating to the ethnography, geography,
istory of the country, appeared in 1859; and the second, treating of the
zation, the social condition, and the intellectual, moral, and religious
s, was published in 1863.

[a]n has arisen; *a name, too, with which* Herodotus had become acquainted. To this word airya, another word, anairya, non-iranic, [was] opposed.

It is, however, established that this original Arian race, from [whi]ch, at a later period, the Indians and Persians separated themselves, [could n]ot have lived as one community either in India or in Persia. We [must] regard it as demonstrated that the Indians who spoke Sanskrit [were] not autochthonous in Hindustan. The oldest seats of the [Arian]s of which we find any mention made are to be placed in the [...]. In the First Fargard of the Vendidad, verse 73, a country Hapta Hendu, or India, is mentioned, which, in the Cuneiform [inscript]ions, is called by Hidus. It was not understood for a long time [what w]as signified by Hapta Hendu, Seven-Indias, *but* the Vedas [ex]plained this name. In the Vedic hymns we *find* the name [Sapta Si]ndhavas, the seven rivers, still employed *to designate* the [land o]f the Indians.[74] From the Panjāb, the *Indians, as* their later [...]ify, advanced further towards the east; *first, as* far as the [...], after which, they spread themselves *over the* whole of India; and only at a late period into *the south* of the [...]. The Persian legends [illegible] conduct us with *the same* distinct- [...]meval country [illegible] north; [illegible] [sh]ortly have to [retu]rn to this question, *and inquire* what [...]eval seats of the Persians. In the mean *time, I revert* to [illegible] this [illegible] have to adduce is, *the coincidences* [illegible] mythologies of *the two nations.* [illegible] proceeds, pp. 6, ff.:—"We have [illegible] branches of the Arian *family had but* [illegible] with theology. The *most widely* [illegible] designation of God as '*the shining,*' is [illegible] or 'dyu,' 'to shine.' *From this, the* [illegible] 'deus,' and also the Lithuanian '*dievas,' the* [illegible] the same root, but from '*Diespiter.*' [illegible] a somewhat different [illegible] '*Con*[illegible] *what* [illegible] are only to be fo[und] [illegible] *between* [illegible] p. 66, note 3.

[illegible] Professor Spiegel [illegible] different [illegible] connected [illegible] general [illegible] de[illegible] root, 'div[illegible]' the Lat[in] [illegible] the Greek Z[illegible] belongs to [illegible] [pres]ently discover [illegible] [philo]logical affinit[y] [illegible] [S]piegel, Avesta, vol. [illegible]

particular branches of the Indo-Germanic family, as between th
Greeks and Romans, and especially between the Indians an
Persians. A number of personages found in the Veda correspond i
name with others in the Avesta, and must originally have been com
pletely identical, though in the course of events, it has naturall
occurred that this similarity has become more or less effaced. On
personage whose identity was the first to attract attention, is th
Yama of the Indians [the son of Vivasvat], the Yima of the Persian
[who is the son of Vivanhvant]. In the Vedas and Upanishads w
already meet with Yama as the king of the dead. He inhabits
particular world, where he has assembled the immortals around hi
Among the ancient Indians his world is not a place of terrors, but i
expanses are full of light, and the abodes of happiness, pleasure, a
rapture.[75] In Irân, Yima is a fortunate monarch, under whose ru
there was neither death nor sickness. After he has for some time co
tinued to diffuse happiness and immortality, he is obliged to withdra
with his attendants to a more contracted space, on account of t
calamities which threaten the world. Here lies, according to my vie
the point of connexion between the two legends. The Indian regar
Yama simply as the king of the dead, or, at least, of the blessed: t
Persian limits the number of the blessed to a determinate numb
who are selected to live with Yima.

"A second renowned personage in the Persian heroic poetry, w
also occurs in the Vedas, is Thraêtaŏno, the descendant of Athwy
the Frēdun, or Feridun of a later period, with whom the Trita of t
Veda is connected. Trita is the son of Âptya, and, according *to* t
Vedic accounts, he fights with a serpent, and smites a three-hea
dragon with seven tails, and liberates the cattle. Quite similar
Thraêtaŏno destroys a pestilent serpent with three heads, three gird
six tails, and a thousand powers.

"A third personage, who can be pointed out in both the Ind
and Persian mythology, is Sāma Kereśāśpa, the man of heroic temp
and the same as the Kṛiśaśva of the Indians, who, it is true, has
yet been discovered in the Veda, but who was known to the Ind

[75] See R.V. ix. 113, 7-11, quoted by Roth in the Journal of the German Ori
Society, iv. 426, ff. The original passage will be given in the App. note E.

[illegible]ammarian Pāṇini, and is frequently named in the Purāṇas as a war-[illegible]ike Rishi. (Rāmāy. i. 23, 12, Schleg.; i. 31, 10, Gorres.)

[illegible]or "To these three personages may now be added a fourth, Kava Uś, [illegible]a the Kāvya Uśanas of the Vedas. This is the person called Kāus at a later period in the Persian legends. Unfortunately, the stories of Kava Uś are so few and so brief, that I can scarcely venture to indicate their connexion more in detail. (See Weber Vāja.-S. Spec. II. [illegible]8, note.)

"In addition to this identity of personages, we find also that the Indians and Persians have some important ceremonies in common. We shall here only mention two, though a closer examination of the Persian liturgy will no doubt bring others to light. The first is the Soma or Homa offering. (See also vol. ii. of Spiegel's Avesta, p. 69.) [illegible] both the Indian and the Persian religions, soma, or haŏma, which is [illegible]tical with it, is the name of a plant, the juice of which is pressed and drunk, with certain religious forms; and in both religions [illegible] is also a god.' The Soma and Haoma have also a great number of [illegible]ets common to them, and clearly show how short a period had [illegible] since the Persian and Indian adherents of this worship had [illegible] separated from each other. [illegible] also at least one of their deities in [illegible] Indians and Persians [illegible], viz., Mitra. [illegible] (says Dr. F. Windischmann, Mithra, pp. 54, 56, [illegible]) [illegible] the Veda, occurs as the son of Aditi (boundless space), and stands almost always inseparably [illegible] with Varuṇa [illegible] belong to a race of gods who [illegible] disappearing [illegible] the light, a portion of his functions is to be [illegible] In the sky [illegible] while Varuṇa is the nocturnal sky. The connexion [illegible] of Mitra with the sun [illegible] is analogous to that of Mithra and [illegible] essential points of [illegible] resemblance he is represented in the [illegible] Vedic Mitra, [illegible] of Zoroastrian origin [illegible] national god of the Arya-[illegible] [illegible] understood of the sun, he appears, in R. V. [illegible] 36, 4, [illegible]

[illegible]chmann, Ueber den Somacultus der Arier: and [illegible]

and elsewhere, along with Mitra and Varuṇa. His name signifie companion or friend, and he also occurs in the Zend texts."[77]

I proceed with my quotation from Professor Spiegel's Introduction i. 8: Secondly, "The reception of neophytes into the sacred societ is performed among both peoples, the Persians and the Indians, b investing them with a girdle or thread. In the case of a Brāhma the investiture is to be performed in the eighth year after his birt or conception, in the case of a Kshatriya in the eleventh, and of Vaiśya in the twelfth. But the period of investiture for a Brāhma has not finally expired till his sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya till h twenty-second, or for a Vaiśya till his twenty-fourth.[78] After t investiture, the teacher is to instruct the pupil in reading the Veda and in the rites of purification. (Manu, ii. 69; Yājñavalkya, i. 15 Up to his seventh year the Parsee is incapable of doing any evil; a if he does anything wrong, the blame of it falls on his parents. India he is invested with the Kosti or sacred girdle in his seven

[77] Professor Spiegel, in his note to the 22nd Fargard, vol. i. p. 266, says of t last-named god,—"It is to be lamented that the god who is here designated by t name of Airyama occurs but seldom, and is but briefly noticed in the Avesta; for is unquestionably the ancient Indo-Germanic deity, who is mentioned in the Ve under the name of Aryaman;" but subsequently, on maturer consideration, retrac this opinion. In Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. i. 131, ff., says: "I have in my note on Vend. xxii. 23 (p. 266), regarded the Airyama of last chapter as the Vedic Aryaman. This comparison is only in part correct. I true that, letter for letter, Airyama is the Sanskrit Aryaman, and therefore the p netic affinity cannot be doubted. It does not, however, follow that the significa must therefore be the same. If, as is supposed by many, the Iranians had is from the bosom of the Indian people, if the entire culture of the Indians, as exhib in the Vedas, had been the basis of theirs, this assumption would be less questiona But according to my view such is not the case, but the separation of the two na took place before (though, perhaps, not long before) the Vedic period. The que thus arises whether—supposing both nations to have already had the word Arya —we are to assume that the conception of the god Aryaman had been already for The word occurs in several places in the second part of the Yaśna, where, how the context does not justify us in explaining it as a proper name." Spiegel goes on to state his opinion that in the last chapter of the Vendidad Airyama i to be understood of a god, but merely as denoting a particular prayer in which word occurs, and which Ahura Mazda discovers to be more efficacious in h sickness than another sacred text to which he had first had recourse.

[78] Aśvalāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra, i. 20:—*Ashṭame varshe brāhmaṇam upa garbhāshṭame vā | ekādaśe kshatriyam dvādaśe vaiśyam | ā shoḍaśād brāhma anatītaḥ kālaḥ ā dvāviṁśāt kshatriyasya ā chaturviṁśād vaiśyasya—ataḥ ūrdh patita-sāvitrīkāḥ bhavanti |*

...ar; among the Parsees who live in Kirman, the ceremony is post-
...ed till the tenth year. From the seventh to the tenth year, half
...blame of the offences which the child commits falls upon his
...ts. With his tenth year the boy, according to the view of the
..., enters formally into the community of the Parsees; according
...books, the fifteenth year appears to be that in which he is
...into religious fellowship.

...hese traces of a common development which we have just
...t between the Indians and the Persians have their origin,
...n a pre-historical period, when both nations lived together.
Traces can also be discovered which lead to the conclusion
...ration of these two races was occasioned, in part at least,
...auses.[79] Even if it have been accidental that Ahura, the
...f the Persians, was, under the designation of Asura,[80]
... the evil spirits by the later Indians, it can scarcely have
...nce that the Devas of the Indians have, under the
...een transformed into evil spirits and allies of Angra
...ra, the highest god of the earliest Hinduism, is, in
...shed to hell; and that Sarva occurs as an evil
...dians have considered this name worthy to be a
...a.[81] one of the three highest deities of the later
The conjecture is therefore not unnatural

...e, however, Professor Spiegel adds, on this subject,
In the first volume I have alluded to a religious al...
...tance is not to be ascribed to this view, and no a...
...be built upon it. Even without the assumption...
...uite conceivable how gods, who were held in hon...
...graded to the infernal regions by the other...
...n to the assumption of an actual alienation betw...
...g account of their religious conceptions, the f...
...rites in the ...ns is not inconsiderable," pp. ...
...re-religion introduction to his Handbook of ...
...doctrine derived from the primeval ...
...ties, which (of Zaratushtra), and its ...
...ājñā, 'wisdom,' Christianity thrust down into ...
...dic Sanskrit; it in the Nighaṇṭus. The ...
Compare my ... means sarveshām pra...
...or 1866, p. 376, ff., article "On the Interpr...
...lume of this work, p. 121, and Böhtlingk and R...
... where it is

that religious differences may have been one of the grounds of separation. Still, even after their separation, the Indians and Persians did not remain without some knowledge of each other's progress. They were not too far separated to render this possible; and the Vendidad (i. 74) still shows an acquaintance with India under the name of Hapta-Hendu, i.e. Sapta Sindhavaḥ, the land of the seven rivers, which was a designation of the Vedic India."

On the same subject Professor Müller remarks: "Still more striking is the similarity between Persia and India in religion and mythology. Gods unknown to any Indo-European nation are worshipped under the same names in Sanskrit and Zend; and the change of some of the most sacred expressions in Sanskrit into names of evil spirits in Zend only serves to strengthen the conviction that we have here the usual traces of a schism which separated a community that had once been united." (Last Results of Persian Researches, p. 112; "Chips," i. 83.)

From the three-fold argument above stated,—drawn (1st) from the striking similarity between the Sanskrit and Zend, (2nd) from the common name of Ârya, applied to themselves by both the Indian and the Iranians, and (3rd) from the coincidences between the religio and mythology of these two nations,—I conceive that a powerful con firmation is derived to the conclusion which I have been endeavourin to establish, namely, the common origin of all the nations to whic the name of Indo-European has been applied. If even from phil logical considerations alone we are entitled to assume the descent the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans, from the same comm ancestors, our general conclusion is greatly strengthened when we c (in the case of two of these nations) add to the arguments found on language, the further evidence derivable from community of na and, to a certain extent, of tradition and of mythology.

authority of Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books ar sufficient to afford a basis for any positive conclusions in reference to the god Ar and his relation to the Vedic Indra. See also the note in the same page.

SECT. VI.-

As we h
that the Sa
all have ha
these sever
great fami
ent branch
country:—
First, ther
and did th
from Hin
abodes? or
from whic
directions
Mr. A.
India was
different b
The opi
soil of Ind
imposing
rejected b
on no well
opposed to
philology
destitute
institution
of an ear
sprung fr
Śakas, Hi
vaded Ind
hills and
Review
the Arian
could not
people wh

[53] Jo

Arians of India;—such descent being proved by the fact that the oldest forms of their language have been derived from the Sanskrit (to which they stand in a relation analogous to that in which the Pāli and Prākrit stand), and by the circumstance that a portion of their mythology is borrowed from that of the Indo-Arians. Nor (2) could the Arians, in his opinion, have entered India from the north or north-west, because we have no proof from history or philology that there existed any civilized nation with a language and religion resembling theirs which could have issued from either of those quarters at that early period and have created the Indo-Arian civilization. It was equally impossible (3) that the Arians could have arrived in India from the east, as the only people who occupied the countries lying in that direction (the Chinese) are quite different in respect of language, religion, and customs from the Indians, and have no genealogical relations with them. In like manner (4) the Indians could not have issued from the table-land of Thibet in the north-east, as, independently of the great physical barrier of the Himālaya, the same ethnical difficulty applies to this hypothesis as to that of their Chinese origin And (5) the Indians cannot be of Semitic or Egyptian descent, because the Sanskrit contains no words of Semitic origin, and differs totally i structure from the Semitic dialects, with which, on the contrary, th language of Egypt appears, rather, to exhibit an affinity. And (6) "n monuments, no records, no tradition of the Arians having ever orig nally occupied, as Arians, any other seat than the plains to the south west of the Himalayan chain, bounded by the two seas defined by Ma (memorials such as exist in the histories of other nations who are know to have migrated from their primitive abodes), can be found in India Mr. Curzon (7) regards as illogical the inference, that because t Arians spread at an early period to the south of India, as they did a to the west and north-west, they must have originally issued from so unknown region to invade and conquer India itself. In the same w he urges, it might be argued that the Romans invaded Italy from so unascertained quarter (instead of springing from one region of Ital because they extended their dominion to the south, as well as in ot directions. In explanation of their movements, he quotes the pass of Manu, ii. 17, ff. (which will be hereafter given at length), assumes, in accordance with the indications which it affords, that

that the migrations in a westerly and north-westerly direction which terminated in the extension of the Arian tongue over the geographical zone," [including Ariana, Persia, Armenia, Phrygia, Greece, Italy, Germany, etc. etc.], which he had "pointed out, took place."

I have stated the opinion of Mr. Curzon on this question, together with his arguments, in considerable detail, as it represents the view to which the Indian reader will, no doubt, incline as the most reasonable (see above, p. 259); and it is therefore only fair that all that can be urged in its behalf should be fully stated.

Before discussing Mr. Curzon's hypothesis, I shall adduce the statement given by Mr. Elphinstone (History of India, vol. i., p. 95, ff., 1st edition) on the same subject. It will be seen that after reviewing the arguments on both sides, this distinguished author leaves it undecided whether the Hindus sprang from a country external to Hindustan, or were autochthonous.

"On looking back to the information collected from the Code [of Manu] we observe the three twice-born classes forming the whole community embraced by the law, and the Sudras in a servile and degraded condition. Yet it appears that there are cities governed by Sudra kings, in which Brahmins are advised not to reside (chap. iv. 61), and that there are 'whole territories inhabited by Sudras overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Brahmins' (chap. viii. 22). The three twice-born classes are directed invariably to dwell in the country between the Himawat and the Vindya Mountains, from the eastern to the western ocean. But though the three chief classes are confined to this tract, a Sudra distressed for subsistence may dwe where he chooses (chap. ii. 21–24). It seems impossible not to con clude from all this that the twice-born men were a conquering peopl that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the i dependent Sudra towns were in such of the small territories, in which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independen while the whole of the tract beyond the Vindya Mountains remain as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religi A doubt, however, soon suggests itself whether the conquerors we a foreign people, or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the nati states (a religious sect, for instance) which had outstripped th

"The question, therefore, is still open. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the Hindus ever inhabited any country but their present one; and as little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions." [84]

Mr. Elphinstone then proceeds to explain how he thinks castes may have originated.

SECT. VII.—*Central Asia the cradle of the Arians: opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet.*

These views of Mr. Curzon, of which I have given a summary in the preceding section, are opposed to the general consent of Europea scholars. A. W. von Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber, Roth Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet, however differing on other points, a concur in this, that the cradle of the Indians, as well as of the othe branches of the Indo-Germanic race, is to be sought for in som country external to India.

I shall proceed to give some extracts from the writings of the eminent authors; and shall finish with a summary of the argumen which seem to carry most weight in favour of the conclusion whi they have adopted.

The first authority whom I shall cite is A. W. von Schlegel, wh in an essay "On the Origin of the Hindus," [85] systematically discus the question under consideration in all its bearing. He treats of migratory movements of ancient nations, of the traditions of Hindus regarding their own origin, of the diversities of races, of physiological character of the Hindus and of the indigenous Ind tribes, of the bearing of comparative philology on the history nations, on the relations of the Arian languages to each other, finally deduces the results to which he is led by the convergenc all these various lines of investigation. As I have already tre at length of some of these subjects, I shall only cite two pass the first of which furnishes a reply to Mr. Curzon's argument ag

[84] See Appendix, note G.

[85] *De l'Origine des Hindous*, published originally in the second volume o Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, London, 1834; and reprinted i *Essais Littéraires et Historiques*, Bonn, 1842.

of the Hindus from any foreign region, drawn from
national tradition to that effect. It is as follows :—
into the birth-place of any people, and into the route
period at which, they have travelled to their present
urally tempted, first of all, to interrogate the popular
points : but if we do so, it may easily happen that
t all, or a false one, will be obtained. An illiterate
f writing, which has adopted a stationary life, after
us migration, might, after a few centuries, easily lose
its change of habitation : or, if certain vestiges of
re preserved, it might be impossible for a people
indicate with precision the point of departure ;
general knowledge of the shape of continents
necessary. It has often happened that tribes
ve emigrated, either impelled by necessity, or
ul neighbour. The utmost that such tribes could
ect their journey with tolerable exactness according
l points : shaping their course so as to avoid
ies which might arise, they would suffer themselves
ance ; and their only measure of distance would
duration of their march." (Essais, p. 444.)
the passage in which Schlegel sums up the result

nd it is my conviction that the more deeply the
ed the more indubitable will the conclusion appear
f the [Indo-European] languages from one common
inference that the nations who spoke them also
mon stock ; that their ancestors, at a certain epoch
e nation, which became divided and subdivided
ded ;—the question naturally arises, what was the
at parent nation ? It is nowise probable that the
have peopled so large a part of the globe should
its southern extremity, and have been constantly
point towards the north-west. On the contrary
s to persuade us that the colonies set out from
vergent directions. According to this supposition
h the colonists would have to traverse up to the

time of their definitive establishment, become less immense; th
vicissitudes of climate to which they were exposed, become less abrupt
and many of the emigrant tribes would thus make an advantageou
exchange, as regards fertility of soil and the temperature of the ai
And where is this central country to be sought for, if not in th
interior of the great continent, in the neighbourhood, and to the ea
of the Caspian Sea? It may perhaps be objected that the countr
in question is now occupied by people of a different race: but to ho
many countries has it not happened to undergo a total change of the
inhabitants? The prolific parent-country of so many swarms of e
patriated colonists might, from that very circumstance, be convert
into a desert. . . . It is probable that, since the commenceme
of history, the nature of this country has changed, and that in form
times it was more favourable than now to agriculture and to pop
lation. According to my hypothesis, then, the ancestors of t
Persians and Hindus must have emigrated from their early se
towards the south-west and the south-east; and the forefathers of t
European nations towards the west and the north. . . . I conce
that the tribes which migrated towards Europe followed two gr
routes; the one along the northern shores of the Black Sea; wh
the other traversed Asia Minor, and crossed the Ægean Sea, or t
Hellespont, Thrace, Illyria, and the Adriatic. It was indubita
by this latter route that Greece and Italy received their colonist
(Essais, p. 514-517.)

Professor Lassen also decides against the hypothesis that India
the birth-place of the Indo-European races. He says:—[86]

"It is, as we have seen, a result of modern investigation that
ancient language of the Indians is so intimately related to those of
other Indo-Germanic nations as to establish the original unity bot
these languages and nations. We are therefore driven to the con
sion either—1st, that the Indians migrated to India from some o
primeval seat; or, 2nd, that all the kindred Indo-Germanic na
had their origin in India. The following considerations determin
to decide in favour of the former of these alternatives.

"It would, first, be an improbable supposition that the na
which are now so widely extended should have been derived from

[86] *Indian Antiquities*, first edition, p. 512, ff.; second edition, p. 613.

remotest member of the entire series. Their
sought, if not in the very centre, at all events
render a diffusion towards the different regions
This condition is not well fulfilled by supp
point of departure. Secondly, none of the ph
toms, or ideas observable among the other c
an Indian origin. Of the countries which v
by the great Indo-Germanic family, India
and differed the most widely from the other
unaccountable that no trace of these Indian I
been preserved by any Celtic race in later
originally dwelt in India. Among the names
which are common to all these nations there i
to India.[87] The most widely diffused word
(*yava*) denotes not rice, but barley. Thirdly
question, the manner in which India is ge
among the different nations by which it is c
portance. The diffusion of the Arians towards
conclusion that they came from the north-we
the north of the Vindhya, probably from the
Jumna, and the eastern part of the Punjab.
east, between the Himālaya and the Vindhya,
countries as their earlier seats. We find, mo
the Arians, in their advance from the nort
asunder the earlier population of Hindustan,
of it towards the northern, and another portic
hills. Further, we cannot assume that the Ar
earlier inhabitants who were pushed aside; fc
Dekhan, like those of the Vindhya range, app
and retiring party, who were driven back by
ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of l
forward through the midst of an earlier Aria
which they eventually occupied in the cent
on the contrary, everything speaks in favo

87 [This circumstance, however, might be accoun
(Modern Investigations on Ancient India, p. 10), by th
the plants and animals being unknown in western coun

originally settled in those tracts where we find them at a later period, and of their having once occupied a more extensive territory. These non-Arians were in fact feebler races, like the Australian negroes of the Archipelago and the red men of America. The Arians, on the other hand, were a more perfectly organized, enterprising, and creative people, and were consequently the more recent; just as the earth has at a later period produced the more perfect classes of plants and animals. Finally, the same thing is shown by the political relation of the two branches of the population. The Arians take up for themselves, i.e. for the three highest castes, a position of the most complete contrast to the aboriginal tribes, first of all by the name of Ârya, and next by their prerogatives; for the name of 'dvija,' 'twice-born,' with the higher rank connected with it, is the exclusive designation of the three upper classes. The Arians in this way mark themselves out as the superior and conquering race. In confirmation of this we can also adduce an outward mark, that of complexion. The word for caste in Sanskrit (varṇa) originally signified 'colour.' The castes therefore were distinguished by their complexion. But, as is well known, the Brahmans have a fairer colour than the Sūdras and Chaṇḍālas; and the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who were also Arians, must have participated in the same fair complexion. We are thus led to the conclusion, which would be deducible even from the affinity of language, that the Arian Indians originally distinguished themselves as white men from the dark aborigines; and this accords with the assumption that they came from a more northern country."

That the Arians were not autochthonous in India, but came from some country to the north, is also the opinion of Professor Max Müller.

"At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himālaya southward toward the 'Seven Rivers' (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and ever since India has been called their home. That before this time they had been living in more northern regions, within the same precincts with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Italians, Slavonians, Germans, and Celts, is a fact as firmly established as that the Normans of William the Conqueror were the Northmen of Scandinavia. The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods." . . .

could have pushed themselves forward into the midst of the Arian Indians at a period when the latter had attained to the height of their social and political development; and yet it is at this very period that we already find mention made of several of these barbarous races. We are therefore compelled to recognize the latter as being the earlier inhabitants of the Dekhan, who were reduced to subjection by the arms of the Sanskrit-speaking race, and either incorporated into their community as a servile caste, or driven back into the recesses of the mountains."—Indien,[88] p. 9. In p. 12, the same author proceeds: "From the foregoing sections it appears that the Sanskrit-speaking people, who called themselves Aryas and Viśes, can be shown to have immigrated from foreign regions into their new abodes. It can be positively demonstrated that they once formed one nation, spoke one speech, and possessed the same civilization, with the races who are allied to them by language, viz., the Aryas properly so called (i.e. the Iranians), the Greeks, Latins, etc. It is scarcely to be doubted that the theatre of this early union was one of the countries of Asia; but the time is so far antecedent to the dawn of history, and so many commotions, migrations, and so forth, must have swept over the region which they formerly occupied, that every trace which the Sanskrit-speaking race might have left of their residence there has been obliterated."

The following remarks of Professor Spiegel (Introduction to Avesta, vol. ii., pp. cvi. ff.) will serve as an answer to Mr. Curzon's allegation that the language and mythology of the Persians are derived from those of India: "Though it is universally admitted that a primeval country is to be assumed, where the Arians lived in pre-historical times as one people, and from which they gradually migrated; and although it is allowed that the Indians and Iranians must have dwelt together for a length of time in this, or in some other adjacent country, even after the separation of the other branches; still it is by no means clear what should be regarded as that primeval country. Agreeably to Mr. Curzon's assumption, India was the fatherland of the Indo-Germanic races. From that country the individual branches of that stock migrated westwards, and last of all the Iranians, who continued to dwell in the immediate vicinity of their original country, which

88 In Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia (German).

in fact the view of a scholar who is very familiar with this branch of study, Professor Max Müller.[90]

[90] "Last Results of the Persian Researches," p. 112, reprinted in "Chips," i. 86. "If regarded from a Vaidik point of view, . . . the gods of the Zoroastrians come out once more as mere reflexions of the primitive and authentic gods of the Vedas. It can now be proved, even by geographical evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia. I say the Zoroastrians, for we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertion of the nations of Media and Persia in general. That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vaidik period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. The geographical traditions in the First Fargard of the Vendidad do not interfere with this opinion. If ancient and genuine, they would embody a remembrance preserved by the Zoroastrians, but forgotten by the Vaidik poets—a remembrance of times previous to their first common descent into the country of the Seven Rivers. If of later origin, and this is more likely, they may represent a geographical conception of the Zoroastrians after they had become acquainted with a larger sphere of countries and nations, subsequent to their emigration from the land of the Seven Rivers." [In the reprint in "Chips," the following note is added: "The purely mythological character of this geographical chapter has been proved by M. Michel Bréal, Journal Asiatique, 1862."] The same opinion is repeated by Professor Müller in his Lectures on the Science of Language, i. 235 (1st edit.): "The Zoroastrians were a colony from northern India. They had been together for a time with the people whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place and the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Arachosia and Persia. . . . They gave to the new cities, and to the rivers along which they settled, the names of cities and rivers familiar to them, and reminding them of the localities which they had left. Now as a Persian *h* points to a Sanskrit *s*, Harôyu would be in Sanskrit Saroyu. One of the sacred rivers of India, a river mentioned in the Veda, ... has the name of *Sarayu*, the modern Sardju." On this point Mr. Rawlinson coincides with Professor Müller. In the Third Essay appended to the first volume of his Herodotus, p. 403, he thus writes: "The great migration of the Arian race westward from beyond the Indus, simultaneous probably with the movement of a kindred people, the progenitors of the modern Hindoos, eastward and southward to the Ganges, and the Vindhya mountain-range, is an event of which the most sceptical criticism need not doubt, remote though it be, and obscurely seen through the long vista of intervening centuries." From a later part of the same volume, however, Essay xi. p. 669, it clearly appears that Mr. Rawlinson does not regard the country east of the Indus as the earliest abode of the Arians, and that this migration of the Arians westward was, in his opinion, one which followed their original migration from the west to the east: "The Eastern or Arian migration, whereby an Indo-European race became settled upon the Indus, is involved in complete obscurity. We have indeed nothing but the evidence of comparative philology on which distinctly to ground the belief, that there was a time when the ancestors of the Pelasgian, Lydo-Phrygian, Lycian, Thracian, Sarmatian, Teutonic, and Arian races dwelt together, the common possessors of a single language. The evidence thus furnished is, however, conclusive, and compels us to derive the various and scattered nations above enumerated from a single ethnic stock, and to assign them at some time or other a single locality. In

languages do not necessitate the assumption that the ancient Bactrian language has passed through the Vedic Sanskrit, so neither is this view forced upon us by the contents of the Avesta. Reference has, indeed, been made to the points of contact between the legends, and even between the manners and customs exhibited in the Veda and the Avesta. But the few particulars which recur in the Vedas cannot b set against the far larger number of which there is no trace the Similar common legends have been discovered in the Greek mytholo and yet it has never been imagined by any one that the ancient Gree must have believed in the Vedas. We are therefore warranted in supposing that in the old Bactrian language and literature we possess the monuments of a people, who certainly lived together with the Indians longer than any of the other kindred races, and have therefore a certain number of religious and other conceptions common to them with the former. But these common elements are so insignificant when compared with those which are of peculiarly Iranian growth, that we are justified in regarding the language and literature as independent Iranian productions. How, and by what causes the separation of the Iranians from the Indians was occasioned, is a point which, owing to our want of information on that early period, can no longer be certainly determined. . . . Among the grounds of it I have (in the first volume, p. 9) referred to a religious alienation between the two nations, but too great importance should not be assigned to this view. Even without assuming any such alienation, it is conceivable that gods who were honoured by the one people, might be degraded to hell by the other.[92] . . . That which gives probability to the idea of an actual alienation between the Indians and Iranians on religious grounds, is the number of such opposing conceptions.

"We must accordingly maintain that the Indians and Iranians have each gone through their own proper development apart from the others. Any points of coincidence between the two must thus be referred to the early pre-Vedic period, not to the era of the special development of either of the two peoples. None of the common features which I have referred to in vol. i. (see above, p. 293, ff.) are of such a characte as to make it at all necessary for us to suppose the country borderin on the Indus to have been the scene of their origination. An origi

[92] See Appendix, note I.

I shall not attempt to follow the course of M. Pictet's multifarious investigations and reasonings, or to pass any judgment on his particular deductions; but shall content myself with extracting his account of the general results to which he has been conducted.

"By consulting successively national appellations, traditions, geography, philology, and ethnography, we have arrived at the following conclusions:—The Arian people, as they called themselves in opposition to the barbarian, must have occupied a region, of which Bactria may be regarded as the centre. This is the conclusion to which we are at once led by merely comparing the directions followed by the swarms of men who issued from this centre, and which all radiated from it as a point of departure. The geographical configuration of this portion of Asia completely confirms this first induction; for the only possible outlets through which the population could issue occur at the very points where the principal currents of emigration have actually flowed, if we may judge by the ultimate positions of the Arian people, and the scattered traditions which they have preserved of their origin." . .

"We may presume (1) from the order and direction of the migrations which determined the ultimate positions of the Arian races; (2) from the traces of their ancient names, left by the several nations along the routes which they must have followed; and (3) from the more special affinities which connect together the different groups of Arian languages; that the primitive Ariana, at the period of its greatest extension, must have embraced nearly the whole of the region situated between the Hindu-kush, Belurtagh, the Oxus, and the Caspian Sea; and, perhaps, extended a good way into Sogdiana, towards the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. I do not mean that Ariana then formed one strongly constituted state. It is much more probable that it was at that time partitioned among distinct tribes, united solely by the general bond of race, by similarity of manners and language, by a common stock of beliefs and traditions, and by a sentiment of natural brotherhood. This is to be inferred, both from the topographical character of the country and from the successive emigrations which must have followed each other at considerable intervals. I have attempted ... of the state of material civilization, the social condition, the intellectual, moral, and religious life of this primitive people, before it was broken up into different nations." (p. 294, note.)

to accomplish down to the period of the definitive establishment of their descendants in the immense tracts which they occupied."

I shall now attempt briefly to sum up the arguments in favour of the conclusion, that the Indo-Arians were not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindustan from Central Asia.

Mr. Curzon entertains, as we have seen, a different opinion, *which he* grounds on the assumption that the languages, *as well as the* mythologies, both of the Persians, and also of the Greeks and Latins, *are derived from India*. We have already seen (p. 259, *ff.*) how untenable the notion is that the Greek and Latin languages could have *been derived* from Sanskrit; and the points of coincidence between the Greek, the Italian, and the Indian mythologies are too few and too remote to justify the idea of their derivation from the Indo-Arians, at any period nearly so recent as the hypothesis would require. I am not prepared to pronounce it altogether inconceivable that the Greek and Latin races could have emigrated from India within any period short of 1500 years B.C., without distinct traces of this migration being discoverable in their own literature, or in that of other nations; for, as we have already seen (p. 307), the traces of such movements may soon disappear from the traditions of an illiterate people. But if the languages and religions of Greece and Italy be not derived from those of India, there is no ground for this hypothesis. And any emigration from India at an earlier period than that indicated appears to be improbable. Fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, India, if (as it no doubt was) already occupied by the Indo-Arians, must, at all events, have been very thinly peopled. The Âryas had not, at that period, extended themselves beyond the north-west quarter of India.[94] Large tracts both to the east and west of the Ganges, and to the north of the Vindhya range, must then have been still uncultivated. While such facilities remained for the occupation of new territory for the purposes of agriculture or pasturage, in their own immediate neighbourhood, it does not appear what sufficient motive could have existed to impel any branch of the small Arian population to desert the fertile plains and the warm temperature of India (to which, by the hypothesis, they must have been long accustomed) for the rugged mountains and the

[94] This will be made evident by the details which I shall shortly adduce relative to their diffusion in Hindustan.

the anterior existence of one parent language, from which they all issued, and conduct us by probable inference to the conclusion that the several nations who spoke those separate dialects were all descended, though not, perhaps, without intermixture with other races, from the same common ancestors, who employed the parent-language in question, and formed one Arian nation inhabiting the same country. As the question where this country was situated cannot be decided by history, we are thrown back upon speculation; and we are therefore led to inquire what that region was which by its position was most likely to have formed the point of departure from which nations situated in the opposite quarters ultimately occupied by the Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, and the Slavonians, must have issued in order to reach their several abodes by the most easy and natural routes. The point of departure which best satisfies this condition is, in the opinion of the eminent writers whom I have cited, some region of Central Asia, lying to the north-west of India. We may, therefore, place the cradle of the Arians in or near Bactria.

Sect. VIII.—*On the National Traditions of the Indians regarding the[ir] own Original Country.*

I shall now inquire whether there are any data to be found amon[g] the traditions of the Indians or the Persians, from which we can deri[ve] any confirmation of the conclusion to which we have been led by oth[er] considerations. I must, however, begin with a candid admission th[at,] so far as I know, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancie[nt,] contain any distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of [the] Indians. This does not, perhaps, afford any just ground of surpr[ise.] The Vedic hymns themselves do not carry us back to the first age[s of] the nation, but contain allusions to personages and events of a [much] earlier date. The past history of their race is very liable to be [for]gotten by an unlettered people, as is remarked by Schlegel, in [the] passage quoted above, p. 307; and any traditions which may at [one] time have existed of the early Arian migrations might very e[asily] have been overgrown and effaced by the luxuriant harvest of legen[dary] inventions for which India has been remarkable from the earliest [times.] This process of obscuration is distinctly traceable in other par[ts]

Second. In the allusions made to the Uttara (or northern) Kurus in the Indian books, there may be some reminiscence of an early connexion with the countries to the north of the Himālaya. The following passage from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, viii. 14 (quoted by Weber, Indische Studien, i. 218), contains the oldest reference to this people of which I am aware:—*Tasmād etasyām udīchyām diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ janapadāḥ "Uttarakuravaḥ Uttaramadrāḥ" iti vairājyāy te 'bhishichyante | "virāṭ" ity etān abhishiktān āchakshate* | "Wherefo in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the Him [called] the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras are consecrated to glorious rule (*vairājya*). Those who are consecrated are called *virāṭ*."

The following quotation from another part of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, viii. 23, will, however, show that even at the early period when that work was composed, the country of the Uttara Kurus had come to be regarded as belonging to the domain of mythology: *Etam ha vai Aindram mahābhishekaṁ Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyo 'tyarātaye Jānantapaye provācha* | *tasmād u Atyarātir Jānantapir arājā san vidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya* | *sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "ajaishīr vai samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīm* | *mahan mā gamaya" iti* | *Sa ha uvācha Atyarātir Jānantapir "yadā brāhmaṇa Uttarakurūn jayeyam atha tvam u ha eva pṛithivyai rājā syāḥ senāpatir eva te 'haṁ syām" iti* | *Sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "devakshetraṁ vai tad na vai tad martyo jetum arhati* | *adruksho vai me ā 'taḥ idaṁ dade" iti* | *tato ha Atyarātiṁ Jānantapim āttavīryaṁ niḥśukram amitratapano S'ushminaḥ S'aivyo jaghāna* | *tasmād evaṁvidushe brāhmaṇāya evaṁchakrushe na kshatriyo druhyed na id rāshṭrād avapadyeyad na id vāmaprāṇo jahat* | "Sātyahavya of the race of Vasishṭha declared this great inauguration, similar to Indra's, to Atyarāti, son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyarāti, who was not a king, by [that] knowledge traversed the whole earth round, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the whole earth round: exalt me now to greatness.' Atyarāti replied, 'When, O Brāhman, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, then thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.' Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the land of the gods; no

not so distinctly convey the same sense; and would leave it doubtful whether the writer intended to represent Manu as having crossed the Himālaya from the northward.

country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city (Sabhā Parva, verses 1045, ff.): *Pārtha nedaṁ tvayā śakyam puraṁ jetuṁ kathanchana | . . . idam puraṁ yaḥ praviśed dhruvaṁ na sa bhaved naraḥ | . . . na chātra kinchij jetavyam Arjunātra pradṛiśyate | Uttarāḥ Kuravo hy ete nātra yuddham pravartate | pravishṭo 'pi hi Kaunteya neha drakshyasi kinchana | na hi mānusha-dehena śakyam atrābhivīkshitum* | "This city, O king, cannot in any way be subdued by thee. . . . He who enters this city must be more than mortal. . . . There is nothing to be beheld here, O Arjuna, which thou mayest conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, whom no one attempts to combat. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing; for here no one with a mortal body can see."

On this passage (part of which is a mere repetition of the Ait. Brāh. viii. 23) Professor Lassen remarks (in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, ii. 62): "At the furthest accessible extremity of the earth appears Harivarsha, with the northern Kurus. The region of Hari or Vishṇu belongs to the system of mythical geography; but the case is different with the Uttara Kurus. Here there is a real basis of geographical fact; of which fable has only taken advantage, without creating it. The Uttara Kurus were formerly quite independent of the mythical system of 'dvīpas,' though they were included in it at an early date." Again the same writer says at p. 65: "That the conception of the Uttara Kurus is based upon an actual country, and not on mere invention, is proved (1) by the way in which they are mentioned in the Vedas" [the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, as just quoted, p. 324]; "(2) by the existence of Uttara Kuru in historical times as a real country; and (3) by the way in which the legend makes mention of that region as the home of primitive customs. To begin with the last point, the Mahābhārata speaks as follows of the freer mode of life which women led in the early world, Book I verses 4719–22: *Anāvṛitāḥ kila purā striyaḥ āsan varānane | kām chāra-vihāriṇyaḥ svatantrāś chāruhāsini | tāsāṁ vyuchcharamāṇānā kaumārāt subhage patīn | nādharmo 'bhūd varārohe sa hi dharmaḥ pu 'bhavat | taṁ chaiva dharmam paurāṇaṁ tiryagyoni-gatāḥ prajāḥ adyāpy anuvidhīyante kāma-krodha-vivarjitāḥ | pramāṇa-drishṭo dhar 'yam pūjyate cha maharshibhiḥ | Uttareshu cha rambhoru Kurushv adyā*

when he referred to the Hyperboreans, who were fabled by Indian writers to live a thousand years.[101] In his Indian Antiquities (Ind. Alterthumskunde, 2nd ed., i. 612, f. and note) the same writer concludes that the descriptions given in such passages as those above cited relative to the Uttara Kurus are to be taken as pictures of an ideal paradise, and not as founded on any recollections of the northern origin of the Kurus. Still it is probable, he thinks, that some such reminiscences originally existed, and still survived in the Vedic era, though there is no trace of their existence in later times.

The sanctity of Kashmīr is thus celebrated in the Vana Parva of th Mahābhārata, verses 10,545–46: *Kāśmīra-maṇḍalaṁ chaitat sarva puṇyam arindama | maharshibhiś chādhyushitam paśyedam bhrātṛibhi saha | yatrauttarāṇāṁ sarveshām ṛishīṇāṁ Nāhushasya cha | Agn chaivātra saṁvādaḥ Kāśyapasya cha Bhārata |* "And this is th region of Kāśmīra, all-holy, and inhabited by great ṛishis: behold it along with thy brothers. It was here that the conversation of all th northern ṛishis with Nāhusha, as well as that of Agni and Kāśyapa occurred."

Fourth. In the Atharva-veda, v. 4, 1, the salutary plant "kushṭha is spoken of as growing on the other side of the Himālaya:—*Ud jāto Himavataḥ prāchyāṁ nīyase janam,* "Produced to the north of th Himavat, thou art carried to the people in the east." This referen may perhaps be held to imply that the contemporaries of the author this mantra had some acquaintance with the country on the other si of the great chain.

Fifth. In a passage of the Sānkhāyana or Kaushītakī-brāhma vii. 6 (cited by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 153, note, and alluded to Müller, "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," p. 340), it is ported that the north was resorted to at an early period for the purp of studying language, as it was best known in that region: *Path Svastir udīchīm diśam prājānāt | Vāg vai Pathyā Svastiḥ | tasm udīchyām diśi prajnātatarā vāg udyate | udanche u eva yanti vāch śikshitum | yo vā tataḥ āgachhati tasya vā śuśrūshante "iti sma āha esha hi vācho dik prajnātā |* "Pathyā Svasti (a goddess) knew

101 Zeitschrift, as above, ii. 67, and Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Indica, pp. 77, Περὶ δὲ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ ἄ μυθολόγοις.

5–9.—'I, Ahura-mazda created as the first, best region, Airy vaējo, in a state of excellence. Then Angra-mainyus, the destro formed in opposition to it, a great serpent, and winter [or snow], creation of the daēvas. There are there ten months of winter, and of summer.'

13, 14.—'I, Ahura-mazda, created as the second, best region, in which Sughdha is situated.'

[Here, and in most of the following cases, I omit the cou creations of Angra-mainyus.]

17, 18.—'I, etc., created as the third, best region, Mōuru, mighty, the holy.'

21, 22.—'I, etc., created as the fourth, best region, the fortu Bakhdhī, with the lofty banner.'

25, 26.—'I, etc., created as the fifth, best region Nisāi,' [situ between Mōuru and Bakhdhī.]

29, 30.—'I, etc., created as the sixth, best region, Harōyu, abo ing in houses [or water].'

33–36.—'I, etc., created as the seventh, best region, Vaēk where Dujak is situated. In opposition to it, Angra-mainyus destroyer, created the Pairika Khnathaiti, who clung to Kereśāspa

37, 38.—'I, etc., created as the eighth, best region, Urvā, f pastures.'

41, 42.—'I, etc., created as the ninth, best region, Khnĕnt which Vehrkāna lies.'

45, 46.—'I, etc., created as the tenth, best region, the fort Haraqaiti.'

49, 50.—'I, etc., created as the eleventh, best region, Haēt the rich and shining.'

59, 60.—'I, etc., created as the twelfth, best region, Raghā, three fortresses [or races].'

63, 44.—'I, etc., created as the thirteenth, best region, Cha the strong.'

67, 68.—'I, etc., created as the fourteenth, best region, V with four corners; to which was born Thraētaŏno, who slew th pent Dahāka.'

the only cultivated country, and that all other countries were waste. As it wa feared that the inhabitants of the waste would overrun Airyana-vaējo, other co also were made habitable by Ahura-mazda.

mankind in paradise, such as is represented in so many popular traditions."

"Airyana-vaējo," says Spiegel, "is to be placed in the furthest east of the Iranian plateau, in the region where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise."

The second country is Sogdiana; the third, Merv (the ancient Margiana); the fourth, Balkh (the ancient Bactria); the fifth, Nisa (the ancient Nisæa);[106] the sixth, Herat (the ancient Aria); the seventh is Kabul,[107] according to Spiegel, and Sejestan according to Burnouf, Lassen, and Haug; the eighth is Kabul, according to Haug and Lassen;[108] the ninth is Gurgān, according to Spiegel,[109] and Kandahār, according to Haug; the tenth is the Arachosia of the ancients; the eleventh is the valley of the Hilmend river; the twelfth is Rei in Media; the thirteenth and fourteenth are variously placed; the fifteenth is the country of the seven rivers (*Sapta-sindhavas*), or the Panjāb; and the sixteenth may, Haug thinks, be sought on the shores of the Caspian Sea.[110]

In regard to the age of the section under review, Dr. Haug remarks (p. 6): "The original document itself [as distinguished from certain additions which appear to have been interpolated in it] is certainly of high antiquity, and is undoubtedly one of the oldest of the pieces which compose the existing Vendidad. But in the form in which it lies before us (even after striking out the late interpolations) it is decidedly subsequent to Zarathustra; and later than the so-called 'Gāthās,' in which, for the most part, the genuine sayings and doctrines

[106] Spiegel says that in the writings on the geography of this section, the position of this country has been much disputed. Comm. p. 24. (The first volume of this commentary appeared in *1865*, thirteen years after the publication of the first volume of the translation of the *Avesta*.)

[107] According to his *commentary*, p. 28, Spiegel thinks that the correctness of this identification cannot be decidedly guaranteed, but that it has much in its favour.

[108] According to *Spiegel, this* locality is difficult to determine. Comm. p. 31.

[109] In his Comm., p. *32, Spiegel* says that the name Vehrkāna appears to coincide with the ancient Hyrcania. Lassen concurs in this. Ind. Ant., i. 635, note (2nd ed.).

[110] In a paper "*On the Geographical Arrangement of the* Vendidad," published in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1856, pp. 621–647, Dr. Kiepert contests the conclusions of Dr. Haug and others in regard to the position of some of the countries. Dr. Haug defends his own views in a paper in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Society, vol. xi., pp. 526–533.

of Zarathustra have been handed down. The ch
conclusion is, that the passage under review e
doctrine in a far more developed shape than the son
And again in p. 7, "Though there is thus no doubt
only dates from the period after Zarathustra, we do
to say that it is of modern origin; on the contrary,
show that it must be very ancient. We can scarce
any fixed historical data. From the names of the
we can gather not only that the geographical know
was very limited, but also that the region actual
Arians was much more contracted than we afterwar

In his first volume Professor Spiegel remarks on
follows, p. 59: "The great importance of this first
historical age of the Indo-Germanic race in genera
race in particular, has been fully allowed by inves
logy and history of the ancient world. Heeren, Rh
have recognized in these accounts of the Vendidad
mythical fragment, which reveals to us the state
ledge among the followers of the Avesta at the
posed. Perhaps, we may also, with Rhode, di
of the gradual diffusion of the Iranian r
mentioned country as their primeval abode,
as the regions which were peopled at a l
which the countries are arranged appears
hypothesis."

In his second volume, p. cix, Professor S
dhesion to the view of Rhode. He says
ttempt to discover in the first chapter of
e gradual migration of the Iranians. I
countries is a continuous history of t
ginning with their northern home, and
dia. But the list nowhere speaks of a
ence, I see in this chapter nothing but
nown to the Iranians at a particular
nnot be a very recent one, as the n
ith the Vedic period. This name, h
Persia after it had disappeared i

from it that this Fargard was composed contemporaneously with the Vedas." [111]

M. Pictet, on the other hand, makes the following observations: "These names [of countries] enable us to follow step by step the extension of the Iranians over the vast domain which they have ever since occupied. The thing which interests us the most in this enumeration is the point of departure, and the general direction of the movement. The first perfect abode which Ormuzd created is called 'Airyana-vaējo.' . . . As Ritter and Lassen remark, the ten months of winter and only two of summer can only apply to the highest valleys of Belurtagh and Mustagh at the north-east corner of the Iranian table-land. But it is difficult to conceive that an 'excellent' abode could ever have existed there, unless we assume a very improbable alteration of climate. We are as little able to imagine how a country so savage and so poor could have been the cradle of a race so prolific as the Aryas. I believe, then, that we must separate, in this tradition, the mythical element from the historical data. Airyana-vaējo, the primeval paradise, was probably nothing more than a very confused reminiscence of the country originally inhabited by the Aryas. At their dispersion, the Perso-Arian branch, driven back perhaps by the gradual increase of the Arian population, may have directed their steps towards the east as far as the high valleys of Belurtagh and Mustagh, where their further progress would be arrested. At a later period, when the emigration of the other Arian tribes had left the field clear, they descended from these unprofitable regions towards the more favoured countries of which they had preserved some recollection, as we learn from the myth in Vendidad."—Origines Indo-Européennes, pp. 36, 37.

Professor Müller's views, as well as those of M. Bréal, on the First Fargard of the Vendidad will be found above, in note 90, p. 314. [112]

[111] In his Commentary on the Avesta, vol. i. (1865), p. 1, the same author writes: "This view (that this Fargard describes the migration of the Iranians) was first shaken by Kiepert in his dissertation on "The Geographical Arrangement of the Names of Arian Countries in the First Fargard of the Vendidad" (Proceedings of the Berlin Academy of Science, Dec., 1856, p. 621, ff.), with which I in general agree, as does also M. Bréal, *De la Geographie de l'Avesta* (Journ. Asiatique, 1862). On the other hand, Haug and Bunsen maintain the view that this chapter describes the *migrations* of the Indo-Germans, and in particular of the Arians, up to the time of their *immigration* into Iran and India (compare Bunsen's *Ægyptens* Stelle in der *Welt-geschichte*, vol. ii., p. 104, ff.).

[112] See Appendix, note K.

side of India appears to be more open, as from Kashmir to the Delta of the Indus the boundaries are not otherwise marked than by that river itself. But in its upper course the Indus is not navigable, owing to its rapidity and its cataracts: and in addition its right bank is flanked by mountains. Towards the sea it spreads out into, or is surrounded by, marshes: more in the interior, and even above the confluence of the five rivers, it is bounded by sandy deserts. From that point to the place where it enters the plains near Attock, a tract intervenes where the passage may be more easily effected. Accordingly it is on this side that India has always been entered by foreign conquerors, by Semiramis, if her Indian expedition is authentic, · by Alexander the Great, Seleucus, and the Greek kings of Bactria, by the Indo-Scythians, or nomad races, who invaded certain provinces during the century preceding our era; by Mahmud of Ghazni, by the Afghans, the Moguls, and the Persians under Nadir Shah. Thus all probabilities are united in favour of the supposition that the ancestors of the Hindus came from the same side; a supposition which we find to be confirmed by arguments of another kind. The Panjab would consequently be the first country occupied by the colonists. Tradition does not, however, celebrate this as a classic region. On the contrary, in a passage of the Mahābhārata, published and commented on by Lassen, its inhabitants are described as less pure and correct in their customs than the real Aryas, as perhaps they had been corrupted by the vicinity of barbarians. This leads us to believe that it was only after the colonists had spread themselves over the plains of the Ganges, that their form of worship, and the social order dependent upon it, could have assumed a permanent form."—Essais littéraires et historiques, pp. 455–457.

The same view is taken by Lassen (Indian Antiquities, 1st ed. p. 511; 2nd ed., p. 612):—

"The Indians, like most other nations of the ancient world, believed themselves to be autochthonous: their sacred legends represent their land itself as the scene of creation, as the abode of the patriarchs, and the theatre of their deeds; and they have no recollection of having sprung from any country out of India, or of having ever lived beyond the bounds of their own Bhāratavarsha.[a] (See, however, above, p. 3

"It is true that we might be tempted to discover in the su

Daradas to have come by the second route from the northern side of the Hindukush into their elevated valleys; but we cannot suppose the mass of the Arians to have reached India by this road. All the important expeditions of nations or armies which are known to us have proceeded through the western passes of the Hindukush, and if we suppose the Arian Indians to have come into India from Bactria, this is the only route by which we can assume them to have arrived." It is true that the Hindus attach no idea of sanctity to the Panjab; on the contrary, "the Sarasvatī is the western boundary of the pure land, governed by Brahmanical law. There are, indeed, Indians dwelling further to the west, but they do not observe the Brahmanical ordinances in all their integrity. But this mode of regarding the western tribes can only have arisen after the Indian institutions had been developed, and a marked difference had become observable between the people living east of the Sarasvatī, and *those* on the western border. The people of the Panjab always appear as descended from the same stock, and in spite of the aversion in *question*, the epic legends recount to us frequent relations between the kings of the pure portion of India and the tribes to the westward. There *is* no break in the chain of Indian races towards the west." (p. 616, 2nd ed.)

M. Burnouf briefly indicates his opinion on the question with which we are now occupied, by speaking of "the movement which from the earliest ages had carried the Arian race from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Ganges into the Dekhan," etc., Preface to Bhag. Pur. vol. iii., p. xxix.

I am not aware whether Professor Roth has ever expressed a[n] opinion as to the precise route by which the Arians entered India; but in his work on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda (1846), p. *136*, [he] writes as follows: "It is more than probable that the bulk of the tribes which we may designate as the Vedic people dwelt *nearer* the Indus than the Jumna, and that the battle which is described in the hymn before us was one of those conflicts in which the northern tribes pressed upon the southern, on their way towards the regions which they were eventually to occupy. The Indus is well known and frequently celebrated in the hymns of the Rigveda, while at the moment I know of only one passage in which the Ganges is mentioned, and that only in a way which assigns to it an inferior rank."

of long continuance, as may be concluded from the great sacredne ascribed in later times to this region. At that period it formed t boundary line between the Brahmanical organization which was bei now formed in Hindustan, and those Arian races of the west wh retained the free manner of life inherited from their forefathers." Indian Sketches, pp. 13, 14.

M. Langlois, in the Preface to his French translation of the R. speaks to the same effect, pp. ix, x: "The hymns of the Rigve were composed for tribes which had come from the banks of the Ind and were living in the plains watered by the Ganges. This peo seems to have belonged to that great branch of the human race kno under the name of the Aryas. They brought with them a mild simple civilization, patriarchal manners, a polished language. . . These Aryas, as they established themselves in India, drove b before them the ancient populations, which then proceeded to occu the forests and mountains, and which, on account of their savage c toms and murderous depredations, became, for the Aryas, the type those evil spirits which they have depicted in their books. At head of the first colony there must have been a prince of the Ar nation called Manu, whom the traditions represent as the fathe mankind."

In another place, in a note to R.V. i. 33, 3 (p. 264, vol. i. of work, note 2), the same author writes still more explicitly as rega the point under consideration: "It is my opinion that the Ind colony conducted by Manu, which established itself in Āryāvar came from the countries which lie to the west of the Indus, and which the general name was Aria, Ariana, Hiran."

Professor Müller does not, as far as I am aware, anywhere determ the route by which the Arians arrived in India, more precisely t is done in the following passages (already quoted in pp. 310, f.): " the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrat across the snow of the Himālaya, southward towards the 'seven riv (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and e since India has been called their home."—Last Results of the Sans Researches, p. 129 ("Chips," i. 63); and Anc. Sanskrit Lit., p. And again, at p. 131 ("Chips," i. p. 65); Anc. Sanskrit Lit., p. he writes: "After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindukush

the Himâlaya, they [the southern Arian
them . . . . the aboriginal inhabitan
countries." Some remarks on the sam
quoted (see above, p. 311) from his "L
Researches," p. 340.

Whatever other and minor differences
the several authorities whom I have las
accord at least in regard to this one po
original country of the Hindus.

SECT. XI.—*The immigration of the Indo-A rendered probable by the tenor of th*

The immigration of the Arians, the progen
Indians, into India from the north-west, is f
by the fact that the writers of the Vedic h
familiar with the countries lying in that directi
western parts of India itself, as well as with
on, or beyond the Indus, and with the rivers wl
regions; while the countries and rivers in th
parts of India are more rarely mentioned; and r
made to the regions of the south. On this sul
lowing remarks from Professor Roth's work on
the Veda, p. 136: "The Sindhu (Indus) is well k
celebrated in the hymns of the Rigveda, while a
only one hymn in which the Ganges is mentione
subordinate capacity. This passage occurs in one of
to Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha (x. 75, 5), wl
the Sindhu, 'the most copious of streams,' (*apasâ*
other rivers are solicited to regard graciously the
which are dedicated to the Sindhu.[115] The passa
(Nirukta, ix. 26), to be explained thus: 'Gangâ, Y
Sutudrî, with the Parushnî, receive graciously my h
dhâ, hear with the Asiknî, the Vitastâ; Arjikîyâ

[115] The entire hymn is quoted and translated in the fifth
p. 343, f.

Sushomā.'"[116] (*Imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri stomam sachata Parushṇi ā | Asiknyā Marudvṛidhe Vitastayā Ārjīkīye śṛiṇuhi ā Sushomayā* |)

Another passage in which the Indus is mentioned is the following, R.V. i. 126, 1: *Amandān stomān prabhare manīshā Sindhāv adhi kshiyato Bhāvyasya | Yo me sahasram amimīta savān atūrto rājā śravaḥ ichhamānaḥ* | "With my intellect I produce ardent encomiums upon Svanaya, the son of Bhavya, who dwells on the Sindhu; the invincible prince, who, desirous of renown, has offered through me a thousand oblations." In the 7th verse of the same hymn we find a reference which indicates familiarity with the country of the Gandhāris and its sheep: *Sarvā 'ham asmi romaśā Gandhārīṇām ivāvikā* | "I am all hairy, like a ewe of the Gandhāris." Gandhāra is placed by Lassen (in the map of Ancient India in vol. ii. of his Indian Antiquities) to the west of the Indus, and to the south of the Cophen or Kabul river, the same position to which the Gandaritis of the ancients is referred.[117] In a note to his Transl. of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. p. 174 (Dr. Hall's ed.), Prof. Wilson writes of the Gāndhāras: "These are, also, a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus and in the Punjab." The word Sindhu also occurs in the following passages of the Rigveda, viz., i. 94, 16; i. 122, 6; ii. 15, 6; iv. 30, 12; v. 53, 9; vii. 33, 3; viii. 20, 25; x. 64, 9. It is, however, difficult to say whether the Indus be always meant. The last of these passages is as follows:—*Imam me Gange Yamune*

116 Part of Yāska's note (Nirukta, ix. 26) is as follows:—*Imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri Parushṇi stomam ā sevadhvam Asiknyā cha saha Marudvṛidhe* . . . *Vitastayā cha Ārjīkīye āśṛiṇuhi Sushomayā cha iti samastārthaḥ* | . . . *Asiknī aśuklā asitā* | . . . *Ārjīkīyām Vipāśam* . . . *Irāvatīm Parushṇī ity āhuḥ* . . . *Marutaḥ enāḥ vardhayanti* | . . . *Marudvṛidhāḥ sarvāḥ nadyaḥ* | . . . *ity āhuḥ* | (See vol. i., pp. 339 and 417, note 210.) "The entire sense is, 'Receive this hymn, O Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, S'utudrī, Parushṇī, and Marudvṛidhā, along with the Asiknī, and Ārjīkīyā along with the Vitastā and Sushomā.' . . . Parushṇī is a name of the Irāvatī. . . . Asiknī means 'black.' . . . All rivers [may be called] Marudvṛidhā, because they are swollen by the Maruts . . . Ārjīkīyā is a name of the Vipāś." See Roth's remarks on these rivers, in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 136–140; and a passage which will be quoted from Lassen in the text further on.

117 The Gandarii are mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 66, along with the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Dadikæ, as forming part of the army of Xerxes. See the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 103, ff.; the Journ. Royal Asiatic Society, v. and Rawlinson's Herodotus, iv. 216, f.

(which occurs in a hymn to the V
64, 9: *Sarasvatī Sarayuḥ Sindhur*
vakshaṇīḥ | *devīr āpo mātaraḥ sūday*
archata | "Let the Sarasvatī, the
waves; let the great [rivers] com
their succour. Divine waters, mothe
waters with butter and honey."

The verse which has been cited ab
in the extract from Professor Roth's
in which the names of several other
Tṛishṭāmā, the Susartū, the Rasā,[119] th
the Krumu, and the Mehatnū. In l
the Kubhā, Gomatī, and Krumu are set
Indus.[120] That they were really so is re
mentioned in conjunction with that rive
the probability is strengthened by its
semblance to that of the Kophēn, or Ka
Indus, a little above Attock (see the pass
above p. 339). This river is mentioned
vo Rasā 'nitabhā Kubhā Krumur mā vaḥ

[118] R.V. x. 75, 6:—*Tṛishṭāmayā prathamam yāt*
tyā | *tvam Sindho Kubhayā Gomatīm Krumum*
"Unite first in thy course with the Trishṭāmā, the
thou, Sindhu, [meetest] the Gomatī with the Kubh
and with them art borne onward (as) on the same c

[119] The Rāsā is considered by Dr. Aufrecht, in l
denote there and elsewhere the "milky way." See
Society, vol. xiii. p. 498. Yāska merely explains it
Nir. xi. 25. In his translation of Sāmaveda, ii.
translates *rasā* by "ocean." In his Glossary he e
which separates the world of Indra from that of th
x. 108. In R.V. i. 112, 12, he explains it of the riv
this verse in Orient und Occident, iii. 150, he makes
(*unterwelt*). In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the R
a river, in R.V., i. 112, 12; v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6; and
which flows round the earth and sky" in ix. 41, 6; x. 1

[120] In his Elucidations (Erläuterungen) of the Niruk
remarks: "The Kōphēn is the Kubhā of the Veda, m
x. 75, 7. If we identify the Krumu and Gomatī of
and Gomal which flow into the Indus from the west (
we may regard the rivers whose names precede [the
Anitabhā] as being affluents of the Indus further to tl

parishṭhāt Surayuḥ purishiṇī asme it sumnam astu vaḥ | "Let no
Maruts, the Rasā, the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu or the Sin
arrest you: let not the watery Sarayu stop you: let the joy
impart come to us." Another of the rivers named in the verse
viously cited (R.V. x. 75, 7), and declared by Roth to be an aff
of the Indus, is the Gomatī. It is not necessary that we sh
identify this river with the Gomatī (Goomtee), which rises t
north-west of Oude and flows past Lukhnow, though, being
tioned along with the Sarayu (if, indeed, this be the m
Surjoo), it may be the same. A river of the same name is
tioned again in R.V. viii. 24, 30: *Esho apaśrito Valo Gom*
anu tishṭhati | "This Vala dwells afar on the [bank
the] Gōmătī."[121] It is quite possible that the names of the riv
Oude may have been borrowed from some streams further w
Another river, the Suvāstu, which may be an affluent of the I
is mentioned in R.V., viii. 19, 37: *Suvāstvāḥ adhi tugvani* |
words are quoted in Nirukta, iv. 15, and explained thus: *Su
nadī* | *tugma tīrtham bhavati* | "Suvāstu is a river; *tugma*
a ferry." On this passage Roth observes, Erläuterungen, p
"The bard Sobhari is recounting the presents which he receive
Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, on the banks of the Suvāstu. I
Mahābhārata, vi. 333,[123] the Suvāstu is connected with the
Now, according to Arrian, Indica, 4, 11,[124] the Soastos and G

121 Compare R.V. v. 61, 19.

122 There is a stream called Gomătī in Kemaon, which must be distinct f
river in Oude, as the latter rises in the plains.

123 In the list of rivers in the description of Jambukhaṇḍa. The wo
Vāsteśīṁ Suvāstuñ Gaurīṁ cha Kampanāṁ sa-Hiraṇvatīm | "The Vā
Suvāstu, the Gaurī, the Kampanā, and the Hiraṇvatī."

124 Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαιώτιδι, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων Μάλαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον και
ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ινδόν. "The Kophen unites with the Indus in Peukĕlæŏtis,
with it the Malantus, the Soastus, and the Garroeas." Professor Wilson
Ant., pp. 183, 190, 194) thinks these two last names really denote one and
river. "Now there can be no doubt that by the Kophen is to be under
Kabul River; for Arrian says, that having received the Malamantus, Sua
Garroeus, it mixes with the Indus, in the country of Peukelaotis; and the l
of Alexander's operations west of the Indus, shortly before he crosses that
carried on in the same district along the Indus and the Cophen."—Wilso
Ant., p. 183. "The united stream [of the Punjkora and Sewat] is called
Punjkora or Sewat River; and this may explain why Arrian, in his Indi
erroneously of a Suastus as well as a Garoeus, whilst in Ptolemy we hav

"On an auspicious day I place thee on the most sacred spot of Iḷā [the earth]. Shine, O opulent Agni, in the assembly of men on the banks of the Drishadvatī, the Āpayā, the Sarasvatī." In R.V. vi. 61, 2, the same river is thus magnified: *Iyaṁ śushmebhir bisa-khā ivārujat sānu girīṇāṁ tavishebhir ūrmibhiḥ | pārāvata-ghnīm avase suvriktibhiḥ Sarasvatīm ā vivāsema dhītibhiḥ* | "By her force, and her impetuous waves she has broken down the sides of the mountains, like a man digging lotus fibres. For succour let us, with praises and hymns, invoke Sarasvatī who sweeps away her banks."[125] In verse 13 of the same hymn the same epithet *apasām apastamā*, "most copious of streams," which is applied to the Sindhu in R.V. x. 75, 7 (see above, p. 341), is also assigned to the Sarasvatī.

Hymns 95 and 96 of the seventh book of the Rigveda are devoted to the praises of the Sarasvatī and her male correlative the Sarasvat. The first and part of the second verse of the former hymn are as follows: *Pra kshodasā dhāyasā sasre eshā Sarasvatī dharuṇam āyasī pūḥ | pra bābadhānā rathyeva yāti viśvāḥ apo mahinā sindhur anyāḥ | ekā achetat Sarasvatī nadīnāṁ śuchir yatī giribhyaḥ ā samudrāt* | "This Sarasvatī has flowed on with a protecting current, a support, an iron barrier. This stream rushes on like a charioteer, in her majesty outrunning all other rivers.[126] Sarasvatī is known as the one river, flowing on pure from the mountains to the sea."[127]

The Jumna is mentioned in two other passages of the Rigveda besides x. 75, 5. In v. 52, 17, reference is made to property in cows

[125] In reference to this verse, Yāska observes, ii. 23: *Tatra "Sarasvatī" ity etasya nadī-vat devatā-vachcha nigamāḥ bhavanti* | . . . . *Atha etad nadī-vat* | "There are texts which speak of Sarasvatī both as a river and as a goddess. . . . In the following she is referred to as a river." He then quotes the verse before us; and explains (ii. 24) *pārāvata-ghnīm* by *pārāvāra-ghātinīm* "destroying the further and the near bank." See also the commentary on the Taitt. Br. vol. ii. p. 842 (Bibl. Indica). This interpretation is condemned in B. and R.'s Lexicon, *s. v.*, where the sense is said to be, either (*a*) "striking the distant (demon)," or (*b*) "striking from, or at, a distance."

[126] See the translation of this verse in Benfey's Glossary to the Sāmaveda, p. 157, under the word *rathī*.

[127] Langlois, vol. iii., p. 241, note 13, thinks that Sarasvatī in this hymn stands, not for a river, but for "the goddess of sacrifice," with her libations. "These libations form a river, which flows from the mountains, where the soma plant is collected. This river flows into the *samudra* (sea), where the sacrifice is performed, and which is the vessel destined to receive the libations."

nd horses on the banks of the Yamunā;[128] and in vii. 18, 19, it is id that the "Yamunā protected [or gladdened] Indra."[129] I have d a reference to the Gangā in one other passage besides x. 75, z., in vi. 45, 31,[130] where the adjective *gāngya*, "belonging to angā," occurs. But the Rigveda contains no hymn devoted to the bration of the Gangā, such as we find appropriated to the nd Sarasvatī.

ayu is also referred to in three passages in the R.V. iv. 30, , and x. 64, 9. The first of these texts runs thus: *Uta Āryā Sarayor Indra pāratah | Arṇāchitrarathā avadhīḥ |* straightway slain these two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, side of the Sarayu." The second and third have been in pp. 343, f. The Sarayu named in these passages, last two, may be different from the river of the same flows along the north-eastern frontier of Oude, as it nnexion with rivers all of which appear to be in the not absolutely necessary to suppose this,[131] as we shall ne of the Vedic rishis was acquainted with Kīkaṭa igveda we have no mention made of the rivers of e in later ages become so renowned in Hindustan Narmadā, the Godāverī, and the Kāverī.

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treated in the preceding pages, se...

ndian Antiquities contains, at p. 64 ... vol...

hich I translate: "The names of ...

nns of the R.V. furnish us with ...

conclusions regarding the abodes of ...

when they were composed. The ...

mentioned once in the tenth bo[ok] ...

advatī too is only once named: mu...

[128] ...e-nāyam adhi śrutam ud rādho gavyam mṛ...

[129] ...ā Indram Yamunā ityādi |

Gesch. des Weda, p. 136; and above p. 341.

[130] ...gyah | Roth, sub voce *kaksha*, says, the se... Langlois does not translate it. Wilson mis...

on of Lassen, as quoted below.

but most frequently of all the Sindhu (Indus) with the Sarasvatī; its affluents, some of which are designated by their older names, viz., Asiknī for the Chandrabhāgā, Marudvṛidhā for the same stream after its confluence with the Vitastā, Urunjirā for the Irāvatī, and Parushṇī for the Vipāśā. (The principal passage is R.V. x. 75.) The three western affluents of the Indus, which are now called Gomal, Kurrum, and Kabul, are named in these hymns Gomatī, Krumu, and Kubhā respectively: the last word has, as is well known, been turned by the Greeks into Kophen. The Anitabhā, Rasā, and Śvetī must also be regarded as affluents of the same river (R.V., v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6). . . . Before I proceed further, I think it fit to remark that it is not the fault of the learned geographer [M. Vivien de St. Martin], to whom we owe a valuable dissertation on the Vedic geography, but of the French translator [of the R.V., the late M. Langlois], if the former has been misled to assume the existence of three rivers which have no reality. Sushomā and Ārjīkīyā signify vessels which are used in the preparation of the Soma.[132] The assumption that there is a river called Trishṭāmā is founded on an ignorance of the language. In the verse in question (R.V., x. 75, 6) 'tṛishṭā,' 'harshly sounding,' is to be referred to the Sindhu, whilst 'amayā' is the instrumental singular feminine from the pronoun 'ama.'[133]

"The following additional rivers are named in the R.V., the Anśumatī, the Hariyupīyā, and the Yavyāvatī, but only once (vi. 27, 5, 6; viii. 85, 13, ff.), and in such a way that their situation cannot be fixed. Finally, the Sarayu is thrice named. In one place (iv. 30, 17) it is said that by the help of Indra Turvasu and Yadu crossed this stream.[134] In the second passage (x. 64, 9) it is named in connexion with the Sarasvatī and Sindhu; and in the third (v. 53, 9), again, in connexion with these two, and as well as with several affluents of the Indus and the Yamunā. These data do

[132] In proof of this Lassen refers to Roth, on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 137. See also Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 131, and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* ārjīkīyā: also Benfey's Glossary to S.V., *s.v.* śaraṇyāvat.

[133] Tṛishṭāmā is given as the name of a river in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon; and this interpretation is not withdrawn in the "additions and improvements," in vol. v.

[134] The Sarayu is not named in v. 17, but in v. 18, where Indra is said to have slain two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the other side of this river. See p. 347.

...not suffice to show what river is meant. Perhaps it is an affluent of
...he Sarasvatī; this river is in any case to be distinguished from the
...ll-known affluent of the Gangā. From this survey it is clear that
...e time of the composition of the Rigveda the Arian Indians dwelt
...in eastern Kabulistan and in the Panjāb as far as the Sarasvatī.
...we hold the Anitabhā, the modern Rasā, and the Śvetī,—as from the
...n we must,—for the modern Abu Sin, Burrindu, and Sudum,
...Indians were at that time already in possession of a tract
...er Indus. The conjecture that by the Rasā is meant the
...d by the Śvetī the Koas of the ancients, cannot be justified.
...are to assign to the Arian Indians a tract in western
...so, depends on the ascertainment of the modern names
...ivers mentioned in the R.V., which have not yet been
...was only in the period when the tenth book of this
...ns was composed that the Arian people had travelled
...eached the Gangā.
...veda represents to us an important advance in the
...ian Indians. The Bahlīkas and Gandhāras appear
...ples living at a distance; so, too, the countries of
It may be hence concluded that at that period
spread further than to north-western Bengal, o...
the Ganges.[135] Regarding the diffusion of a...
the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has pre... be
which the essential import is as fo...
passage (i. 4, 1, 10, ff.), which wi...

...een (p. 328) that the Himālaya mo...
...arvaveda. In a fine hymn, the 12...
...V., also, we have the following ver...
...o mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā...
these snowy mountains, and the sea...
etc. But no allusion to the Vindh...
... to Roth on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda...
... 22, are quoted, translated, and illustrated.
...n in Bunsen's Gott in der Geschichte, part
...ge, is also mentioned, A.V. xii. 1, 11: Giray...
...te prithivi syonam astu | "May thy mo...
...lerness beautiful."

which runs across the central parts of India, is to be found in the Rigveda.

The following text from the R.V. shows that the author of the hymn (said to be Viśvāmitra) knew something of the countries to the eastward as far as Kīkaṭa or Behar, R.V. iii. 53, 14: *Kiṁ te krinvanti Kīkaṭeshu gāvo na āśiraṁ duhre na tapanti gharmam | ā no bhara Pramagandasya vedo naichāśākham Maghavan randhaya naḥ |* "What are thy cows doing among the Kīkaṭas? They yield no milk for oblations; and they heat no fire. Bring us the wealth of Pramaganda [or the usurer]; and subdue to us, O Maghavat (Indra), the degraded man (naichāśākha)." Yāska explains Kīkaṭa as "a country inhabited by people who were not Āryas," Nirukta vi. 32: *Kīkaṭo nāma deśo 'nāryanivāsaḥ |*[137] The word *Kīkaṭa* is given in the vocabulary called Trikāṇḍaśesha, as equivalent to Magadha. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the following lines are quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 24: *Tataḥ kalau sampravṛitte sammohāya sura-dvishām | Buddho nāmānjana-sutaḥ Kīkaṭeshu bhavishyati |* "Then, when the Kali age has begun, a person named Buddha, son of Anjana, will be born among the Kīkaṭas, in order to delude the enemies of the gods (the Asuras)." The commentator on the Bhāg. Pur. explains the Kīkaṭas by *madhye Gayā-pradeśe |* "in the country of Gayā." Again, Bhāg. Pur., vii. 10, 18, it is said: *Yatra yatra cha mad-bhaktāḥ praśāntāḥ samadarśinaḥ | sādhavaḥ samudāchārās te pūyante 'pi Kīkaṭāḥ |* "In every place where those who are devoted to me, who are calm, who regard all things as alike, who are holy and virtuous, are found, the

[137] Sāyaṇa gives an alternative explanation of *kīkaṭa*, borrowed from a hint in Yāska: *Yadvā "kriyābhir yāga-dāna-homa-lakshaṇābhiḥ kim phalishyati" ity aśraddadhānāḥ pratyuta "pibata khādata ayam eva loko na paraḥ" iti vadanto nāstikāḥ kīkaṭāḥ |* "Or the Kīkaṭās are atheists, who, being destitute of faith, say, 'what fruit will result from sacrifices, alms, or oblations? rather eat and drink, for there is no other world but this.'" In Sāyaṇa's introduction to the Rigveda (Müller's edit. vol. i. p. 7), an aphorism of the Mīmānsā, with a comment, is quoted, in which an objector demurs to the eternity of the Veda, because objects and persons who existed in time are mentioned in it. In the objector's statement, Naichaśākha is spoken of as a city, and Pramaganda as a king: *"Kiṁ te krinvanti Kīkaṭeshu" iti mantre kīkaṭo nāma janapadaḥ āmnātaḥ | tathā Naichaśākhaṁ nāma nagaram Pramagando nāma rājā ity ete 'rthāḥ anityāḥ āmnātāḥ |* "In the verse, 'what do thy cows among the Kīkaṭas, etc.,' a country named Kīkaṭa is recorded, together with a city called Naichaśākha and a king called Pramaganda; all which are non-eternal objects."

men [of that country] are purified, even
Weber, in his Ind. Stud. i. 186, state
were not (as Yāska tell us) a non-Aria
the Vrātyas, were of Arian origin, thou
rites; and they may, he thinks, have
runners of Buddhism.

From these passages there seems to
were a people who lived in Magadha o

The following verses from one of t
v. 22, quoted and explained by Profes
the Veda, pp. 37—42, may tend to sh
country occupied by the Āryas at the
limits coincide in one direction with t
passage from the Rigveda, in which
This mantra contains an invocation t
sonified cutaneous disease, who is suppl
other tribes, whose names are specified
fore with probability conclude to have
Arian pale, though not necessarily non-
5, 7, 8, 12, 14: 5 | *Oko asya Mūjavanto*
jātas takmaṁs tāvān asi Bahlikeshu nyoc
gachha Bahlikān vā parastarām | S'ūdrām i
vi iva dhūnuhi | 8 | Mahāvṛishān Mūjavato
tāni takmane brūmo anyakshetrāṇi vā imā
sena svasrā kāsikayā saha | pāmnā bhrātṛiv
janam | 14 | Gandhāribhyo Mūjavadbhy
praishyaṁ janam iva śevadhiṁ takmānam
(Takman's) abode are the Mūjavats, his a
soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou soj
7. Go, Takman, to the Mūjavats, or far aw
the female Sūdra for food; and shake h
friend, devour the Mahāvṛishas and the
Takman these or those alien regions. 12
brother Balāsa, and with thy sister Kās
nephew Pāman, depart to that foreign
Takman as a servant, and as a treas
Mūjavats, the Angas, and the Magadhas."

The Mūjavats are again mentioned in the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā, 3, 61, as follows: *Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi | avatata-dhanvā pinākāvasaḥ krittivāsāḥ ahiṁsan naḥ śivo atīhi* |[138] "This, O Rudra, is thy food; with it depart beyond the Mūjavats. With thy bow unbent, and concealed from view, and clad in a skin, pass beyond, uninjuring us and propitious."

The Mūjavats being mentioned along with the Bahlikas, a Bactrian race, and with the Gandhāris (see above, p. 342) may, as Roth thinks, be a hill tribe in the north-west of India; and the Mahāvṛishas may belong to the same region.[139]

The Angas and Magadhas mentioned in verse 13 are, on the contrary, tribes living in south Behar, and the country bordering on it to the west. We have thus in that verse two nations situated to the north-west, and two to the south-east, whom we may suppose, from the maledictions pronounced on them, to have been hostile, or alien tribes.

138 Mūjavat is explained by the commentator on the V.S., as the name of a mountain, the place of Rudra's abode: *Mūjavān nāma kaśchit parvato Rudrasya vāsasthānam* | This is apparently a later idea. Compare the Mahābhārata, Sauptika-parva, 785, *Evam uktvā sa sakrodho jagāma vimanāḥ Bhavaḥ | girer Munjavataḥ pādaṁ tapas taptum mahātapāḥ* | "Bhava (S'iva) having so said, went away angry and disturbed, to the quarter of the hill Munjavat, to perform austerity, the great devotee;" and the Aśvamedhika parva, 180: *Girer Himavataḥ prishṭhe Munjavān nāma parvataḥ | tapyate yatra bhagavāṁs tapo nityam Umāpatiḥ* | "On the heights of the Himavat mountain there is a hill called Munjavat, where the divine lord of Umā (S'iva) performs continual austerity." The commentator on the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa says it is the "Northern Mountain," *udīchyaḥ parvataḥ* | The S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17,) thus comments on the text of the Vāj. S., after quoting it: *Avasena vai adhvānaṁ yanti | tad enaṁ sāvasam eva anvavārjati yatra yatra asya charaṇam | tasmād āha "avatata-dhanvā pinākāvasaḥ" ity "ahiṁsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi" iti | nishvāpayaty eva enam etat | svapann u hi na kanchana hinasti | tasmād āha "krittivāsāḥ" iti* | "Men go on their way with provision. He therefore sends him (Rudra) off with provision, wherever he has to go. Here his journey is beyond the Mūjavats; hence he says 'pass beyond the Mūjavats;' 'with bow unbent and concealed,' 'uninjuring us and propitious, pass beyond.' He adds 'clad in a skin.' This lulls him to sleep; for while sleeping he injures nobody. Wherefore he says 'clad in a skin.'" A derivative of the word Mūjavat occurs also in the R.V. x. 34, 1: *Somasya iva Maujavatasya bhakshaḥ* | "Like a draught of the soma produced on Mūjavat, or among the Mūjavats." Yāska, Nir. 9, 8, explains the word thus: *Maujavato Mūjavati jātaḥ | Mūjavān parvataḥ.* "'Maujavataḥ' means produced on Mūjavat: Mūjavat is a mountain."

139 On the Bāhīkas and Bāhlīkas, see Lassen, Zeitsch. 1840, p. 194; and for 1839, p. 52, ff.

lived on the borders of Brahmanical Indi
nd its boundaries at the time this incant
h, Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 42.)
does not, however, follow that the tribes
, are spoken of as if they were hostile, or al
Arian origin. (See above, p. 351.)
hus, the Arians appear in later times to have
with the Gandhāras. In the Śatapatha-br
e to a royal sage called Svarjit, son of Nagn
had expressed an opinion on the nature of
ough his view was not regarded as authoritative
s being quoted, and its author mentioned as a
n origin. This is the passage, Śat.-Br. viii. 1
āha Svarjid Nāgnajitaḥ | *Nagnachid vā Gāndhā*
vācha Rājanyabandhur iva tv eva tad uvācha |
f Nagnajit, said. Now Nagnajit was a Gān
he said, he spake as a mere Rājanya." Nagnaj
mentioned in the Ait.-Br., vii. 34, as one of
ed instruction regarding a particular rite fr
a.[140] He is also mentioned[141] in the following
h., i. 2439–41: *Prahrāda-śishyo Nagnajit S*
tasya prajā dharma-hantrī jajne deva-prakopa
tro 'bhūch Chhakuniḥ Saubalas tathā | Durya
'rtha-viśāradau | "Nagnajit, the disciple of
were then born. Owing to the wrath of the god
him became the enemies of righteousness. Two
the king of Gandhāra (Subala), Śakuni Sau
of Dūryodhana, who were both intelligent." Du
prince, and one of the heroes of the Mahābhārat
passages are amply sufficient to prove that the
with whom the Arians of India were in the
se, and contracting affinities, and from th
onably infer a community of origin and la
assen remarks (Zeitsch. für die Kunde des
in individual passages of the Mahābhāra

[140] Roth, Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 41
[141] See Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 218–220.

tempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living on the Indus and its five great tributaries, yet there is no trace of these tribes being ever regarded as of non-Indian origin. That there was no essential difference in their language is proved, as regards a later period, by the testimony of Pāṇini, which I have already cited." The previous passage here referred to is from the same article, p. 194, where it is said: "The word Bāhīka is used not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in Pāṇini,[142] as a general designation for the tribes of the Panjāb. The use of this appellation is thus fully certified; and if the grammarian found it necessary to give special rules for forming the names of the villages in the Bāhīka country, we may hence conclude that the Bāhīkas spoke Sanskrit, though they applied particular affixes differently from the other Indians."

The same writer elsewhere[143] remarks: "The Indians distinguish, not expressly, but by implication, the nations dwelling between the Sarasvatī, and the Hindu-kush, into two classes: first, those to the eastward of the Indus, and some of those immediately to the westward of that river, as the Gandhāras (see p. 342, above), are in their estimation still Indians; . . . but with the exception of the Kāshmiras, and some less known races, these Indians are not of the genuine sort: the greater freedom of their customs is regarded as a lawless condition." And Weber similarly remarks:[144] "The north-western tribes retained their ancient customs, which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influences of the hierarchy and of caste, which arose among the latter as a consequence of their residence among people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern

[142] The aphorisms here referred to are iii. 3, 78, and iv. 2, 117, 118. The two latter, with the comments, are as follows:—117 | *Vahīka-grāmebhyaścha* | *Vāhīka-grāma-vāchibhyo vṛidha-sanjnakebhyash "ṭhañ" "ñiṭh" ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ* | *S'ākalikī* | *S'ākalikā* | 118 | *Vibhāshā Uśīnareshu* | *Uśīnareshu ye Vāhīka-grāmās tad-vāchibhyo vṛidhebhyash "ṭhañ" "ñiṭh" ity etau pratyayau vā bhavataḥ* | *Saudarśanikī* | *Saudarśanikā* | *pakshe chhaḥ* | *Saudarśanīyā* | "117. The affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote villages of the Vāhīkas; as S'ākalikī, S'ākalikā. 118. Or the affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are optionally employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote Vāhīka villages in the country of the Uśīnaras; as *Saudarśanikī*, *Saudarśanikā*; or sometimes with the *chhas* affix, *Saudarśanīyā*.

[143] Zeitschrift, ii. 58. See also Asiat. Res. xv. 108; and App. note L.

[144] Ind. Stud. i. 220.

rians obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom; and
sed them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades,
ad of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own
al institutions."

e are other races also, who, although in the later Sanskrit
they are spoken of as being now aliens from the Brahmanical
n, are yet declared to have once belonged to the Kshatriya
to have lost their position in it from neglect of sacred
e above, p. 259, and note 35). In addition to this tra-
ver, we have yet further proof of the Arian origin of some
ese tribes. Thus, it appears from the following passage
(already quoted above, p. 152), that the Kambōjas
language, Nirukta, ii. 2: "Among some (tribes)
ns are used, among others the derivatives. S'avati
going,' is used only among the Kambōjas, while
s is used among the Āryas. Dāti is employed
ople in the sense of 'cutting,' while the word
nly) is used by the men of the north." If,
ony of Yāska in regard to the language used by
sted, it is clear that they spoke a Sanskrit dialect.
marks he has made, that a close affinity existed
s of the Āryas and Kambōjas; that the substan
hough in some respects it was vario modif
s only where such a general identity exists, any
g between any two dialects can ex no
o languages had but little in comm t
variations could have suggested it
e country of the Kambōjas was sit
the other side of the Indus. It is c
poken at some distance to the west of
en of opinion that this passage prov
studied among the Kambōjas. In h
he observes: "The multitude of gra
l in the Prātiśākhyas, proves how wid

ver, erroneously extended to some of the
Odras and Draviḍas, who, as we shall afte
origin.

matical studies were pursued; and Yāska (Nirukta ii. 2: see above, and p. 152), confirms this in a remarkable passage, according to which verbal forms were variously employed by the grammarians of four different provinces. These four tribes were the Kambōjas and Āryas, together with the Prāchyas and Udīchyas (or eastern and northern peoples). It is thus irrefragably proved that the Kambōjas were originally not only an Indian people, but also a people possessed of Indian culture; and consequently that in Yāska's time this culture extended as far as the Hindukush. At a later period, as the well-known passage in Manu's Institutes (x. 43) shows, the Kambōjas were reckoned among the barbarians, because their customs differed from those of the Indians. . . . . The same change of relation has thus, in a smaller degree, taken place between the Kambōjas and the Indians, as occurred, in a remote antiquity, between the latter and the ancient Persians."[146]

Now, as I have intimated, the fact that Sanskrit was spoken by the tribes to the west of the Indus may be held to prove that that tract of country was inhabited by races of Arian origin, and of common descent with the Indians;[147] and affords an additional argument in support of the position that the Indo-Arians immigrated into India from that direction.

It may, however, perhaps, be objected that the passage in question

[146] In his later work, the edition of the Nirukta, Roth suspects, for certain reasons, that so much of the passage before us as refers to the Kambōjas may be interpolated. He adds, however, that "it is in so far valuable, as it shows that the ancient Indians imagined the Kambōjas also to be students of Sanskrit Grammar." Erläut., pp. 17, 18. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 373–377, Professor Müller makes some remarks on the same passage. He alludes to the fact that a similar passage occurs in the Mahābhāshya; and observes that "though this circumstance appears partly to confirm Roth's conjecture regarding the spuriousness of portions of the passage, it may also be possible that the Mahābhāshya has borrowed it from the Nirukta, or that both the Nirukta and the Mahābhāshya may have taken it from the common source of ancient grammatical tradition." In any case, this reference to a distant race like the Kambōjas, looks as if it must have been borrowed from some ancient source. The passage of the Mahābhāshya is as follows, p. 62 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition: *S'avatir gati-karmā Kambojesho eva bhāshito bhavati | vikāre eva enam Aryāḥ bhūshante "śavaḥ" iti | "Hammatiḥ" Surāshṭreshu "raṁhatiḥ" Prāchya-madhyameshu "gamim" eva tv Āryāḥ prayunjate | "Dātir" lavanārthe Prāchyeshu dātram Udīchyeshu* | "*S'avati*, as a verb of going, is employed only by the Kambōjas; the Āryas use only its derivative, *śava*. The Surāshṭras use *hammati*, the central and eastern tribes *raṁhati*, but the Āryas only *gami* in the sense of 'going.' *Dāti* occurs among the eastern tribes as the verb for 'cutting;' *dātra*, a 'sickle,' alone is used by the people of the north."

[147] See Appendix, note M. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, i. p. 670, 671; and Strabo, there quoted.

[N]ir. ii. 2), not only proves that Sanskrit was spoken by the Kambojas, the north-west, but by the men of the east also. Now, as we may [assu]me that Yāska lived on the banks of the Sarasvatī or of the Yamunā, the Gangā, the people whom he designates Prāchyas, or "men of ," must have been the Kīkaṭas, or the Magadhas, or the Angas, ngas. But since it is evident from this passage that these spoke Sanskrit, it might in like manner be argued from this e that the Āryas must have penetrated into India from the To this I reply, that we can prove from other passages, n the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 4, i. 10-18 (which will be on), that the Arian civilization travelled from the west d that therefore we may reasonably suppose that these did not originally live in the eastern country, but e population which had migrated from the west, or did not begin to speak Sanskrit till they had learnt coming from the west. And besides, this passage ed from Yāska does not stand alone; it is only er arguments which have been already adduced to the o-Arians came from the north-west. [illegible] Mr ibes speaking dialects of Sanskrit [illegible] B might, it is true, be also explained on hat these tribes had emigrated from India. sed, as we have already seen, pp. 312 f., 320, ces of the case. [illegible] , which I derive from the facts ju[st] this: We find the north-west of es, who spoke the same language as hand, we find (as will be shown a[illegible] different parts (the eastern and so[illegible] ern) of Hindustan itself, were inha[bited] g languages fundamentally distinct om this I draw the conclusion that e from without, from the same side the earliest period by tribes speaking en before them to the east and south on penetrating into India, they foun[d] bject, however, will be handled at l[illegible]

CHAPTER III.

THE ARIANS IN INDIA: THEIR ADVANCE TO THE EAST AND SOUTH.

In the preceding chapter I have endeavoured, by a variety of arguments derived from comparative philology, and from general history, as well as from the most ancient written records of the Indians and the Iranians, to prove—First, that the dominant race which we find established in Hindustan at the dawn of history was not autochthonous, but immigrated into that country from Central Asia; and Secondly, that the route by which this people penetrated was from the north-west through Kabul, and across the Indus. I shall, for the future, assume that both of these two propositions have been substantiated; and shall proceed to trace the history of the Indo-Arian tribes after they had entered the Panjāb, and had commenced their advance to the south and east. We have already gathered (see above, pp. 341, ff.), from an examination of the oldest Indian records, the hymns of the Rigveda, that the country on both sides of the Indus was the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in India. We shall now see (as has also been already intimated, pp. 291) that in these same hymns the ancient bards designated the men of their own tribes by the name of Āryas, and distinguished them expressly from another class of people called Dasyus, who, we have reason to suppose, were a race of distinct origin from the Āryas, and perhaps different from them in colour (see above, p. 282), as they certainly were in language, in religion, and in customs, who had been in occupation of India before it was entered by the Indo-Arians from the north-west. I shall afterwards adduce various passages from the Brāhmaṇas and post-Vedic writings, illustrative of the progress of the Indo-Arians as they advanced to the east and south, driving the indigenous tribes before them into the hills and forests, and taking possession of the territory which the latter had previously

...cupied. I shall subsequently furnish some illustrations of the funda-
...ntal differences which exist between the Sanskrit and the languages
...e south of India—differences which indicate that the tribes
...which the latter dialects were originally vernacular must in all
...ity have been of a different race from the Indo-Arians. And,
...shall refer to the mode in which these various classes of
...rt the conclusion to which we have been already led, that
...rians were not autochthonous in India, but immigrated
...ntry from the north-west.

...istinction drawn between the Āryas and Dasyus in the Rigveda.

..., first, to show that the authors of the Vedic hymns
...n between the members of their own community
...hom they designated as Dasyus. This will appear
... texts. R.V. i. 51, 8, 9: *Vijānīhi Āryān ye cha*
... *randhaya śāsad avratān* | *śākī bhava yajamānasya*
... *sadhamādeshu chākana* | "Distinguish between
...who are Dasyus: chastizing those who observe
...who are lawless], subject them to the sacrificer.
...r of him who sacrifices. I desire all these
...ls."[1] x. 86, 19: *Ayam emi vichākaśad vichinvan*
...e I come," (says Indra) "perceiving and distinguishing
...d the Ārya." i. 103, 3: *Sa jātūbharmā*
...*bhindann acharad dyumnam vi dāsīḥ* | *vidvān vajrin*
...*vardhaya* ... *Indra* | "Armed ...
...in his strength, he (Indra) moved ...
...Dasyus. Indra, thunderer, conside...
...asyu, and increase the might and ...
Yavaṃ vṛikeṇa Aśvinā vapantā isha...
dasyuṃ bakureṇa dhamantā uru jyo...

... i. 103, 3, given below, is quoted by Profess...
...ar," first edition, p. 28, note.
... und Occident, iii. 132) renders *jātūbharmā*
...siders it to mean "carrying off the victory,"
...er, which he thinks had another form *jā*, f...

rathur āryāya | "O beautiful Aśvins, sowing barley with the plough, drawing forth (*lit.* milking) food for man, and sweeping [or blowing] away the Dasyu with the thunderbolt, ye have created a great light for the Ārya."[3] i. 130, 8: *Indraḥ samatsu yajamānam āryam prāvad viśveshu śatamūtir ājishu svarmīlheshu ājishu* | *manave śāsad avratān tvacham kṛishṇām arandhayat* | "Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing Ārya. Chastizing the neglectors of religious rites, he subjected the black skin to Manu" (or the Arian man).[4] iii. 34, 8, 9: *Sasāna yaḥ pṛithivīm dyām utemām Indram madanti anu dhīraṇāsaḥ* | *sasāna atyān uta sūryam sasāna Indraḥ sasāna purubhojasam gām* | *hiraṇyam uta bhogam sasāna hatvī dasyūn pra āryam varṇam āvat* | "The wise gladden Indra, who bestowed the earth and this firmament. Indra gave horses, he gave the sun, he gave the much-nourishing cow; and he gave golden wealth. Slaying the Dasyu, he protected the Āryan colour." iv. 26, 1, 2: *Aham Manur abhavam sūryaś cha aham Kakshīvān ṛishir asmi vipraḥ* | *aham Kutsam Ārjuneyam ni ṛinje aham kavir Uśanā paśyata mām* | 2 | *aham bhūmim adadām āryāya aham vṛishṭim dāśushe martyāya* | *aham apo anayam vāvaśānāḥ mama devāso anu ketum āyan* | "I," says Indra, "was Manu, and I the sun; I am the

[3] Sāyaṇa interprets the "great light," either of the glory acquired by the Aśvins: *Svakīyam tejo māhātmyam chakrathuḥ* | or of the sun: *Vistīrṇam sūryākhyam jyotiḥ* | "For it is the living man who beholds the sun:" *Jīvan hi sūryam paśyati* | Roth thinks this verse may refer to some forgotten legend, and that *vṛika* may have the ordinary sense of "wolf." He compares R.V. viii. 226: *Daśasyantā manave pūrvyam divi yavam vṛikeṇa karshathaḥ* | "Desiring to be bountiful to the man, ye have of old in the sky ploughed barley with the wolf." He is also of opinion that *dhamantā* has in the verse before us its proper sense of "blowing," and refers in proof to the words of R.V. ix. 1, 8, *dhamanti bākuram dṛitim* | *Bakura* perhaps signifies, he thinks, a "crooked wind instrument, which the Aśvins used to terrify their enemies; and *bākura*" (in R.V. ix. 1, 8) "might denote a skin shaped like a *bakura*." Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 92. In his Lexicon, Roth adheres to the opinion that *bakura* is probably a martial wind-instrument, and that *bākuro dṛitiḥ* is a bagpipe. The two following passages also similarly speak of light: R.V. ix. 92, 5: *Jyotir yad ahne akṛiṇod u lokam prāvad manum dasyave kar abhīkam* | "When he (Soma) gave light to the day and afforded space, he delivered Manu [or the Arian man], and arrested the Dasyu." R.V. x. 43, 4: . . . *vidat svar manave jyotir āryam* | "He (Indra) gave to Manu blessedness (and) a glorious light."

[4] This passage is translated in a review of the first volume of this work, contained in the "Times" of 12th April, 1858. The "black skin," is there interpreted of the dark colour of the Dasyus. The next passage is also partly quoted in the same article.

[...]se rishi Kakshīvat. I subdue Kutsa, the son of Arjunī. I am the
[...] Uśanas; behold me. 2. I gave the earth to the Ārya, and rain to
[...] sacrificer. I have led the longing waters. The gods have fol-
[lowed] my will."[8] iv. 30, 18: The Sanskrit text of the following is
[ab]ove, p. 347: "Thou, O Indra, hast speedily slain those two
[...]rṇa and Chitraratha, on the opposite bank of the Sarayu."
[...]i. 25, 2, 3: Ābhir viśvāḥ abhiyujo viśūchīr āryāya viśo ava-
[...] Indra jāmayaḥ uta ye ajāmayo arvāchīnāso vanusho yuyujre |
[...]vithurā śavāṃsi jahi vṛishṇyāni kriṇuhi parāchaḥ | "By
[...]s) subdue to the Ārya all the hostile Dāsa people every-
whether it be kinsmen or strangers who have approached
assailed us, do thou enfeeble and destroy their power and
them to flight." vi. 33, 3: Tvaṃ tān Indra ubhayān
[...]trāṇi āryā cha śūra | vadhīr ity ādi. "Do thou,
[dest]roy both these our foes, (our) Dāsa and our Ārya
[...]0, 6: Hato vṛitrāṇi āryā hato dāsāni satpatī | hato
"Do ye, O lords of the heroic, slay our Ārya
[...]a enemies, destroy all those who hate us." R.V.
[...]un okaso Agne ājaḥ uru jyotir janayann āryāya |
the Dasyus from the house, creating a wide light
[...]3, 1: Dāsā cha vṛitrā hatam āryāṇi cha sudā-
[...]sā 'vatam | "Slay both the Dāsa [...] enemies, and
[Sudā]s (or the liberal man) with your succour,

[...]rd ārya as an epithet with Manu understood. [...] Profe[ssor] [...]
[...]te, thinks that the word means in this passage the m[...]
[...]sertation on the Manu.) The spea[ker] [...] in [...]
(See Böthl. and Roth's Dictionary, sub voce [...] Uś[anas] [...]
by Sāyaṇa, says, "In the first three verses th[e] [...]
[...]ā ātmānam | Adyābhis tisṛibhir Indra[...]
the character of Indra; or that Vāmadeva may celebra[te] [...]
[...]s, p. 143) conjectures that Indra says, simil[ar] [...]
Indra. In R.V. x. 48, 1, Indra [...] the sacrificer," [...]
| "I distribute food, thinks that the Ri[...]
[...]ad Āraṇyaka Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 215,
[...]n these words [...] rishīṇāṃ tat [...]
[...]ta sa eva tad abhavat pratipede "aham Man[ur] [...]
rishir Vāmadevaḥ [...] That,
[...]er of gods, rishis, or men, understood this text, 'I was Ma[nu]'
[...]shi Vāmadeva obtained [...]
[...]d with Indra in R.V. vi. 20, 11.

Indra and Varuṇa." x. 38, 3: *Yo no dāsaḥ āryo vā purushṭuta adevaḥ Indra yudhaye chiketati | asmābhis te sushahāḥ santu śatravaḥ tvayā vayaṁ tān vanuyāma śangame |* "O, much lauded Indra, whatever ungodly person, Dāsa or Ārya, designs to fight against us, let these enemies be easily subdued by us. May we destroy them in the conflict." x. 49, 3: *Ahaṁ Sushṇasya śnathitā vadhar yamaṁ na yo rare āryaṁ nāma dasyave |* "I, the slayer of Sushṇa, have restrained the bolt,—I who have not abandoned the Āryan name to the Dasyu." x. 65, 11: *Brahma gām aśvaṁ janayanta oshadhīr vanaspatīn pṛithivīm parvatān apaḥ | sūryaṁ divi rohayantaḥ sudānavaḥ āryā vratā visṛijanto adhi kshami |* "These bountiful ones" (the gods named in the preceding verse) "have generated prayer, the cow, the horse, plants, trees, the earth, the mountains, the waters;—causing the sun to ascend the sky, and spreading Āryan rites over the earth."[6] x. 83, 1: *Sahyāma dāsam āryaṁ tvayā yujā vayaṁ sahaskṛitena sahasā sahasvatā |* "May we," (O Manyu) "associated with thee, the mighty one, overcome both Dāsa and Ārya through (thy) effectual energy." x. 102, 3: *Antar yachha jighāṁsato vajram Indra abhidāsataḥ | dāsasya vā maghavan āryasya vā sanutar yavaya vadham |* "Restrain, O Indra, the bolt of the murderous assailant: remove far away the weapon of our enemy, be he Dāsa or Ārya." x. 138, 3: *Vi sūryo madhye amuchad rathaṁ vidad dāsāya pratimānam āryaḥ |* "The sun has launched his car in mid-heaven: the Ārya has paid back a recompense to the Dasyu." viii. 24, 27: *Yaḥ ṛikshād aṁhaso muchad yo vā aryāt saptasindhushu | vadhar dāsasya tuviṇṛimṇa nīnamaḥ |* "Who delivered [us] from the destroyer, from calamity; who, O powerful [god], didst avert the bolt of the Dāsa from the Ārya in [the land of] the seven streams."

The above-cited texts seem to show that the Rigveda recognizes a distinction between the tribe to which the authors of the hymns belonged, and a hostile people who observed different rites, and were regarded with contempt and hatred by the superior race. This appears from the constant antithetic juxtaposition of the two names Ārya and Dasyu, in most of these texts; and from the specification in others of

6 Compare R.V. vii. 99, 4: *Urum yajñāya chakrathur u lokam janayantā sūryam ushasam agnim | Dāsasya chid vṛishaśiprasya māyāḥ jaghnathur narā pṛitanājyeshu:* "Ye (Indra and Vishṇu) have provided abundant room for the sacrifice, creating the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, have destroyed the powers of the bull-nosed Dāsa."

nemies, both Ārya and Dasyu. If human enemies are designated
the latter texts by the word Ārya, we may reasonably suppose the
e class of foes to be commonly or often denoted by the word Dasyu.
not, of course, to be expected that we should find the Indian com-
ors confirming this view of the matter more than partially; as
y never dreamt of the modern critical view of the origin of
and their relation to the barbarous aboriginal tribes. Yāska
i. 26) explains the term Ārya by the words "son of a [or,
l."[7] The word Dasyu is interpreted by him etymologically,
yu comes from the root *das*, to destroy; in him moisture
and he destroys (religious) ceremonies."[8]
rprets the word Ārya, by "wise performers of rites;"[9]
rs;"[10] "wise;"[11] "one to whom all should resort;"[12]
ellent race [colour] consisting of the three highest
tising ceremonies;"[14] "most excellent through per-
onies;"[15] and in two places, i. 117, 21, and iv. 26,
an epithet of Manu. The same commentator in-
Dasyu of the "robber" "Vṛitra;"[16] "enemies who
rs of Vedic rites; "the Asuras, Piśāchas, etc.,
he vexing Asuras;"[17] "all the people who destroy
Vala and the other;"[19] "Asuras who destroy religious
evoid of religious ceremonies."[22] From these qu
en that Sāyaṇa mostly understands Dasyu
emons, or Titans, rather than of human ene
definit

īśvara-putrah | See Benfey's remarks on this
pp. 141, f.
dasyateh kshayārthād upadasyanty asmin
| on R.V. i. 51, 8. [11] Vidushe | on
on i. 103, 3. | on i. 130, 8.
etavyam |
varṇikam | on iii. 34, 9.
vi. 22, 10.
śreshṭhāni | on vi. 33, 3.
i. 33, 4.
kshapayitārah śatravah | on i. 51, 8; and i.
suram piśāchādikam | on i. 117, 21.
iii. 34, 9.
yitrīr viśvāh sarvāh prajāh | on vi. 25, 2.
a-virodhino Vala-prabhritīn asurān | on vi.
| on vi. 60, 6.

In his note on i. 100, 8, he speaks of them as "destroying ene[...] living on the earth;"[23] and in another place he explains the [...] varṇa, as being either "the Śūdras and other inferior tribes, or [...] vile destroying Asura."[24]

There is no doubt that in many passages of the R.V., to whic[...] shall presently refer, the words Dasyu and Dāsa are applied to de[...] of different orders, or goblins (Asuras, Rākshasas, etc.); but i[...] tolerably evident from the nature of the case, that in all, or at l[...] some of the texts which have been hitherto adduced, we are to un[...] stand the barbarous aboriginal tribes of India as intended by t[...] terms. This is yet more clearly established by the sense in w[...] the word Dasyu is used (i.e. for men and not for demons) in [...] Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, in Manu, and in the Mahābhārata. Thus [...] author of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, after making Viśvāmitra say to [...] fifty disobedient sons, vii. 18: *Tān anuvyājahāra "antān vāḥ p[...] bhakshīshṭa" iti | te ete Andhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindāḥ Mū[...] ity udantyāḥ bahavo bhavanti | Vaiśvāmitrāḥ dasyūnām bhūyishṭ[...]* "Let your progeny possess the extremities [of the land]," [...] "These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas, [...] other numerous frontier tribes. Most of the Dasyus are desce[...] from Viśvāmitra."[25] And in the authoritative definition al[...] quoted[26] (see also vol. i., p. 482), Manu tells us: "Those tribes i[...] world which are without the pale of the castes sprung from [...] mouth, arms, thighs, and feet [of Brahmā], whether they spea[...] language of the Mlechhas, or of the Āryas, are all called Dasyus.[...]

The Mahābhārata thus speaks of the same people, ii. 26, 1[...] *Pauravaṁ yudhi nirjitya Dasyūn parvata-vāsinaḥ | gaṇān Utsavasan[...] ajayat sapta Pāṇḍavaḥ |* "Having vanquished the Paurava in b[...] the Pāṇḍava conquered the Utsavasanketas, seven tribes of D[...] inhabiting the mountains." And again, Ibid. ver. 1031–2: *Da[...] saha Kāmbojair ajayat Pākaśāsaniḥ | prāguttarāṁ diśaṁ ye cha va[...] āśritya Dasyavaḥ | nivasanti vane ye cha tān sarvān ajayat prab[...] Lohān Paramakāmbojān Ṛishikān uttarān api |* "Pākaśāsani conq[...]

[23] *Pṛithivyām bhūmau vartamānān dāsyūn upakshapayitṝn śatrūn* | on i. [...]

[24] *Dāsaṁ varṇaṁ śūdrādikaṁ yadvā dāsam upakshapayitāram adharaṁ n[...] ṭam asuram.*

[25] See the first volume of this work (2nd ed.), pp. 355, ff.

[26] See above p. 161.

of Brahmans [or the Veda], to be in a prosperous condition, enter
to solicit alms. There lived there a wealthy Dasyu, who was acquai
with the distinctions of all the castes, religious, truthful, and lib
Approaching his house, the Brahman asked alms," and a house. .
"From proximity with the Dasyus, Gautăma [the Brahman in ques
became like them. While he was thus dwelling happily in a vi
of Dasyus," another Brahman arrived, who demanded of him: "
is this that thou art foolishly doing? Thou art a Brahman of
family, well known in the central region: how is it that thou
sunk into the condition of a Dasyu?"

From the evidence afforded by these passages of Manu an
Mahābhārata, it is probable that the word Dasyu, when occur
the Veda, is sometimes at least to be understood of men, an
sequently, of the wild aboriginal tribes, whom the Arian Ind
countered on their occupation of Hindustan. It is true that
later authorities whom I have quoted, the Dasyus are reg
degraded Arians,[28] (though Manu says that some of them spoke
dialects), and that tribes unquestionably Arian, as the Kām
above, p. 355, f.), are included among them. But though
that some of the Arian tribes who had not adopted Brahm
stitutions were so designated in after-times, the term Dasyu
well have been so applied in the earlier Vedic era. At tha
Brahmanical institutions had not arrived at maturity; the
between those who observed them strictly and those who obs
laxly could scarcely have arisen; and the tribes who are
by the Vedic poets as persons of a different religion mus
probably, have been such as had never before been brought
with the Arians, and were, in fact, of an origin totally di

It thus appears, that by the Dasyus who are mentioned
veda we must, in some passages, though not in all, u
barbarous aboriginal tribes with whom the Āryas, on th
in the north-west of India, were brought into contac

Before we proceed further, however, it will be intere
some of the other principal texts of the R.V. in which
Dasyus are mentioned. I should be glad if, while d
hope to arrive in each case at a definite result in

28 See Lassen, Zeitschrift, ii. 49, ff.

'dāsa' has decidedly the sense of 'slave,' and if this was the origin meaning of both the forms, it is equally certain that both 'dāsa' an 'dasyu,' in contrast with the 'ārya,' at first designated the aborigin population subjected by the latter at the time of their diffusion; an this relation which subsisted on earth, which no doubt was not rare interrupted by revolts of the subject people, was transferred by th Arians to the domain of the gods, whose harmful demons were r presented as the rebellious slaves of the deities.

"The view that in this contrasted relation 'dāsa' has really the sen of 'slave,' 'servant,' is supported by three essentially similar ha verses of the Atharvaveda (overlooked by the author in his collection in which 'Śūdra,' the well-known name for the servile caste in Indi stands in the same contrast to 'ārya,' as 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' elsewhe do. The first is iv. 20, 4: *Tayā 'ham sarvam paśyāmi yaś cha Śūdr utāryaḥ* | 'By this (plant) I see every one, whether 'Śūdra or Āry The second text is iv. 20, 8: *Tenāhaṁ sarvam paśyāmi uta Śūdr utāryam* | 'By it (a kind of goblin) I see every one, whether Śūd or Ārya.' The third is xix. 62, 1," which Prof. Benfey does not quo but which runs thus: *Priyam mā kṛiṇu deveshu priyaṁ rājasu m kṛiṇu* | *priyaṁ sarvasya paśyataḥ uta śūdre utārye* | "Make me de to the gods; make me dear to kings, dear to every one who behol me, whether to Śūdra or Ārya."

Professor Roth, in his Lexicon, *s.v. dasyu*, defines that word as d noting (1) "a class of superhuman beings, who are maliciously dispos both to gods and men, and are overcome by Indra and Agni in partic lar." Many of the demons subdued by Indra, designated by particul names, as Śambara, Sushṇa, Chumuri, etc., bear the general appell tion of Dasyu. They are not only spirits of darkness like the Rakshas but extended over the widest spheres. In A.V., xviii. 8, 22, th are demons in the form of deceased men (*Ye dasyavaḥ pitṛishu pravi ṭāḥ jnātimukhāś charanti*). They are, he remarks, frequently contras (a) generally with men (*manu, āyu, nar*), and are called *amānusha* R.V., x. 22, 8 (in support of which he refers to R.V., viii. 87, ix. 92, 5; Vāl., 2, 8; R.V., vi. 14, 3, and v. 7, 10); and (b) m specifically with pious orthodox men (*ārya*), and it is but seldom at all (he considers), that the explanation of *dasyu* as referring to t non-Arians, the barbarians, is advisable (in proof of which he ci

slayer of Vṛitra, and destroyer of cities, scattered the servile (hosts) of black descent. He produced the earth and waters for Manu."[30] The passages iii. 34, 9, and iv. 26, 2, which have been already quoted above (p. 360, f.), should be again referred to here. vi. 18, 3: *Tvam ha nu tyad adamayo dasyūṁr ekaḥ kṛishṭīr avanor āryāya* | "Thou (Indra) hast then subdued the Dasyus: thou hast alone subdued peoples to the Ārya."[31] vi. 61, 3: *Uta kshitibhyo avanīr avindaḥ* | "And thou (Sarasvatī) hast obtained lands for men."[32] vii. 19, 3: *Paurukutsiṁ Trasadasyum āvaḥ kshetrasātā vṛitrahatyeshu pūrum* | "Thou hast preserved the man Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, in fights

words there are: *Asmākebhir nṛibhiḥ sūryaṁ sanat* | which Sāyaṇa renders, *Asmadīyair nṛibhiḥ purushaiḥ sūryaṁ sūryaprakāsaṁ sanat sambhaktaṁ karotu śatru-purushais tu dṛishṭi-nirodhakham andhakāraṁ saṁyojayatu* | "Let him divide the light of the sun with our men, and involve our enemies in darkness which shall obstruct their view." The same words are rendered by Rosen: *Nostratibus viris solem concedat,* "Let him bestow the sun on our countrymen," where the words in the instrumental case have the sense of the dative assigned to them. If they bear that sense in verse 6, they may equally have it in the 18th also. The meaning would then be, "He bestowed the land, the sun, the waters, on his fair friends." But this use of the instr. would not suit verse 10, *Sa grāmebhiḥ sanitā sa rathebhiḥ* | whether we understand *grāmebhiḥ* of villages, or hosts. On the words, "his fair friends," Professor Wilson remarks, Rigveda i. p. 260, note: "These, according to the scholiast, are the winds, or Maruts; but why they should have a share of the enemy's country (*śatrūṇam bhūmim*) seems doubtful. Allusion is more probably intended to earthly friends or worshippers of Indra, who were white (*świtnya*) in comparison with the darker tribes of the conquered country." The worshipper's friendship with Indra is mentioned in many passages of the R.V., as, i. 101, 1; iv. 16, 10; vi. 18, 5; vi. 21, 5 and 8; vi. 45, 7. Rosen renders this passage: *Expugnavit terram sociis suis nitentibus,* "He conquered the earth with his struggling companions;" thus giving another sense to *śvitnyebhiḥ*. In two other hymns, vii. 99, 3, and x. 65, 11 (quoted above, p. 362), we find mention made of the sun in a somewhat similar manner as in the verse under review. In his translation of the Rigveda in Orient und Occident, ii. 518, f., Prof. Benfey gives the following sense to the verse before us: "The much-invoked smites the robbers and devisers of mischief; in tempest he shatters them to the ground with his bolt; with his shining comrades the thunderer acquired ground, sun, and floods."

30 Sāyaṇa explains the words *kṛishṇayonīh*, etc., thus: *kṛishṇayōnīr nikṛishṭajātīr, dāsīr upakshapayatrīr āsurīḥ senāḥ,* "the destructive armies of the Asuras, of degraded rank." The Vālākhilya ii. 8, has the following words: *yebhir ni dasyum manusho nighoshayaḥ* | "The horses with which (Indra) thou didst scare (?) the Dasyu away from the man."

31 Sāyaṇa explains *kṛishṭīḥ*, "people," by *putradāsādīn*, "children, slaves," etc.

32 Sāyaṇa explains *avanīḥ*, by *Asurair apahṛitāḥ bhūmīḥ*, "lands taken away by the Asuras." Roth (Dict.) assigns also to the word the sense of "streams;" which it might seem to be the function of Sarasvatī to give rather than lands.

"The unsacrificing Sanakas perished. Contending with the sacrificers, the non-sacrificers fled, O Indra, with averted faces."[36] i. 131, 4: *S'āsas tam Indra martyam ayajyum ityādi* | "Thou, O Indra, hast chastised the mortal who sacrifices not."[37] i. 132, 4: *Sunvadbhyo randhaya kanchid avratam hriṇāyantam chid avratam* | "Subject to those who offer libations the irreligious man, the irreligious man though wrathful." iv. 16, 9: *Ni māyāvān abrahmā dasyur arta* | "The deceitful, prayerless Dasyu has perished." R.V., v. 7, 10: *Ād Agne apriṇato 'triḥ sasahyād dasyūn ishaḥ sasahyād nṛīn* | "O Agni, may the Atri then overcome the illiberal Dasyus: may Isha overcome the men." R.V., vi. 14, 3: *Turvanto dasyum āyavo vrataiḥ sikshanto avratam* | "Men subduing the Dasyu, with rites (or laws) overwhelming the irreligious (or lawless)." v. 42, 9: *Apavratān prasave vāvṛidhānān brahma-dvishaḥ sūryād yavayasva* | "Remove far from the sun the irreligious, the haters of prayer, who increase in progeny." viii. 59, 10: *Tvam naḥ Indra ṛitayus tvānido ni tṛimpasi* | *madhye vasishva tuvinṛimṇa ūrvor ni dāsam sis'natho hathaiḥ* | 11 |

[36] Sāyaṇa describes the Sanakas as followers of Vṛitra: *Etannāmakāḥ Vṛitrānucharāḥ*. I cannot say who may be meant by the Sanakas here. They may have been heretical Āryas and not Dasyus. A Sanaka was a mindborn son of Brahmā. Wilson, Vish. Pur., first edition, p. 38, note 13. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 385, note, quotes a text of the Mahābh. xii. 13,078, where he is mentioned as a sage. Benfey renders *sanakāḥ* "old."

[37] In i. 100, 16, the word *marttāḥ*, "men," is opposed to *devāḥ*, "gods." The word *martya*, "mortal," is usually applied to men. But from the following passage of the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa it appears that the Asuras also are regarded as mortal, and that the gods too were formerly so. ii. 2, 2, 8, ff.: *Devāś cha vai Asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire* | *Te ubhaye eva anātmāna āsuh, martyā hy āsuḥ* | *anātmā hi martyaḥ* | *Teshu ubhayeshu martyeshu Agnir eva amṛita āsa* | *Tam ha sma ubhaye amṛitam upajīvanti . . . . Tato devāś tanīyāmsa iva pariśiśishire* | *Te archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ* | *Uta Asurān sapatnān martyān abhibhavema iti* | *Te etad amṛitam agnyādheyam dadṛiśuḥ* | *Te ha ūchuḥ* | *hanta idam amṛitam antarātmann ādadhāmahai* | *Te idam amṛitam antarātmann ādhāya amṛitā bhūtvā astaryyā bhūtvā staryān sapatnān martyān abhibhavishyāma iti.* "The gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. They were both soul-less, for they were mortal; for he who is soul-less is mortal. While they were both mortal, Agni alone was immortal; and they both derived life from him, the immortal. . . . Then the gods were left as the inferior. They continued to practise devotion and austerity, and (while seeking to) overcome their foes, the mortal Asuras, they beheld this immortal consecrated fire. They then said, 'Come, let us place this immortal (fire) in our inmost soul. Having done so, and having [thus] become immortal and invincible, we shall overcome our mortal and conquerable enemies.'" The gods accordingly placed the sacred fire in their hearts, and by this means overcame the Asuras.

unmingled [fuel or butter?], I beheld [Agni] the golden-toothed, bright-coloured, fashioning his weapons: what can those who r[egard] not Indra, and recite no hymns, do to me?" R.V., vii. 18, 6: *Ar[dhaṁ] vīrasya śṛitapām anindram parā śardhantaṁ nanude abhi ksh[āṁ]* "Indra hurled to the ground the half of the struggling he[roes,] drinkers of the oblation, and disregarders of Indra."[40] R.V., x[...] 6: *Darśan nu atra śṛitapān anindrān bāhukshadaḥ śarave patyamā[nān] ghṛishuṁ vā ye niniduḥ sakhāyam adhi ū nu eshu pavayo vavṛit[yuḥ]* "They beheld here those who drink the libation, who regard [not] Indra, who offer worthless oblations,[41] and are fit victims for [the] thunderbolt: the wheels have rolled over those who reviled [the] destroying friend." In R.V., x. 48, 7, Indra speaks: *Abhi[...] ekam eko asmi nishshāḷ abhi dvā kim u trayaḥ karanti | khale na par[...] prati hanmi bhūri kim mā nindanti śatravo anindrāḥ |* "Impetu[ous,] I alone vanquish this one enemy; I vanquish two; what can e[ven] three do? [In battle] I destroy numerous foes like sheaves of [corn] on the threshing-floor. Why do the enemies who regard not In[dra] revile me?"[42]

The following text speaks of men who are destitute of hymns [and] prayers, x. 105, 8: *Ava no vṛijinā śiśīhi ṛichā vanema anṛich[aḥ] nābrahmā yajnaḥ ṛidhag joshati tve |* "Take away our calami[ties.] With a hymn may we slay those who employ no hymns. Thou ta[kest] no great pleasure in a sacrifice without prayers."[43]

As we have seen above (p. 282), there is some appearance of [an] allusion being made in the Veda (3) to a distinction of complex[ion] as existing between the Āryas and the aborigines. On this subje[ct I] quote the following remarks, made by Prof. Max Müller, in a rev[iew] of the first volume of this work, which originally appeared in [...]

[40] See Roth's interpretation of this verse in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. [...] 99; and his remarks on the tribes who are referred to in this hymn, ibid. pp. 132-[...]

[41] Prof. Roth, s.v. [...] explains *bāhukshad* as denoting a niggardly worshipper [who] offers the foreleg, i.e. a worthless portion of the victim.

[42] See Nirukta, iii. 10, and Roth, Erlaüter., p. 29.

[43] In my article "On the Relations of the Priests to the other Classes of Ind[ian] Society in the Vedic Age," (Journ. Royal As. Soc., new series, ii. 286, ff.), I h[ave] quoted numerous texts from the Rigveda "containing denunciations of religi[ous] hostility or indifference," in which "no express reference is made to Dasyus," [...] which may therefore "with more or less probability, be understood of members of [the] Aryan community."

the following text allusion is made to black tribes of some kind: vii. 5, 3: *Tvad-bhiyā viśaḥ āyann asiknīr asamanāḥ jahatīr bhojo- Vaiśvānara pūrave śośuchānaḥ puro yad Agne darayann adīdeḥ* | fear of thee the black tribes fled, scattered, relinquishing thei sessions, when thou, Agni Vaiśvānara, gleaming in behalf of Pū the man], didst tear and burn the cities." Prof. Roth (Lexicon "*asiknī*") explains the words "black tribes" as meaning "spi darkness." A similar phrase occurs in R.V. viii. 62, 18: *Pura dhṛishṇo āruja kṛishṇayā bādhito viśā* | "O impetuous, break dow were a rampart, being harassed by the black race." It is not clea is here apostrophized; or what dark-coloured enemies are referred

There are (4) some passages in which the epithet "mṛidhrav is applied to the speech of the Dasyus. If it were certain tha aboriginal tribes were alluded to in all or in any of these texts, that the adjective in question had reference to any peculiarity in language, the fact would be one of the highest interest; but fortunately both points are doubtful.[46] The following are the pass alluded to:—R.V. i. 174, 2: *Dano viśaḥ Indra mṛidhravāchaḥ s yat puraḥ śarma śāradīr dart* | *riṇor apo anavadya arṇāḥ yūne Vṛi Purukutsāya randhīḥ* | "When thou, O Indra, our defence, d destroy the seven autumnal castles, thou didst subdue the peopl injurious speech. Thou, blameless one, hast impelled the flow waters: thou hast subjected Vṛitra to the youthful Purukut R.V. v. 29, 10: *Pra anyach chakram avṛihaḥ Sūryasya Kutsāya an varivo yātave kaḥ* | *anāso Dasyūn amṛiṇor vadhena ni duryoṇe āvṛi mṛidhravāchaḥ* | "Thou didst detach one wheel of Sūrya: the ot thou didst set free to go for Kutsa. Thou hast with thy wea smitten the mouthless [or noseless] Dasyus: in their abode thou h beaten down the injuriously speaking people." v. 32, 8: *Tyaṁ c śayānam asinvam vavram mahi ādad ugraḥ* | *apād arṇam madhupaṁ atram mahatā vadhena ni duryoṇe āvṛiṇaṅ mṛidhravācham* | "T fierce [Indra] seized that huge, restless [Vṛitra], the drinker up the sweets, reclining, insatiable, the hidden; and beat down in h abode with a great weapon, that footless, devouring, and injuriousl

[46] The Atharvaveda xii. 1, 45, refers to the earth as "sustaining men of va various forms of speech and customs; each dwelling in their own abodes" (*jana bibhratī bahudhā vivāchasaṁ nānādharmāṇam pṛithivī yathaukasam*).

and uncultivated speech being identical, in the opinion of the Hindus, as in the familiar term for a barbarian, 'mlechha,' which is derived from the root, *mlechh*, to speak rudely;" and adds, in reference to Professor Müller's proposed interpretation of *anāsa:* "The proposal is ingenious, but it seems more likely that Sāyaṇa is right, as we have the Dasyus presently called also *mṛidhravāchas*, ... having defective organs of speech."

There are only two of the four preceding passages containing the word *mṛidhravāch*, in which the Dasyus are named; and in the second of these two texts (R.V. vii. 6, 3) this word is applied to persons or beings called *paṇi*, who are either niggards, or the mythical beings who stole the cows of the gods or the Angirases, and hid them in a cave. (See Wilson's R.V. vol. i. pp. 16, 17, note.)[47] In any case, the sense of the word *mṛidhravāch* is too uncertain to admit of our referring it with confidence to any peculiarity in the speech of the aborigines.

In the R.V. frequent mention is made (5) of the cities or castles of the Dasyus, or of the Asuras. One of these passages, i. 103, 3, has been already quoted in p. 359. The following are additional instances: R.V. i. 51, 5: *Tvam Pipror nṛimaṇaḥ prārujaḥ puraḥ pra Ṛijiśvānam Dasyu-hatyeshu āvitha* | "Benevolent to men, thou hast broken the castles of Pipru, and protected Ṛijiśvan in his battles with the Dasyus." R.V. i. 63, 7: *Tvaṁ ha tyad Indra sapta yudhyan puro vajrin Purukutsāya dardaḥ* | "Thou, O Indra, thunderer, fighting for Purukutsa, didst destroy then seven castles." i. 174, 8: *Bhinat puro na bhido adevīr nanamo vadhar adevasya pīyoḥ* | "Thou hast pierced the godless piercers like their castles: thou hast bowed down the weapon of the godless destroyer." ii. 14, 6: *Yaḥ śataṁ Sambarasya puro bibheda aśmaneva pūrvīḥ* | "Who split the hundred, the numerous, castles of Sambara as with a thunderbolt." ii. 19, 6: *Divodāsāya navatiṁ cha nava Indraḥ puro vi airach Chhambarasya* | "Indra shattered for Divodāsa a hundred castles of Sambara." iii. 12, 6: *Indrāgnī navatim puro dāsapatnīr adhūnutam* | *sākam ekena karmaṇā* | "Indra and Agni, by one effort together, ye have shattered ninety castles belonging to the Dasyus." iv. 26, 3: *Aham puro mandasāno vi airam nava sākaṁ navatīḥ Samba-*

[47] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. paṇi*, where R.V. vii. 6, 3, is cited among the texts where the word means "niggard;" and comp. my art. on the "Priests in the Vedic Age," Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, p. 290.

break down the seven autumnal castles, thou didst slay the (people), showing favour to Purukutsa."[51]

The epithet *śasvat* is applied to castles in the following text. word means, as is well known, "constant," "perpetual," but ing to the Nighaṇṭus it has the meaning of "many;" and generally understands it in this sense. viii. 17, 14: *Drapsa purām̐ śaśvatīnām Indro munīnām̐ sakā* | "The drop (of Soma splitter of many (or of the perpetual) castles. Indra is the f sages." viii. 87, 6: *Tvam̐ hi śaśvatīnām Indra dartā purām asi dasyor manor vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, art the d of many (or the perpetual) castles, the slayer of the Dasyu, th factor of man, the lord of the sky."[52] Castles of stone are men in one passage, iv. 30, 20: *S'atam aśmanmayīnām purām Indro v Divodāsāya dāśushe* | "Indra has thrown down a hundred castle of stone, for his worshipper Divodāsa."[53] In R.V. viii. 1, 28, tion is made of a "moving" castle: *Tvam purām̐ charishṇavam̐ va S'ushṇasya sampiṇak* | "Thou hast shattered with thy bolts the mo castle of S'ushṇa."[54]

The castles referred to in these Vedic hymns were, in later time at least, understood of castles of the Asuras; and the following legen was invented to explain what they were. In the Commentary on the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā of the Yajurveda, the following passage occurs: *Atra iyam ākhyāyikā asti* | *devaiḥ parājitāḥ asurās tapas taptvā trai-lokye trīṇi purāṇi chakrur lohamayīm bhūmau rājatīm antarikshe haimīm̐ divi* | *tadā devais tāḥ dagdhum upasadā Agnir ārādhitaḥ* | *tataḥ upasad-devatā-rūpo 'gnir yadā tāsu pūrshu praviśya tāḥ dadāha tadā tisraḥ puro 'gnes tanavo 'bhūvan* | *tad abhipretya ayam mantraḥ* | "On this text [Vāj. Sanh. 5, 8], the following story is told:—The Asuras

[51] Sāyaṇa, in his note on this verse, explains the word *śāradīḥ* differently, as *śaran-nāmnaḥ asurasya sambandhinīḥ* | "Belonging to an Asura called S'arad." Sāyaṇa renders the word *s'arma* in this passage by "with thy thunderbolt." In his note on R.V. i. 174, 2, he had previously rendered it by "for our happiness." I have ventured to render it "our defence."

[52] In R.V. viii. 84, 3, we find the same epithet applied to persons: *Tvam hi śaśvatīnam patiḥ rājā viśām asi* | "Thou art the lord, the king of many peoples."

[53] Sāyaṇa interprets *aśmanmayīnām* by *pāshāṇair nirmitānām*, "built of stone," and says they were the cities of S'ambara.

[54] It appears that moving cloud-castles are here meant.

pratyakurvata agnīdhram antarikshād havirdhāne divas tathā imān lokān purah pratyakurvata | te devāḥ abruvann "upasadaḥ upāyāma upasadā vai mahāpuraṁ jayanti" iti "tathā" iti | te yām eva prathamām upasadam upāyaṁs tayā eva enān asmāl lokād anudanta yāṁ dvitīyāṁ tayā 'ntarikshād yāṁ tritīyāṁ tayā divaḥ | tāṁs tathā ebhyo lokebhyo 'nudanta.
"The gods and Asuras strove together in these worlds. The Asuras made these worlds into castles, as strong and powerful persons do. Thus they made this earth a castle of iron, the air one of silver, and the sky one of gold: thus did they make these worlds castles. The gods said: "These Asuras have made these worlds into castles; let us in turn make of them counter-castles." (The other gods said) 'so b[e] it.' They (accordingly) made out of this earth a sitting-room[67] (sada[s]) out of the air a fire-altar, and out of the sky two receptacles of ob[la]tions: thus they made these worlds into counter-castles. The g[ods] said, 'let us enter upon sieges (*upasadaḥ*),[68] for by siege men conqu[er a] great fort.' (The other gods said) 'so be it.' By the first sieg[e] which they entered they drove them (the Asuras) from this earth, the second from the air, and by the third from the sky. So they d[rove] them from these worlds."

Further on, in section 25 of the same chapter, the Aitareya Br[āh]maṇa says:—*Ishuṁ vai etāṁ devāḥ samaskurvata yad upasadaḥ | tasy[ā]... Agnir anīkam āsīt Somaḥ śalyo Vishṇus tejanaṁ Varuṇaḥ parṇāni... tām ājyadhanvāno 'srijaṁs tayā puro bhindantaḥ āyan |* "The god[s] prepared this arrow, the Upasads. Agni was its shaft, Soma was its... iron, Vishṇu was its point, Varuṇa its feathers. Using the ājya for a bow, they discharged this arrow, and went forward shattering the castles."

The Taittirīya Sanhitā, vi. 2, 3 (as quoted in the comment[ar]y on... earlier part of the same work, Bibl. Ind., Black Yajurveda, in... first volume, page 390, f.), thus relates the story, combining the p[arts] of the narrative which are separated in the two other Brāhmaṇas. *Teshām asurāṇām tisraḥ puraḥ āsan | ayasmayī avamā 'tha rajatā 'th[a] hariṇī | tāḥ devāḥ jetuṁ nāśaknuvan | tāḥ upasadā eva ajigīshan... āhur "yaś chaivaṁ veda yaś cha na upasadā vai mahāpuraṁ ...jayanti"*

[67] This is Prof. Haug's rendering. See his note, Transl. of Ait. Br. ...

[68] "There is throughout this chapter a pun between the two meani[ngs] 'siege,' and a certain ceremony" [so called] "observable."—Haug, p. ...

Sambara living in the mountains in the fortieth autumn;" and in i. 130, 7: *Bhinat puro navatim Indra Pūrave Divodāsāya mahi dāśushe nṛito vajreṇa dāśushe nṛitaḥ | Atithigvāya S'ambaraṁ girer ugro avābharat | maho dhanāni dayamānaḥ ojasā viśvā dhanāni ojasā |* "O Indra, impetuous, thou didst shatter by thy bolt ninety-nine cities for Pūru (or the man), for the very liberal sacrificer Divodāsa;—impetuous,—for the liberal sacrificer. Fierce, he hurled down Sambara from the mountain for the sake of Atithigva, bestowing great wealth by his power, all wealth by his power." iv. 30, 14: *Uta dāsaṁ Kaulitaram bṛihataḥ parvatād adhi | avāhann Indra S'ambaram |* "Thou, Indra, didst cast down the Dāsa Sambara, son of Kulitara, from the great mountain." vi. 26, 5: *Ava girer dāsaṁ S'ambaram han prāvo Divodāsam |* "Thou didst hurl down the Dāsa Sambara from the mountain, thou didst preserve Divodāsa."

The wealth or property of the Dasyus or Asuras is spoken of in various places. Thus in i. 33, 4: *Vadhīr hi dasyuṁ dhaninaṁ ghanena ekaś charann upa śākebhir Indra |* "Thou, O Indra, advancing singly, hast slain the wealthy Dasyu, together with his allies, with thy destructive weapon."[61] i. 176, 4: *Asunvantaṁ samaṁ jahi dūṇāśaṁ yo na te mayaḥ | asmabhyam asya vedanaṁ daddhi sūriś chid ohate |* "Kill all those who make no oblations, though difficult to destroy, and who cause thee no gladness; give us their wealth: the worshipper expects it." ii. 15, 4: *Sa pravolhṛīn parigatya Dabhīter viśvam adhāg āyudham iddhe agnau | sa gobhir aśvair asṛijad rathebhiḥ |* "Surrounding those (Asuras) who had carried away Dabhīti, he burned all their weapons in the blazing fire, and presented him with cows, horses, and chariots." iv. 30, 13: *Uta Sushṇasya dhṛishṇuyā pramṛiksho abhi vedanam | puro yad asya sampiṇak |* "Thou didst boldly sweep away the wealth of Sushṇa, when thou didst shatter his castles." viii. 40, 6: *Api vṛiścha purāṇa-vad vratater iva gushpitam | ojo dāsasya dambhaya | vayaṁ tad asya sambhṛitaṁ vasu Indreṇa vibhajemahi |* "Root up, as of old, like (a tree) overgrown by a creeping plant; subdue the might of the Dāsa; may we through [or with]

[61] Sāyaṇa remarks on this verse: "The Vājasaneyins distinctly record this [of Vṛitra] in these words; '*Vṛittrasyāntaḥ sarve devāḥ sarvāścha vidyāḥ havīṁshi cha āsan*: In Vṛitra were contained all the gods, all the sciences, oblations.'"

nine [followers]. 10. Thou hast by thy aids protected Suśra[vas] ... thy help Tūrvayāṇa. To this mighty youthful king thou has[t] ... Kutsa, Atithigva, and Āyu."[64] ii. 30, 8: ... Sarasvati t[vam] ... *aviḍḍhi marutvatī dhṛishatī jeshi śatrūn | tyam* ... *chit śardhanta[m]* ... *yamāṇam Indro hanti vṛishabhaṁ S'aṇḍikānām* | "Sarasvati, protect us: impetuous, attended by the Maruts, thou conque[rest our] enemies. Indra destroys the chief of the S'aṇḍikas, arroga[ntly] making a display of his strength."[65] iv. 30, 15: *Uta dāsasya* ... *naḥ sahasrāṇi śatā 'vadhīḥ | adhi pancha pradhīṁr iva | 21 | asv*[*āpa*] ... *Dabhītaye sahasrā triṁśataṁ hathaiḥ | dāsānām Indro māyayā |* ... hast slain above a thousand and five hundred followers of the ... Varchin like fellies of a wheel [crushed, or whirled round?]"[66] 21. I...

[64] The youthful king, alluded to in the last verse, is said by Roth (Lexicon, ... the word "Atithigva") to be Tūrvayāṇa. See, however, under Tūrvayāṇa. ... (Or. und Occ., i. 413) says it must be Suśravas. These names occur again ... 18, 13. Kutsa is sometimes aided (R.V., i. 63, 3; i. 121, 9; iv. 16, 12; ... and sometimes vanquished (ii. 14, 7; iv. 26, 1; vi. 18, 13; Vāl., 5, 2), by I...

[65] Sāyaṇa says that *S'aṇḍāmarkāv Asurapurohitau*: "S'aṇḍa and Marka ... priests of the Asuras." See the story regarding them in Taitt. San., vi. 4, 10, ... in the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note, where they appear in the ch... referred to by Sāyaṇa. The story is somwhat differently told in S'atap. Br. ... 1, 5: *Yatra vai devāḥ asura-rakshasāni apajaghnire tad etāv eva na śekur ap*... *tum | yad ha sma devāḥ kincha karma kurvate tad ha sma mohayitvā kshipr*... *punar apadravataḥ* | 6 | *te ha devāḥ ūchuḥ* | "*upajānīta yatha imāv apahanāma* ... *iti | te ha ūchuḥ* | "*grahāv eva ābhyām gṛihṇāma tāv abhyavaishyataḥ | tau svi*... *apahanishyāmahe" ita | tābhyāṁ grahau jagṛihuḥ | tāv abhyavaitām | tau svi*... *apaghnata | tasmāt S'aṇḍāmarkābhyāṁ gṛihyete devatābhyo hūyete* | "When ... gods smote the Asuras and Rakshases, they could not smite these two (S'aṇḍa ... Marka, who had just been named). When the gods performed any rite, these ... used to come and disturb it, and then run away quickly. 6. The gods said: 'C[onsider]... sider how we shall smite them.' They (the other gods ?) said: 'Let us prepare ... draughts for them; they will alight; and then we shall master and smite them ... They accordingly prepared libations for these two. They alighted. They (the go[ds]) ... mastered and smote them. Hence two draughts are prepared for S'aṇḍa and Mark[a] ... but are offered to the gods." In the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 4, 14 (p. 9 of Weber's ... edition), Kilāta and Ākuli are declared to be the priests of the Asuras: *Kilātāku*[*lī*] ... *iti ha Asura-brahmāv āsatuḥ*. Z. D. M. G. for 1850, p. 302. In Ind. Stud., i. 32 ... Weber quotes the following words from the Pānchvinśa-brāhmaṇa, 13, 11; *Gaupā*... *vanānām vai satram āsīnānām Kirātākulyāv asuramāye*, etc. "While the Gaupā-vanas were seated at a sacrifice, Kirāta and Ākuli, etc." See also Ind. Stud., i., p. 186, 195, ii. 243. According to the Mahābhārata, i. 2544, Uśanas Kāvya, or S'ukra, son of Bhṛigu (v. 2606) was the teacher (*upādhyāya*) of the Asuras, and his four sons were their priests (*yâjakāḥ*). In verses 3188, ff., of the same book, the rivalry of Uśanas and Angiras is referred to. Uśanas Kāvya was the messenger of the Asuras, according to the Taitt. San., i. 5, 8, 5.

[66] See also R.V., vii. 99, 5.

14, 4: *Yaḥ Uraṇaṁ jaghāna nava chakhvāṁsaṁ navatiṁ cha bāhūn* | *Arbudam ava nīchā babādhe* | "Who slew Uraṇa, displaying ninety-n[ine] arms; who struck down Arbuda," etc. x. 99, 6: *Sa id dāsaṁ tuvira[vam] patir dan shaḍaksham triśīrshāṇaṁ damanyat* | *asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidh[āno] vipā varāham ayoagrayā han* | "This lord humbled and subjugated [the] loud-shouting Dāsa, with six eyes and three heads.[70] Trita, increas[ed] in strength, smote this boar with his iron-tipped shaft." The enem[ies] of Indra are spoken of in a few passages as scaling the sky: thus [ii.] 12, 12: *Yo Rauhiṇam asphurad vajrabāhur dyām arohantaṁ sa janā[sa] Indraḥ* | "O men, he who, armed with the thunder, slew Rauh[iṇa] as he was scaling the heaven, is Indra." viii. 14, 14: *Māyā[bhir] utsisṛipsataḥ Indra dyām ārurukshataḥ ava dasyūn adhūnuthāḥ* | "Thou, Indra, hast hurled down the Dasyus, who, by their su[per]human powers, were mounting upwards, and seeking to scale heaven." In ii. 12, 2, the Dasyus are said to regard themselves as immor[tal]: *Sṛijo mahīr Indra yāḥ apinvaḥ parishṭhitāḥ Ahinā śūra pūr[vīḥ] amartyaṁ chid dāsan manyamānam avābhinad ukthair vavṛidhān[aḥ]* | "Thou hast, O heroic Indra, let loose the abundant waters, wh[ich] thou augmentedst when they were stopped by Ahi. Gaining vig[our] by hymns, he shattered the Dāsa, who regarded himself as immort[al]." In v. 7, 10, the Dasyus are conjoined with men: *Ād Agne apṛi[ṇato] 'triḥ sāsahyād dasyūn ishaḥ sāsahyād nṛīn* | "Hereupon, O A[gni], may the Atri overcome the illiberal Dasyus, may Isha overcome men."

I have thus brought under review in this section a variety of pass[ages] which bear, or might be conceived to bear, some reference to the [con]quest of territory by the Āryas and to the condition, colour, spe[ech,] religious rites, and castles of the Dasyus. The meaning of many of th[ese] texts is, however, as we have seen, extremely doubtful; and som[e of] them are clearly of a mythological import. Such, for instance, [are] those which describe the contests of Indra with Vṛitra, the demo[n ...]

are said to be *parāpuraḥ* and *nipuraḥ*, which the commentary on V.S., 2, 30, [ex]plains as having gross or subtile bodies. In that passage the word *asurāḥ* is [used] instead of *Dasyus*. See also A.V., x. 3, 11, where they are identified with as[uras]: *Indro dasyūn iva asurān.*

[70] In S'atap. Br., p. 57, a son of Tvashṭri with three heads and six eyes is m[en]tioned as having his three heads cut off by Indra.

[71] In i. 78, 4, the expression *yo dasyūn ava dhūnushe* recurs.

where the original passage and the translation are given.) "In other passages [of the R.V.] the word . . . devil (rakshas) is clearly applied to barbarous nations. Originally rakshas meant strong and powerful, but it soon took the sense of giant and barbarian,[73] and in this sense it occurs in the Veda, together with Yātudhāna. Another Vaidik epithet applied, as it seems, to wild tribes infesting the seats of the Āryas, is 'anagnitra,' 'they who do not keep the fire.' Thus we read, 'Agni, drive away from us the enemies—tribes who keep no sacred fires came to attack us. Come again to the earth, sacred god, with all the immortals, come to our libation.'[74] The same races are called 'kravyād,' or flesh-eaters. In a famous hymn of Vasishṭha we read: 'Indra and Soma, burn the Rakshas, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness. Hew down the madmen, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon! may he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain, who hates the Brahman, who eats flesh, and whose look is abominable.'[75] . . . Kravyād, flesh-eater, means people who eat raw meat, . . . and they are also called *āmādas*, . . . or raw-eaters, for

[73] The Rev. Dr. Wilson (India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 20) thinks that the words Rākshasa, Piśācha, and Asura, were originally names of tribes; but he adduces no proof of this, and I have found none.

[74] R.V. i. 189, 3: *Agne tvam asmad yuyodhi amīvāḥ anagnitrāḥ abhyamanta kṛishṭhīḥ | Punar asmabhyan suvitāya Deva kshām viśvebhir amṛitebhir yajatra ||*

[75] [R.V. vii. 104, 1, 2: *Indrā-Somā tapatam raksha ubjatam ni arpayatam vṛishaṇā tamovṛidhaḥ | Parāśṛinītam achito ni oshatam hatam nudethām ni śiśītam atṛinaḥ | Indrā-Somā sam aghaśamsam abhy agham tapur yayastu charur agnivān iva | Brahmadvishe kravyāde ghorachakshase dvesho dhattam anavāyam kimīdine |* In a similar strain, Viśvāmitra, the rival of Vasishṭha, says, in R.V. iii. 30, 15–17: *Indra dṛihya yāmakośā abhūvan yajñāya śiksha griṇate sakhibhyaḥ | Durmāyavo durevā martyāso nishanginо ripavo hantvāsaḥ | sam ghoshaḥ sṛiṇve avamair amitrair jahi ni eshu aśanim tapishṭhām | Vṛiścha īm adhastād vi ruja sahasva jahi raksho Maghavan randhayasva | Udvṛiha rakshaḥ sahamūlam Indra vṛiścha madhyam prati agram śriṇīhi | ā kīvataḥ salalūkam chakartha brahmadvishe tapushim hetim asya |* "Indra, be strong; [the Rakshases?] have stopped the road: bestow favour on the sacrifice, and on thy worshipper and his friends: let our mortal foes, bearing quivers, practising wicked deceit, and malicious, be destroyed. A sound has been heard by our nearest foes; hurl upon them thy hottest bolt, cut them up from beneath, shatter them, overpower them; kill and subdue the Rakshas, O Maghavan! Tear up the Rakshas by the roots, Indra, cut him in the midst, destroy him at the extremities. How long dost thou delay? Hurl thy burning shaft against the enemy of devotion." See Roth, Illustr. of Nir., vi. 3, p. 72.—J.M.]

beautiful nose of Indra was suggested by the flat noses of the aboriginal races. Tribes with flat, or even no noses at all, are mentioned by Alexander's companions in India; and in the hymns of the Rigveda, Manu is said to have conquered Vi-śiśipra (Pada-text, viśi-śipra), which may be translated by 'noseless.' The Dāsa, or barbarian, is also called 'vṛishaśipra' in the Veda, which seems to mean 'goat or bull-nosed,' and the 'anāsas,' enemies whom Indra killed with his weapon (R.V. v. 29, 9, 10), are probably meant for noseless (a-nāsas), not, as the commentator supposes, for faceless (an-āsas) people." (See above, p. 377, f.)

Professor Müller then proceeds to remark that the physical features of the aboriginal tribes are more distinctly described in the Purāṇas. (See the first volume of this work, pp. 301, 303, and a passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which will be quoted further on).

We may, perhaps, be better able to understand many of the expressions and allusions in the hymns, and the manner in which some particular phrases and epithets are applied (as it would appear, indiscriminately, to the different classes of beings, human, ethereal, or demoniacal), if we can first of all obtain an idea of the position in which the Āryas, on their settlement in India, would probably find themselves placed in reference to the aboriginal tribes; and if we, secondly, consider that the hymns in which these phrases are recorded were composed at various dates, ranging over several centuries; that the same words and phrases are perpetually recurring in the different hymns; and that expressions employed in one sense in the earlier hymns may have been transferred, in the compositions of a later date, to a different class of beings. We have further to recollect, that the hymns may not always have been handed down in a complete state, and that portions of different compositions, which had originally a different subject and purpose, may have been erroneously thrown together by compilers in after-ages. I shall say a few words, by way of conjecture, on each of these topics.

First, then, we may conceive the Āryas advancing from the Indus in a south-easterly direction into a country probably covered with forest, and occupied by savage tribes, who lived in rude huts, perhaps defended by entrenchments, and subsisted on the spontaneous products of the woods, or on the produce of the chase, and of fishing; or by some attempts

in one of the Brāhmaṇas, as driving away or destroying the devils.[80] In a similar way the author of the Rāmāyaṇa (if we suppose that there is any historical basis for his poetical narrative) speaks, as we shall shortly see, of the barbarian tribes encountered by Rāma in the Dekhan as Rākshasas and monkeys.[81] This state of things might last for some time. The Āryas, after advancing some way, might halt, to occupy, to clear and to cultivate the territory they had acquired; and the aborigines might continue in possession of the adjacent tracts, sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with their invaders. At length the further advance of the Āryas would either drive the Dasyus into the remotest corners of the country, or lead to their partial incorporation with the conquerers as the lowest grade in their community. When this stage was reached, the Āryas would have no longer any occasion to compose prayers to the gods for protection against the aboriginal tribes; but their superstitious dread of the evil spirits, with which the popular mind in all ages has been prone to people the night, would still continue.

Secondly. Throughout the whole period (which we may presume to have extended over several centuries) during which the state of things just described continued, the composition of the Vedic hymns was proceeding. These hymns were (as we have supposed, pp. 196, 198) preserved by the descendants of the several bards, who on their part, again, were constantly adding to the collection other new compositions of their own. The authors of these new effusions would naturally incorporate in them many thoughts and phrases borrowed from the older hymns which were preserved in their recollection,[82] and which were now, perhaps, beginning to be invested with a certain sanctity. As circumstances changed, the allusions and references in the older hymns might be forgotten; and it might happen that some of the expressions occurring in them would no longer be distinctly understood, and might in this way be applied to conditions and events to which they had originally no reference. The same thing might also happen by way of accommodation: phrases or epithets referring

[80] Quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 33, 8: *Ādityō hy eva udyan purastād rakshāṁsy apahanti.* See also Sāyaṇa on R.V., i. 71, 4.

[81] And in our own experience the Chinese speak of Europeans as "foreign devils."

[82] Compare Renan's Histoire des langues Sémitiques, 2nd ed. p. 120, note 1.

That this is not merely a presumption, but that, at least, something like the process in question actually took place in India, may be illustrated by the following curious passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 585: *Tasmād api adya iha adadānam aśraddadhānam ayajamānam āhur "āsura vata" iti | Asurāṇāṁ hy eshā upanishat pretasya śarīram bhikshayā vasanena alankāreṇa iti saṁskurvanti | etena hy amuṁ lokaṁ jeshyanto manyante* | "Hence even at the present day a person who is destitute of liberality and faith, and who does not sacrifice, is contemptuously addressed as one of the Asura race. This is the sacred doctrine of the Asuras: they adorn the bodies of the dead with gifts, with raiment, and jewels, and imagine that by this means they shall attain the world to come."[83]

The following passage of the Śatap. Br. iii. 2, 1, 23 and 24 (p. 235, Weber's ed.), may also serve to show the connexion between the aborigines and Asuras: *Te Asurāḥ āttavachaso "he alavaḥ he alavaḥ" iti vadantah parābabhūvuḥ | Tatra etām api vācham ūdur upajijñāsyā sa mlechhas | Tasmād na brāhmaṇo mlechhed | Asuryā ha eshā vāk* | "The Asuras, deprived of speech, and crying *he alavaḥ* ('O enemies,' incorrectly, instead of *he arayaḥ*), were defeated. Here they also spoke this doubtful expression. This is incorrect language [or one who speaks so is a mlechha]. Therefore let no Brahman speak incorrectly; for this is the language of the Asuras."[84]

[83] See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 271, 2, and note. Compare Manu, xi. 20: *Yad dhanaṁ yajñaśīlānāṁ deva-svaṁ tad vidur budhāḥ | Ayajvanāṁ tu yad vittam āsura-svam tad uchyate* || "The wealth of those who practise sacrifice is regarded by the wise as the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who never sacrifice is called the property of the Asuras." See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, ii, 8, 1, 5 (App. Note N.), and Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 189; as well as the text from the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa cited in the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 21.

[84] In the Brāhmaṇas numerous mythical tales occur of battles between the Devas (gods) and Asuras, which Weber (Ind. Stud. i. 186, and ii. 243) thinks are often to be understood of contests between the Arians and the aborigines. This he considers to be proved by the passage about Kilāta (whose name nearly corresponds with that of the Kirātas, an aboriginal race) and Ākuli, priests of the Asuras, quoted above, p. 386, note, from the S'atap. Br., and by the legend of Rāvaṇa. It may be also worthy of note, that the word *krivi*, when occurring in the R.V. (in ii. 17, 6, and elsewhere), though taken by Roth, in his Lexicon, to mean generally a cloud, is understood by the Commentator as the name of an Asura; while the same word is stated in the S'atap. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 7, to be an old name of the Panchālas: *Krivaya iti ha vai purā Panchālān āchakshate.*

Zeitschrift, iii. p. 201):—"The holiness [of the Sarasvatī] must also rest on historical grounds, and be referred to an age when the contrast had become strongly marked between the inhabitants of inner India, whose institutions were framed according to rigid sacerdotal principles, and the occupants of the Panjāb, by whom such rules were but imperfectly observed. This contrast, however, was not only applicable to the people of the west: towards the south also the country which was regulated by institutions of a strictly Indian character, terminated with the Sarasvatī: the place where that river disappeared was the door of the Nishāda country; and she disappeared in order that she might not come into contact with that impure race."[86] Of the same locality Professor Wilson (Vishṇu-Purāṇa, Preface, p. lxvii) remarks: "Various adventures of the first princes and most famous sages occur in this vicinity; and the Āśramas, or religious domiciles, of several of the latter are placed on the banks of the Sarasvatī. According to some authorities, it was the abode of Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas and Purāṇas; and agreeably to another, when on one occasion the Vedas had fallen into disuse, and been forgotten, the Brahmans were again instructed in them by Sārasvata, the son of Sarasvatī.[87] One of the most distinguished of the tribes of the Brahmans is known as the Sārasvata. . . . The

udakam māpād" iti | "The ṛishis attended at a sacrifice on the [banks of] the Sarasvatī. They removed Kavasha Ailūsha from the soma, saying, 'This is the son of a bondmaid, a gamester (or deceiver), and no Brāhman; how has he consecrated himself among us in the sacred rite?' Accordingly they took him into the wilderness, saying, 'Let thirst destroy him here; let him not drink the water of the Sarasvatī.' The Sarasvatī, however, showed him favour, and the Brāhmans in consequence admitted him to their fellowship. In the Mahābh., iii. 5074, quoted by Lassen (Zeitschr., iii. 200), it is said: *Dakshiṇena Sarasvatyāḥ Drishadvaty-uttareṇa cha, ye vasanti Kurukshetre te vasanti tripishṭape* | "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra, south of the Sarasvatī, and north of the Dṛishadvatī, dwell in heaven." See also the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 421, f.

[86] Mahābh., iii. 10,538: *Etad Vinaśanaṁ nāma Sarasvatyāḥ viśāmpate | dvāraṁ Nishādarāshṭrasya yeshāṁ doshāt Sarasvatī | Praviṣṭā prithivīṁ vīra mā Nishādāḥ hi māṁ viduḥ* | "This is the place called the Vinaśana (disappearance) of the Sarasvatī, the gate of the country of the Nishādas, to whose impurity it was due that the Sarasvatī sank into the earth, lest [as she said] the Nishādas should become acquainted with her."

[87] An abstract of the legend here referred to is given by Professor Wilson at p. 285, 1st ed. of his work, note 9; 2nd ed., vol. iii. p. 70. The passage occurs in the ixth or S'alya Parva of the Mahābh., verse 2960. A twelve years' drought

Drishadvatī, is called Brahmāvartta. 18. The usage relating to castes and mixed castes which has been traditionally received in that country, is called the pure usage. 19. The country of Kurukshetra, and of the Matsyas, Panchālas, and Sūrasenas, which adjoins Brahmāvartta, is the land of brahmarshis (divine rishis). 20. From a Brāhman born in that region let all men upon earth learn their respective duties. 21. The tract situated between the Himavat and the Vindhya ranges to the east of Vinaśana, and to the west of Prayāga, is known as the Madhyadeśa (central region). 22. The wise know as Āryāvartta the country which lies between the same two ranges, and extends from the eastern to the western ocean. 23. The land where the black antelope naturally grazes is to be regarded as the proper region of sacrifice; beyond that limit lies the country of the Mlechhas. 24. Let twice-born men be careful to remain within these (specified) countries. But a Sūdra may dwell anywhere, when drawn to seek subsistence."[89]

From this passage it appears that at the period to which the rules prescribed in these verses are referable the Brāhmans had ... not ordinarily penetrated to the south of the Vindhya range ... adventurers might have visited, or hermits might have ... those regions. And even to the north of the Vindhya we ... country distributed into several tracts more or less holy, ... to their distance from the hallowed spot in the north lying on the banks of the Sarasvatī. First, then, we have this smal... itself, Brahmāvartta. This name may signify (1) either the ... Brahmā, the creator, in which case it may have been regarded ... some peculiar sense the abode of this god, and possibly the scene ... creation; or (2) the region of devotion or the Vedas (brahma ... then it will rather denote the country which was sanctified by the performance of holy rites and the study of sacred literature. Next in order we have the land of the Brahmarshis, comprising Kuruk...

[89] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the following note: ... says: *S'ūdrāṇām aniravasitānām* : the combination into a ... are not excluded (Kaiyyaṭa explains *niravasita* by *vahishkṛita*) ... singular. On this the Mahābhāshya remarks: *Āryāvartād aniravasitānām* ... *Āryāvartāḥ* | *prāg Ādarśāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshiṇena Himavantam* ... *Paripātram* | " The sense is as follows: "'Not excluded' from Āryāvarta ... what are the Āryāvartas? The country east of Ādarśa, west of Kālakavana (or the forest of Kālaka), south of the Himavat, and north of Paripātra."

In the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa we find the following remarkable legend, to which attention was first drawn by Weber (in his Ind. Stud., i. 170, ff.),[93] regarding the advance of the Brāhmans, and the spread of their religious rites in an easterly direction from the banks of the Sarasvatī (S'atap. Br., i. 4, 1, 10, ff.):—*Videgho ha Māthavo 'gniṁ Vaiśvānaram mukhe babhāra | tasya Gotamo Rāhūgaṇaḥ ṛishiḥ purohitaḥ āsa | tasmai sma āmantryamāṇo na pratiśṛiṇoti "na id me 'gnir vaiśvānaro mukhād nishpadyātai" iti | tam ṛigbhir hvayituṁ dadhre "'vītihotraṁ tvā kave dyumantaṁ samidhīmahi | Agne bṛihantam adhvare' videgha" iti | sa na pratiśuśrāva "'Ud Agne śuchayas tava śukrāḥ bhrājantaḥ īrate | tava jyotīṁshi archayo' videghā" iti | sa ha naiva pratiśuśrāva | "taṁ tvā ghṛitasnav īmahe" ity eva abhivyāharad | atha asya ghṛita-kīrtāv eva Agnir Vaiśvānaro mukhād ujjajvāla | taṁ na śaśāka dhārayitum | so 'sya mukhād nishpede | sa imām pṛithivīm prāpa adaḥ | tarhi Videgho Māthavaḥ āsa sarasvatyām | sa tataḥ eva prāṅ dahann abhīyāya imām pṛithivīm | taṁ Gotamaś cha Rāhūgaṇo Videghaś cha Māthavaḥ paśchād dahantam anvīyatuḥ | sa imāḥ sarvāḥ nadīr atidadāha | Sadānīrā ity uttarād girer nirdhāvati | tāṁ ha eva na atidadāha | tāṁ ha sma tām purā brāhmaṇāḥ na taranti "anatidagdhā agninā Vaiśvānareṇa" iti | tataḥ etarhi prāchīnam bahavo brāhmaṇāḥ | tad ha akshetrataram iva āsa srāvitaram iva asvāditam Agninā Vaiśvānareṇa iti | tad u ha etarhi kshetrataram iva brāhmaṇāḥ u hi nūnam etad yajnair asishvidan | sā 'pi jaghanye naidāghe sam iva eva kopayati tāvat śītā 'natidagdhā hy Agninā Vaiśvānareṇa | sa ha uvācha Videgho Māthavaḥ "kva aham bhavāni" iti | "ataḥ eva te prāchīnam bhuvanam" iti ha uvācha | sā eshā 'py etarhi kośala-videhānām maryādā | te hi Māthavāḥ | Atha ha uvācha Gotamo Rāhūgaṇaḥ "Kathaṁ nu me āmantryamāṇo na pratyaśraushīr" iti | Sa ha uvācha "Agnir me Vaiśvānaro mukhe 'bhūt sa na id me mukhād nishpadyātai tasmāt te na pratyaśrausham" iti | "tad u katham abhūd" iti | "Yatra eva tvam 'ghṛitasnav īmahe' iti abhivyāhārshīs tadā eva ghṛita-kīrtāv Agnir Vaiśvānaro mukhād udajvālīt taṁ nāśakaṁ dhārayitum | sa me mukhād nirapādi" iti |* "Videgha[94] the Māthava bore Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The Ṛishi Gotama Rāhūgaṇa[95] was his priest (purohita). Though addressed by him he (Videgha) did not answer, 'lest (he said)

[93] See also Lassen's Ind. Ant vol. i. (2nd ed.), p. 645.

[94] Afterwards prakritized to Videha?

[95] See R.V. i. 78, 5.

cape from my mouth.' [The priest] began to
s of the Ṛik; 'We kindle thee, at the sacrifice,
cer, the luminous, the mighty' (R.V. v. 26, 3)
e no answer. [The priest then repeated,] 'Thy
ng beams and rays mount upwards, O Agni,
O Videgha.' [Still] he made no reply. [The
'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke,' etc.
far he uttered; when immediately on the men-
Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from his mouth:
im, so he issued from his mouth, and then fell
Videgha the Māthava was then on [or in] the
hen traversed this earth, burning forwards the
aṇa and Videgha the Māthava followed after
ward. He burnt across all these rivers, but he
the Sadānīrā, which descends from the northern
aya]. The Brāhmans formerly did not use to
use it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaiś-
y Brāhmans [live] to the east of it.
swampy, being untasted by Agni
habitable; for Brāhmans have caused
n the end of summer this river is,
old, not having been burnt across by Agni
Māthava spake: 'Where shall I abide?'
[shall be] to the east of this (river)
boundary of the Kośalas and Videhas;
a Rāhūgaṇa then said: 'How was
me, thou didst not answer?' He
in my mouth. I did not answer lest he
' 'How then,' [rejoined Gotama] 'did
ped]?' [Videgha answered]: 'As thou
ropper of butter, we invoke," then, at the
iśvānara flashed forth from my mouth:
ed from my mouth.'"

e gradual advance of the Âryas with
rom the banks of the Sarasvatī eastward to
terwards beyond that stream, is, as I have
At the time when the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa

composed, the Brāhmans had already (as Weber remarks) dwelt for a long time in the country beyond the Sadānīrā, and it had then become a principal seat of the Brahmanical religion; as Janaka, the king of Videha, appears in that work with the title of "samrāṭ," or emperor. Thus (S'atap. Br. xi. 3, 1, 2), we have the following notice: "Janaka the Vaideha put this question to Yājnavalkya. 'Dost thou, O Yājnavalkya, know the Agnihotra sacrifice?' 'O monarch,' he replied, 'I know it.'"[96] Professor Weber makes the following remarks on the legend I have just quoted: "Under the name of Agni Vaiśvānara (the Fire which burns for all men), the sacrificial worship of the Brāhmans appears to be intended. The part which in the legend the pries plays in reference to the king is mysterious; but I understand it to mean that he compelled him to propagate the Arian worship towards the east. The Sadānīrā presents an obstacle, not from its magnitude or the difficulty of crossing it (which the Ganges and Jumna must have previously done in a greater degree), but from the inhospitable character of the territory beyond; for the word 'sāvitaram,' 'some-what flowing,' designates the nature of the tract as an inundated swamp.[97] Even after Videgha Māthava had advanced across the river, the Brāhmans (as the Arians are here called) appear to have remained for a long time on its western bank, and to have only crossed in greater numbers after the king with his people had cultivated the country; until, in the time of the S'atap. Br., it had attained such a flourishing condition, that the tradition of its oceanic origin was only indistinctly preserved." Ind. Stud. i. pp. 178, 179.

In the Vocabularies of Amara Sinha, i. 2, 3, 33, and Hemachandra, 4, 150, Sadānīrā is given as a synonym of Karatoyā, a river in the north of Bengal Proper. But as the Sadānīrā is in this passage described as forming the boundary between the Kośalas and Videhas, or the countries of Oudh and North Behar, it seems that the river present called the Gandak must be meant.—Weber, as above, p. 18

[96] S'atap. Br. p. 846: *Tad ha etaj Janako Vaideho Yājñavalkyam paprach "vettha agnihotram Yājñavalkya" iti "veda samrāḍ" iti* | See also S'atap. Br. x 6, 2, 1, p. 872, where Janaka is addressed by the Brāhmans by the same title.

[97] In illustration of this, a line of the Mahābh. ii. 1078, is referred to by Web which states that Bhīmasena, in the course of his conquest of the eastern countr came to the territory bordering on the Himavat, which was of aqueous origin: *ta Himavataḥ pārśvaṁ samabhyetya jalodbhavam.*

assen, Ind. Ant. i. 64 (2nd ed.), remarks: "Some lexicographers ntify the Karatoyā with the Sadānīrā, whilst in other lists they are inguished from each other. This appears to be the correct view in present case, especially as Sadānīrā means always 'abounding in, and might be applied to any large river."
en (Zeitschrift for 1839, p. 22, f.) quotes, for another purpose, mments on, the following passage from the Mahābhārata, in the name of the Sadānīrā occurs; but it throws no light on its
"Departing from the Kurus (from Indraprastha), they hrough the middle of Kurujāngala, and came to the lovely ake. Then passing Kālakūṭa, they crossed successively on tain (or in Ekaparvataka?) the rivers Gandakī, Mahāśoṇa, īrā. Having then crossed the beautiful Sarayū, and seen n Kośalā, they crossed the river Mālā Charmaṇvatī, and Mithilā."[88] In this passage (if any order has been pre- will be noticed that the Sadānīrā is placed between the hatever stream this name denotes) and the Sarayū, and so f the latter river. Its position does not, therefore, seem to ed in the ancient Indian authorities. This, however, is of ence for our present purpose, as any uncertainty in regard e locality of the river does not obscure the plain and rt of the legend, viz., that the Brāhmans with their ced from the Sarasvatī eastward to Behar and Bengal.

vance of the Arians from the Doab across the Vindhya d their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan.

tial for the object which I have in view to attempt the precision the different stages in the progress of the and south, which a review and comparison of the e Brāhmaṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata reful investigator to determine, and to refer to

*Kurubhyaḥ prasthitās te tu madhyena Kurujāngalam |
tvā Kālakūṭam atītya cha | Gaṇḍakīṃ cha Mahāśoṇāṃ
Ekaparvatake nadyaḥ krameṇaityāvrajanta te |
pūrvāṃ cha Kośalām | Atītya jagmur Mithilām*

As it is only necessary for my argument to prove that they did advance from the north-west to the east and to the south, and that in so doing they came into contact with aboriginal races who had been in previous occupation of the country, it will suffice for this purpose if (after the foregoing notice of their progress to the eastward) I now pass on to that great southward movement, of which we can perhaps discern the indistinct outlines in the poetic and hyperbolical narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa.

"The Rāmāyaṇa," remarks Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., first ed., i. 534; second ed., p. 646, f.), "in the proper action of the poem, designates, for the most part, only the north of Hindustan as Arian." "It represents Mithilā and Anga in the east as Arian countries; and regards the Kekayas in the west, though dwelling beyond the Sarasvatī, as a pure Arian race; and to this tribe one of the wives of king Daśaratha belongs." Among the persons who were to be invited to the sacrifice of that monarch are the following, Rāmāyaṇa, Schlegel's ed., i. 12, 20, ff. (=Bombay ed., section 13, 21, ff.; and Gorresio's ed., 12, 18, ff.): *Mithilādhipatiṁ śūraṁ Janakaṁ dṛiḍha-vikramam | nishṭhitaṁ sarva-śāstreshu tathā vedeshu nishṭhitam | . . . | tathā Kekaya-rājānaṁ vṛiddhaṁ parama-dhārmikam | śvaśuraṁ rāja-siṁhasya sa-putraṁ tvam ihānaya | Angeśvaraṁ cha rājānam Lomapādaṁ susatkṛitam | suvrataṁ deva-sankāśaṁ svayam evānayasva ha | Prāchyāṁś Sindhusauvīrān Saurāshṭreyāṁś cha pārthivān | Dākshiṇātyān narendrāṁś cha sarvān ānaya mā chiram |* "[Bring] Janaka, the heroic king of Mithilā, of stubborn valour, versed in all the Śāstras, and in the Vedas. . . . Bring also the aged and very righteous king of the Kekayas, the father-in-law of the lion-like king, together with his son; and thyself bring Lomapāda, the devout and god-like king of the Angas, paying him all honour. And bring speedily all the eastern, the Sindhusauvīra, the Surāshṭra, and the southern monarchs."

The word "southern kings" may, Lassen says, be employed here in a restricted sense, or inexactly, for from other parts of the poem it appears that the country to the south of the Vindhya was still unoccupied by the Āryas. Even the banks of the Ganges are represented as occupied by a savage race, the Nishādas. Thus we are told in the Rām., ii. 50, 33, ff., Bombay ed. (=ii. 50, 18, ff., Schlegel's ed.; and ii. 47, 9, ff. in Gorresio's ed.) (a curious passage, which I shall

te at some length): *Tatra rājā Guho nāma Rāmasyātma-samaḥ sakhā |*
shāda-jātyo balavān sthapatiś cheti viśrutaḥ | sa śrutvā purusha-vyā-
m Rāmam vishayam āgatam | vṛiddhaiḥ parivṛito 'mātyair jñātibhiś
upāgataḥ | tato Nishādādhipatim dṛishṭvā dūrād upasthitam |
Saumitriṇā Rāmaḥ samāgachhad Guhena saḥ | tam ārtaḥ sampa-
ya Guho Rāghavam abravīt | "yathā 'yodhyā tathedam te Rāma
avāṇi te | īdṛiśam hi mahābāho kaḥ prāpsyaty atithim priyam" |
avad annādyam upādāya pṛithagvidham | arghyam chopānayach
vākyam chedam uvācha ha | "svāgatam te mahābāho taveyam
ahī | vayam preshyāḥ bhavān bhartā sādhu rājyam praśādhi
. . . Guham evam bruvāṇam tu Rāghavaḥ pratyuvācha ha |
chaiva hṛishṭāś cha bhavatā sarvadā vayam | padbhyām abhi-
iva sneha-sandarśanena cha" | bhujābhyām sādhu-vṛittābhyām
ākyam abravīt | "dishṭyā tvām Guha paśyāmi arogam
waiḥ" | "There [there was] a king called Guha, of the
Nishādas, a friend whom Rāma regarded as himself, and
s a powerful chief (sthapati).[99] He, hearing that the
na had come to his country, approached him attended by
isters and relations. Rāma then, along with the son of
Lakshmaṇa), seeing from a distance that the Nishāda
ved, met him. Guha, distressed (at the state in which
, embraced him, and said: 'This country is thine, like
odhyā. What can I do for thee? For who shall find
r as thou art?' He then brought excellent food of
d quickly presented the customary 'arghya' (offering);
Welcome, large-armed hero, this whole earth is thine:
ants, thou art our master: rule over our kingdom:
. . Rāma replied thus to this address of Guha:
been honoured by thee, and we have been delighted
y thy coming on foot to meet us, and by thy dis-
Then pressing (Guha) with his holy arms, he
Guha, I behold thee and all thy kinsfolk in good
is chieftain provided a boat to ferry Rāma with

of this work, p. 366, note 164, and the gloss of Govinda
i. 3, 34. Bibliotheca Indica, p. 317.
Nishāda should be here represented as a friend of Rāma
self," and whom he affectionately embraces. The com-
n the matter: *Yadyapi īdṛiśa-sakhyam "hīna-preshya*

his wife and brother across the Ganges (Rām., Schegel's ed. ii. 52, vv. 4–7 and 68, ff., = Bombay ed. ii. 52, 5, ff., 74, ff.): and afterwards attended on his other brother, Bharata, when he also passed the same way. (Rām., Schegel's and Bombay editions; ii. 83, 20, and 84, 1, 10, etc.)

In the same poetical narrative, the Daṇḍaka forest is represented as beginning immediately to the south of the Jumna. The whole country from this point to the Godāvarī is described as a wilderness, over which separate hermitages are scattered,[101] while wild beasts and Rākshasas everywhere abound.[102] "The Rāmāyaṇa," says Lassen (first ed., i. 535; second ed., pp. 647, f.), "contains the narrative of the first attempt of the Arians to extend themselves to the south by

hīna-sakhyam" ity ādinā upapātakeshu gaṇitam̃ tathāpi tad vipra-vishayam | rājnām āṭavika-balena prayojanavattvāt shaḍvidha-bala-sangrahasya rāja-dharmatvāchcha tat-sakhyam eva iti dik | atra idam bodhyam Nishāda-Guha-vishaye Rāmasya "ātmasamaḥ sakhā" ity evam̃ vadatā Vālmīkinā Rāma-samatva-Rāma-samāna-khyātitvoktyā bhagavad-bhaktatvena Nishādatve 'pi pūrva-kṛita-śravaṇādimattvena tasya tattvajnatvam̃ sūchitam | "Although such a friendship is, according to the words (no doubt of some smriti), 'the service of the low, and the friendship of the low,' etc., reckoned among the minor sins, yet this refers to Brāhmans, since in the case of kings such friendship is owing to the need they have of a force of people living in the forests, and it is part of a king's duty to collect a force of six kinds of soldiers. Here it is to be understood that Vālmīki, when he describes the Nishāda Guha as being a 'friend dear to Rāma as his own soul,' by speaking of his equality with Rāma, and of his being in the same category with Rāma, intimates that he had,—through his devotion to the Divine Being, and although now in the state of a Nishāda, yet by what he had formerly done and heard,—attained to a knowledge of the highest truth."

[101] Rām. iii. 1, 1, Bombay ed. (= iii. 6, 1, Gorresio): *Pravisya tu mahāraṇyam̃ Daṇḍakāraṇyam ātmavān | Rāmo dadarśa durdharshas tāpasāśrama-maṇḍalam* | Rāma alludes to the vastness of the forest, iii. 11, 31, Bombay ed. (= iii. 15, 33, Gorresio): *Na tu jānāmi tam̃ deśam̃ vanasyāsya mahattayā | Kutrāśrama-padam ramyam maharshes tasya dhīmataḥ* | "From the vastness of the forest, I cannot discover the spot where the sacred hermitage of the great and wise rishi exists."

[102] At a later period, after the commencement of the Mahomedan inroads into Hindustan, southern India came to be regarded as the sanctuary of the Brahmanical religion and learning. Thus in the verse of Vyāsa cited by Weber (Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 247, note), it is said: *Samprāpte tu kalau kāle Vindhyādrer uttare sthitāḥ | Brāhmaṇāḥ yajñarahitāḥ jyotiḥ-śāstra-parāngmukhāḥ* | "In the Kali age the Brāhmans living to the north of the Vindhya are destitute of sacrifice, and averse to astronomy;" while another law book, quoted by the same writer, says: *Vindhyasya dakshiṇe bhāge yatra Godāvarī sthitā | tatra Vedāścha yajñāścha bhavishyanti Kalau yuge* | "In the Kali age the Vedas and sacrifices will be found to the south of the Vindhya, on the banks of the Godāvarī."

…nquest; but it presupposes the peaceable extension of Brahmanical …sions in the same direction, as having taken place still earlier. …a, when he arrives on the south of the Vindhya range, finds …the sage Agastya, by whom the southern regions had been …ed safe and accessible. Agastya appears as the adviser and …f Rāma, and as the head of the hermits settled in the south. …legend we cannot but recognize the recollection that the south …inally a vast forest, which was first brought into cultivation …manical missions. The Rākshasas who are represented as …g the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify here, as …where, merely the savage tribes which placed themselves in …position to the Brahmanical institutions. The only other … appear in the legend in addition to these inhabitants are …ys, which ally themselves to Rāma, and render him assist- …can only mean that when the Arian Kshatriyas first made …sions into the south, they were aided by another portion …nous tribes. Rāma reinstates in possession of his ancestral …onkey-king who had been expelled, and in return receives …"

…not we concur with Lassen in thinking that the idea of …characteristics which are assigned to these gigantic …kshasas, have been borrowed from the barbarous tribes …manical anchorites found in occupation of the forests, …they would no doubt suffer continual molestation and …haps this view derives some confirmation from the fact …de aboriginal races, and cloud-demons, and malignant …be denoted by the word Dasyu in the Vedic hymns), …regard them as poetical creations, in which the Indian …iot in the description of coarse and grotesque brutal- …no doubt that southern India was at the period …ally cultivated, and that it had only begun to be …lonists.

…in which the following are some of the passages …ḷ ṛishi, the atrocities of the Rākshasas in …trakūṭa, thus the spokesman of the hermits represents to Rāma the … posed, Rām., ii. 116, 11, ff. (Bombay ed. … 5, ff.): *Rāvaṇāvarajaḥ kaśchit Kharo nāma* …

rākshasaḥ | utpāṭya tāpasān sarvān janasthāna-ni[illegible] *dhṛishṭaś cha jitakāśī cha nṛiśaṁsaḥ purushādakaḥ |* [illegible] *cha pāpa*[illegible] *cha tvāṁ cha tāta na mṛishyate | 13 | tvaṁ yadā-*[illegible] *āśrame tāta vartase | tadā-prabhṛiti rakshāṁsi vipra*[illegible]*kurvanti tāpasān | 14 | darśayanti hi bībhatsaiḥ krūrair bhīshaṇakair api | nānā-rūpair virūpaiś cha rūpair asukha-darśanaiḥ | 15 | apraśastair aśuchibhiḥ samprayujya cha tāpasān | pratighnanty aparān kshipram anāryāḥ purataḥ sthitān | 16 | teshu teshv āśrama-sthāneshv abuddham avalīya cha | ramante tāpasāṁs tatra nāśayanto 'lpachetasaḥ | 17 | avakshipanti srug-bhāṇḍān agnīn sinchanti vāriṇā | kalaśāṁś cha pramardanti havane samupasthite | 18 | tair durātmabhir āvishṭān āśramān prajighāṁsavaḥ | gamanāyānya-deśasya chodayanty ṛishayo 'dya mām | tat purā Rāma śārīrīm upahiṁsāṁ tapasvishu | darśayanti hi dushṭās te tyakshyāmaḥ imam āśramam |* "11, 12. A certain Rākshasa, called Khara, the younger brother of Rāvaṇa, fierce, esteeming himself victorious, cruel, a man-eater, arrogant, wicked, distresses the devotees dwelling in Janasthāna and cannot endure thee. 13. From the time when thou hast dwelt in this hermitage the Rākshasas distress the devotees. 14. They show themselves in various disgusting, cruel, terrible, and ugly forms. 15. And these base (*anārya*) wretches harass others by bringing them into contact with vile and impure objects. 16. These foolish beings coming unperceived and disguised[103] into different places near the hermitages take delight in destroying the ascetics. 17. They cast away the sacrificial ladles and vessels, put out the fires with water, and smash the water-jars at the time of the oblation. 18. Desiring to desert the hermitages infested by these malignant wretches, the ṛishis to-day are urging me to go to another place. 19. The wicked ones already show a desire to inflict bodily injury on the ascetics: we shall abandon this hermitage."

Proceeding on his journey through the forest, Rāma encounters Virādha, a Rākshasa, who is thus described, Rām. Bombay ed. iii. 2, 4, ff. (Gorresio's ed. iii. 7, 5, ff.): *Dadarśa giriśṛingābham purushādam mahāsvanaṁ | 5 | gabhīrāksham mahāvaktraṁ vikaṭaṁ vikaṭodaram |*

[103] The original words are: *Abuddham* and *avalīya*, which the commentator explains as "*abuddham*" *aviditam yathā bhavati tathā nidrādau* "*avalīya cha*" *nirbhayam āślishya cha* | "Unknown, in sleep, etc.; and fearlessly insinuating themselves." Gorresio's edition substitutes the words *līnāḥ vikṛita-darśanāḥ* "dissolved" [into air] and "changed in appearance."

...ṁ vikṛitaṁ ghora-darśanam ... | 6 | vasūnām
...raṁ rudhirokshitam | trāsanaṁ sarva-bhūtā-
...m | 7 | trīn siṁhāṁs chaturo vyāghrān dvau
...hāṇam vasā-digdhaṁ gajasya ... śiro mahat |
...am mahāsvanam | "He beheld a being like
...eater, loud-voiced, (5) hollow-eyed, large-
...ed, horrible, rude, long, deformed, of dread-
...tiger's skin, dripping with fat, ...otted with
...es, like Death with open mouth, (7) bearing
...o wolves, ten deer, and the great head of an
...nd smeared with fat, on the point of an iron
... voice." 104

...ain by Rāma, turned out to be a Gandharva,
...ransformed into a Rākshasa; but on his
...al form. He, nevertheless, requests his
...the manner of the Rākshasas; Rā... ...omb.
...8, 19): Avaṭe chāpi māṁ Rāma ...ipya
...ata-satvānām esha dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | 23 |
... lokāḥ satātanāḥ | . . . . | 27 | ta...
...ḥ śvabhram uttamam | akhanat pā...
...anaḥ | 28 | tam mukta-kaṇṭham ut...
... | Virādham prākshipat śvabhre nad...
...Rama, cast me into a trench, and go
...he immemorial custom in regard to de...

...escribed in the Purāṇas as very black and ugly...
...ng very short. See the first vol. of this work, pp.
...2nd ed., i. 181. The Bhāg.-Pur., iv. 14, 43-46,
...aivam rishayo vipannasya mahīpateḥ | mama...
...naraḥ | kākakṛishṇo 'tihrasvāngo hrasvabāhur...
...ro raktākshas tāmramūrdhajaḥ | Taṁ tu te 'va...
... | nishīdety abruvaṁs tāta sa nishādas tato 'bha...
...kānana-gocharāḥ | "The ṛishis having thus resol...
...he defunct king (Vena), when there issued from...
...ery short in limb, with short arms, large jaws, ...
...copper-coloured hair. This man, humble and ...
...ld do. They answered, 'Sit down' (nishīda), ...
...Nishāda. His descendants are the Naishādas, ...
...We are informed by Prof. Wilson that the Pa...
...lar description, adding to the dwarfish stature...
..., large ears, and a protuberant belly."

Rākshasas; such of them as are so interred attain to ever-enduring worlds." . . . "27. Then Lakshmaṇa, taking a spade, dug a suitable trench by the side of the great Virādha. 28. And raising the pin-eared,[105] loud-voiced Rākshasa, after Rāma had removed his foot from his throat, he cast him into the trench, resounding dreadfully."[106] This may allude (as Weber remarks, Ind. Stud. i. 272, note) to a difference between the funeral rites of the Brahmanical Indians and the aboriginal tribes.

The following are two further passages in which the Rākshasas and their oppression of the anchorites are described. The sufferers, it appears, assert that they possess the power of ridding themselves of their enemies by their superhuman faculties; but these faculties they do not choose to exert, for the reason assigned. Rām., Bombay ed., iii. 6, 15, ff. (Gorresio's ed. iii. 10, 16, ff.): *So 'yam brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭho vānaprastha-gaṇo mahān | tvannātho 'nāthavad Rāma Rākshasair hanyate bhṛiśam | ehi paśya śarīrāṇi munīnām bhāvitātmanām | hatānāṁ Rākshasair ghorair bahūnām bahudhā vane | Pampā-nadī-nivāsānām anu Mandākinīm api | Chitrakūṭālayānāṁ cha kriyate kadanam mahat |* "This large company of hermits, principally Brāhmans, whose lord thou art, is slaughtered by the Rākshasas, as if they had no protector. Come, Rāma, and behold the bodies of numerous meditative munis, lying slain by the Rākshasas in many parts of the forest. A great slaughter is being perpetrated of the dwellers on the Pampā, and the Mandākinī,[107] and the residents on Chitrakūṭa." Ram. iii. 10, 10, Bombay ed. (=Gorresio's ed. iii. 14, 11, ff.): 10 | *Rākshasair Daṇḍakāraṇye bahubhiḥ kāmarūpibhiḥ* | 11 | *arditāḥ sma bhṛiśam Rāma*

[105] The sense of the epithet *śanku-karṇa* is not clear. It is compounded of *śanku*, a "pin," "peg," or "stake," and *karṇa*, "ear." The commentator explains *śanku* by *śanku-vat kaṭhinam*, "hard as a pin."

[106] In the sequel, however, Rāma encounters Kabandha, another Rākshasa, whom at his request Laksmaṇa burns on a funeral pile in a trench.—Rām. iii. 71, 31; 72, 1, ff. (=Gorr. sec. 75, verses, 45, 50, ff.)

[107] Here it will be observed that the name of a river in the Himālaya [a branch of the Ganges, flowing down from the glacier of Kedarnath; see the first volume of this work, 1st ed., p. 187, note; Rāmāyaṇa, iv. 44, 94, Gorresio's ed. *saptarshi-bhavanaṁ tatra tatra Mandākinī nadī* | "There (in the country of the Uttara Kurus) is the abode of the seven ṛishis; there is the river Mandākinī;" and my "Notes of a trip to Kedarnath," printed in 1855 for private circulation, p. 15, f.] is applied to a river in the centre of India. This illustrates what has been said above (pp. 344, 347 and 349) about the application of the same name to different streams.

| homa-kāle tu samprāpte parva-kāleshu
sma durdharshāḥ Rākshasāḥ piśitāśanāḥ |
cha tāpasānām tapasvinām | gatim mṛi-
paramā gatiḥ | kāmam tapaḥ-prabhāvena
| 14 | chirārjitam na chechchhāmas tapaḥ
vighnam tapo nityam duśchara chaiva Rā-
munchāmo bhakshyamāṇāś cha Rākshasaiḥ |

harassed by numerous Rākshasas in the
nge their forms at will. At the time of
on festivals, (12) the fierce, flesh-devouring
, the devout ascetics, thus assailed (13)
the supreme defence. It is true (14) but
could at will slay these goblins long
fy the merit which has been earned with
of such merit is arduous, and attended being
is on that account that, even when
launching curses against our oppressors,"
appears from this passage, was an
him who pronounced it. Compare
volume of this work, p. 408. Sītā,
Rāma has no right to slay the Rā
f hostility with him, and had done

ever, why the aid of Rāma should have
he sage Agastya appears to have been
the Rākshasas under restraint. His pro
11, 79; Bombay ed. (= Gorresio's ed.
vikhyāto loko svenaiva karmaṇā | āśra
śramāpahaḥ | . . . . | 81 | Nigṛihya ta
myaya | dakshiṇā dik kṛitā yena śara
dam āśrama-padam prabhāvād yasya rāksh
trāsād dṛiśyate nopabhujyate | 88 |
am puṇyakarmaṇā | tadā-prabhṛiti nir
84 | Nāmnā cheyam bhagavato dakshiṇā
(= Gorr. ed. iii. 13, 22): Na kathanchana sā
ir vairam vinā hantum Rākshasān Daṇḍakāś
a na mamsyate |

pradakshiṇā | *prathitā trishu lokeshu durdharshā krūra-karmabhiḥ* |
85 | *Mārgam̃ niroddhum̃ satatam bhāskarasyāchalottamaḥ* | *sandeśam*
pālayams̃ tasya Vindhyaśailo na vardhate | . . . . | 90 | *Nātra jīved*
mṛishāvādī krūro vā yadi vā śaṭhaḥ | *nṛiśam̃saḥ pāpavṛitto vā munir*
esha tathāvidhaḥ | "79. The hermitage of Agastya, renowned in
the world by his holy acts, (that hermitage) which offers relief to
the wearied, is now in view. . . . . 81. [This is the] meritoriou
sage, who has restrained death by his power, and who, through h
benevolence to mankind, has rendered the southern regions perfect
secure (see above, p. 409). 82. This is the hermitage of that saint
whose might it is effected that this southern region is, owing to
dread of him, only gazed upon, and not possessed, by the Rāksha
83. Ever since that holy man has visited this region, all the gob
have become devoid of enmity and subdued. 84. Through the nam
of this saint this southern country has become prosperous, and n
nowned in the three worlds, as secure against the attacks of the cruel.
85. The lofty Vindhya range (which sought to grow to a great height)
with the view of stopping the path of the sun, now, submissive to the
sage's command, increases no farther." . . . "90. No liar, or cruel,
or wicked, or murderous, or sinful man may dwell here:—such is
this muni."

In a preceding part of the same section, iii. 11, 55, f., Bombay ed.
(=Gorresio's ed., iii. 16, 13, ff.), the destruction of two Asuras called
Vātāpi and Ilvala, by this sage, is described: *Ihaikadā kila krūro Vātāpi*
api chelvalaḥ | *bhrātarau sahitāv āstām̃ brāhmaṇa-ghnau mahāsurau* | 56
Dhārayan brāhmaṇam̃ rūpam Ilvalaḥ sam̃skṛitam̃ vadan | *āmantraya*
viprān sa śrāddham uddiśya nirghṛiṇaḥ | 57 | *Bhrātaram̃ sam̃skṛita*
kṛitvā tatas tam mesha-rūpiṇam | *tān dvijān bhojayāmāsa śrāddha-dṛisht*
karmaṇā |58| *Tato bhuktavatām̃ teshām̃ viprāṇām Ilvalo 'bravīt* | "*Vā*
nishkramasv" eti svareṇa mahatā vadan |59| *Tato bhrātur vachaḥ śr*
Vātāpir mesha-vad nadan | *bhitvā bhitvā śarīrāṇi brāhmaṇānām̃ vi*
patat[109] | . . . . | 61 | *Agastyena tadā devaiḥ prārthitena maharshi*

[109] We have here a form of the imperfect without the augment, *vinishpatat*
vinirapatat, on which the commentator remarks that the absence of the aug
is Vedic (*aḍ-abhāvaḥ ārshaḥ*). In Gorresio's edition the perfect *nishpapāt*
substituted. In i. 18, 17, the Bombay edition has similarly *pushpa-vṛishtiś cha*
patat, "a shower of flowers fell from the sky," where the commentator make
similar remark (*aḍ-abhāvaś chhāndasaḥ*).

...ubhūya kila śrāddhe bhakshitaḥ sa mahāsuraḥ | 62 | Tataḥ "sampan-
...," ity uktvā datvā haste 'vanejanam | bhrātaraṃ "niskramasv" eti
...laḥ samabhāshata | 63 | Sa tadā bhāshamāṇaṃ tu bhrātaraṃ vipra-
...am | abravīt prahasan dhīmān Agastyo munisattamaḥ | 64 | "Kuto
...mituṃ śaktir mayā jīrṇasya Rakshasaḥ | bhrātus tu mesha-
...gatasya Yama-sādanam" | 65 | Atha tasya vachaḥ śrutvā
...nidhana-saṃśritam | pradharshayitum ārebhe muniṃ krodhād
...ḥ | "55. Formerly the cruel Vātāpi and Ilvala, two brothers,
... great Asuras and slayers of Brāhmans, lived together here.
...thless Ilvala, assuming the shape of a Brāhman, and speaking
...used to invite the Brāhmans to a funeral ceremony (śrāddha).
...en served up to them, with the rites appropriate to a śrāddha,
... Vātāpi, who had been transformed into a ram. 58. But
...ad eaten him, he called out with a loud voice, 'Vātāpi, issue
... Hearing his brother's voice Vātāpi, bleating like a ram,
... rending asunder the Brāhmans' bodies." Thousands of
...ere constantly killed by them in this way. "61. The
..., however, at the request of the gods, understanding the
..., devoured Vātāpi. 62. Ilvala then cried, 'All is com-
...im water to wash his hands, and called to his brother,
... 63. The wise ṛishi, however, smiled and said to the
... who thus addressed his brother, 'How can he come
...has been digested by me in his form of a ram, and has
...le of Yama?' 65. Hearing these words pronouncing
...m, Ilvala began to assail Agastya," but was
... flash of his eye.[110] He
...n spoken of as the
...south:[111] Nirjitā jīvalokasya tapasā bhāvitātmanā |
...rshā muninā dakshiṇeva dik | "As the southern
(Rām., vi. 117, 14, Bombay ed.)

...f this legend is suggested by Weber, Ind. Stud., i. 475. The text
...e taken its rise in the remembrance of some cannibals living
...tory is told at length in the recension of the smiling,
...d with a touch more humour. Ilvala asks Agastya, replies that
...e to eat a whole ram. Agastya, also smiling, no difficulty
...y years of fasting and austerities, and will find may be served
...entire animal; which he accordingly begs
...with the result already told.
...2, ff.), quotation from Lassen above, p. 409; and Caldwell.

lable by living beings, was conquered by the medita-
tya, through his austerities."
the brother of Rāvaṇa, is represented by his sister
ı her interview with Rāma, as virtuous and one who
the practices of the Rākshasas.[112] Can this allude to
thern tribes or chiefs, who allied themselves to Rāma,
Brahmanical usages, or is it merely a fictitious portion
Vibhīshaṇa eventually deserts his brother, and is kindly
nbraced as a friend by Rāma.[113] In the Rāmopākhyāna
Book of the Mahābh., verses 15,913–18, while Rāvaṇa
o make him invincible by superhuman beings, Vibhī-
ther hand, prays, "that even in the greatest calamity,
incline to unrighteousness, and that the Brahmanical
pear to him a thing he had never learned to wield."[114]
tes his submissive disposition towards the Brāhmans.
sas are described by Khara, one of their chiefs, Rām. iii.
rr. ed. iii. 28, 18), as being "of fearful swiftness
ttle, in colour like a dark blue cloud."[115]
elf is characterized by Rāma as the "perpetual
ns,"[116] as "cruel, hated of the Brāhmans, de
and wicked."[117] Rāvaṇa is stigmatized as an
gious duties, and a ravisher of the wives of othe
at the sacrifices and oblations polluted the Soma

bay ed., iii. 17, 22: *Vibhīshaṇas tu dharmātmā na tu Rāksh*
resio's ed., iii. 23, 38: *Vibhīshaṇaś cha dharmātmā Rākshasāc*

resio's ed.), v. 91, 20: *Tañcha Rāmaḥ samutthāpya parishvajy*
icha madhuraṁ vākyam sakhā mama bhavān iti | The Bomba
nly *iti bruvāṇaṁ Rāmas tu parishvajya Vibhīshaṇam* | *abra*
ādi |
ii. 15,918: *Paramāpadgatasyāpi nādharme me matir bhavet* |
wan brahmāstram pratibhātu me | "In verse 15,197 Vibhīs
goptā kriyāratiḥ, "a protector of righteousness, and devote

bhīma-vegānāṁ samareshv anivarttinām | *Nīlajīmūta-saṅkāśānām*
0, 12 (=Gorr., iii. 35, 68, and 100): *Nityam brāhmaṇakaṇṭaka*
bid., verse 70: *Krūrātman brahmavidvishṭa tyaktadharma*

2 (= Gorr. 36, 11): *Uchhetāraṁ cha dharmāṇām paradārābhimar*

“ snatcher awa... wicked and cruel ... Rāvaṇa approaches ... 52, 20).120 ... so in

the Brāhmans had offered with hymns;" and as
of prepared sacrifices, a killer of Brāhmans, a
being."[119] Nevertheless, to inspire confidence,
Sītā, pronouncing the Vedas, Rām. iii. 46, 14, (=

Under the designation of monkeys, again, which
a part in the Rāmāyaṇa, have we another class of
allied themselves to the Brāhmans, and embraced
ligious worship; or are they, as well as the Rākshas
poetical creations? In Rām., iii. 72, 18, f., Bombay
75, 66), it is said that "Sugrīva, chief of the monk
despised, as he is grateful, can change his form at will,
aiding his friends."[121] And we are told that at the
this same Sugrīva, who was reinstated by Rāma in his
which he had been expelled by Bāli, "the monkeys
Brāhmans according to the prescribed rule, with gifts of
and food: after which men skilled in the Vedic
clarified butter, consecrated by sacred texts, upon
under which had been spread kuśa grass."[122]

The monkeys are described as living in a cavern
and Gorresio's editions), iv. 33, 1, ff.), which Lakshm
as entering to convey a message of remonstrance t
tardiness in aiding Rāma. The cavern, however,
name, as, in the usual style of later Indian poetry
filled with trees, flowery thickets, palaces, a mou
This feature of monkey-life (their occupation of
either purely poetical, and intended to be in keepi

119 Rām., 32, 19 (=Gorr. 36, 11, ff.): *Mantrair abhishṭu... upahanti mahābalaḥ dvijātibhiḥ | havirdāneshu yaḥ somam ... dushṭam brahmaghnam krūrakāriṇam |*

120 *Brahma-ghosham udīrayan |* In the Mahābh., iii. 15,9 ... are said to have been orig... vaṇa, i.e. Rāvaṇa and his brothers, ... all of them learned in the V... *śūrāḥ sarve sucharita-vratāḥ,* "all of them ... tentive to religious rites."

121 *Na tu te so 'vamantavyaḥ Sugrīvo vānarādhipaḥ | kṛita... sahāyārthe cha kṛityavān |* See above, p. 157.

122 Rām., iv. 26, 29, ff. (=Gorr. 25, 27, 28): *Tatas te vānaraśre... toshayitvā d... yathāvidhi | Ratnair vastraiś cha bhakshyaiś cha ... jātavedasam | Mantrapūte... Tataḥ kuśa-paristīrṇaṁ samiddham ... mantravido janāḥ ||*

characteristics, or it may have reference to the rude habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of the southern forests.

I need not decide whether it is more probable that the extravagant descriptions of the gigantic and sylvan inhabitants of the Dekhan which I have just quoted, should have originated in some actual and hostile contact with the savages who occupied the then uncleared forests of that region, than that they should be the simple offspring of the poet's imagination.

It is certain that the description given of the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa corresponds in many respects with the epithets applied to the similar class of beings, the Dasyus (whether we take them for men or for demons), who are so often alluded to in the Rigveda. The Rāmāyaṇa, as we have seen, depicts them as infesting the hermitages or settlements of the Arians, as obstructing their sacred rites,[123] as enemies of the Brāhmans, as eaters of men,[124] as horrible in aspect, as changing their shape at will, etc., etc. In the same way the Rigveda (see above, pp. 363, 371, ff., and 390, ff.) speaks of the Dasyus, Rākshasas, or Yātudhānas as being "destitute of, or averse to religious ceremonies" (*akarman, avrata, apavrata, ayajyu, ayajvan*), as "practising different rites" (*anyavrata*) as "godless" (*adeva, adevayu*), "haters of prayer" (*brahmadvish*), as "inhuman" (*amānusha*), "ferocious looking, or with fierce eyes" (*ghora-chakshas*), as "flesh-eaters" (*kravyād*), "devourers of life," or "insatiable" (*asutrip*), as "eaters of human and of horse flesh," (R.V. x. 87, 16: *Yaḥ paurusheyeṇa kravishā samankte yo aśvyena paśunā yātudhānaḥ*); as monstrous in form, and possessed of

123 In the Mahābh., xiv. 2472–74, the same hostile act which is so often assigned in the Rāmāyaṇa to Rākshasas, is attributed to a Nishāda. Arjuna is there said to have arrived in the course of his progress to the south, in the country of Ekalavya, king of the Nishādas; and to have vanquished that king's son, who had come to obstruct a sacrifice (*yajña-vighnārtham āgatam*).

124 In the story of Gautama, already partially quoted, in p. 365, f. from the Mahābh., the very same epithet of "man-eater" (*purushāda*) which the Rāmāyaṇa applies to the Rākshasas, is employed to characterize the Dasyus, who are regarded in the Mahābh. merely as a tribe of savages, and not as demons. The Brāhman who reproaches Gautama with sinking into the condition of a Dasyu, is said to have seen him 'coming home with a bow in his hand, his limbs besmeared with blood, and in appearance like a man-eater," etc. (. . . . *dhanush-pāṇim rudhirāktāyudham | Rudhirenāvasiktāngam griha-dvāram upāgatam | Tam drishṭvā purushādābham apadhvastam kshayāgatam*, etc.)

magical or superhuman powers.[125] It is quite possible that the author of the Rāmāyaṇa may have borrowed many of the traits which he ascribes to his Rākshasas from the hymns of the Rigveda.

The last editor and translator of the Rāmāyaṇa, Signor Gorresio, writes as follows in regard to the fabulous races with which that work has peopled the Dekhan (Notes to vol. vi. pp. 401, 402): "The woodland inhabitants of India south of the Vindhya range are called in the Rāmāyaṇa monkeys, in contempt, I conceive, of their savage condition, and also, perhaps, because they were little known at that time. In the same way Homer related fabulous stories about the races who, in his age, were unknown to the Greeks. The occupants of the Dekhan differed from the Sanskrit-speaking Indians in origin, worship, and language." And in regard to the Rākshasas he observes, p. 402: "The author of the Rāmāyaṇa has no doubt, in mythical allegory, applied the hated name of Rākshasas to a barbarous people who were hostile to the Sanskrit-speaking Indians, and differed from them in civilization and religion. These Rākshasas were, I say, robbers or pirates who occupied the southern coasts of India, and the island of Ceylon." In his preface to the last volume (the tenth) of the Rāmāyaṇa (pp. i-ix), Signor Gorresio returns to this subject; and, after remarking that the Arian tribes, on their immigration from Northern Asia into the Panjāb, had to encounter indigenous races of a different origin,[126] whom they partly drove before them, and partly reduced to servitude, he proceeds to make a distinction between the savage tribes occupying the Vindhya and its neighbourhood and those further south. The first, whom the Rāmāyaṇa styles Vānaras or monkeys, though they differed from the Āryas in race, language, colour, and features, must, he thinks, have shown a disposition to receive the Arian civilization; since they entered into league with Rāma, and joined in his expedition against the black tribes further south. The greater part of the tribes

[125] In R.V., iv. 4, 15, another epithet, viz. *aśas*, "one who does not praise [the gods]," is applied to the Rakshases. *Daha aśaso Rakshasaḥ pāhi asmān druho nido mitramaho avadyāt*: "Thou who art to be revered by thy friends, burn the Rākshases who offer no praise; deliver us from the reproach of the oppressor and the reviler."

[126] The same thing, he remarks, happened to the Semitic races also, who came into contact with the Hamitic or Cushitic tribes, some of them nearly savage, as the Rephaim and the Zamzummim, Deut., ii. 20.

Vindhya also submitted to the institutions of the Āryas; the extremity of the peninsula and in Ceylon, there wa lieves) a ferocious black race, opposed to their worship the Arians applied the name of Rākshasas, an appellation ne Veda, is assigned to hostile, savage, and hated beings st this race that the expedition of Rāma, celebrated āyaṇa, was directed. The Arian tradition undoubtedly ttributes of these tribes, transforming them into a race med, terrific, truculent, and able to change their form notwithstanding these exaggerations, the Rāmāyaṇa inks) preserved here and there certain traits and pe he race in question which reveal its real character. ese people as black, and compares them sometimes t , sometimes to black collyrium; attributes to them cr hair, and thick lips; and describes them as wearing g cklaces, turbans, and all those brilliant ornaments in wh s always delighted. These people are also represented e religion of the Āryas, and as disturbers of their sacrific om they prefer to all others, and specially honour by sac terrible Rudra or Siva, whom Gorresio believes to be gin.[127] Their emblems and devices are serpents and drago ployed also by the Hamites.[128] Signor Gorresio consid f Rāma's expedition against the Rākshasas to be histori lation, though exaggerated by mythical embellishmen rves that the Arian tradition has even preserved the mem er struggle between the same two races, as some Pura ite that Kārttavīrya, of the Yādava family, a contempor

ote (no. 35, vol. x., p. 291), to Rām., vi. 54, 33 (where the disturba sacrifice by S'iva is alluded to), Gorresio writes: "The fact here allu ned rather than described in the First Book, 68, 9, ff. (= Bombay t appears to me that this fact represents, under a mythical veil, he ancient forms of worship. S'iva, a deity, as I believe, of the Cus ribes, which preceded the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races, wished n the new worship and sacrifices of the conquerors, from which he d by disturbing their rites, and committing acts of violence at their sa ed in being admitted to share in them." In regard to S'iva's interfere rifice of Daksha, see Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, vol. i., pp. 120, ff. and the fourth volume of this work, pp. 168, 203, 226, 241, 312-324 gnor Gorresio has not supplied any references to the passages in wh s characteristics of the Rākshasas are described, I am unable to ve See, however, Rām. v. 49, 1, ff. (= Gorr. 45, 1, ff.)

of Paraśurāma, and somewhat anterior to the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, invaded Lankā (Ceylon), and made Rāvaṇa prisoner (Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, 1st ed., pp. 402, 417; Dr. Hall's ed. iv. 22, f., 55, f.; and the first volume of this work, p. 478).[129]

In regard to Signor Gorresio's views as above expounded, I will only observe here, that the aborigines of southern India are not generally regarded as of Hamitic origin; but, as we shall see in a subsequent Section, are considered by other philologists to be of Turanian extraction.

Professor Weber is of opinion (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 181), that the principal characters who figure in the Rāmāyaṇa, are not historical personages at all, but mere personifications of certain events and circumstances. Sītā (the furrow), he remarks, occurs both in the Rigveda,[130] and in the Gṛihya ritual, as an object of worship, and represents the Arian agriculture; while he regards Rāma as the ploughman personified. The Rāmāyaṇa has only, he thinks, an historical character in so far as it refers to an actual occurrence, the diffusion of Arian civilization towards the south of the peninsula.[131]

[129] The story is thus told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 4: *Māhishmatyām digvijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-krīḍā-nipānamadākulena ayatnenaiva tena aśesha-deva-daitya-gandharveśa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ paśur iva baddhaḥ sva-nagaraikānte sthāpitaḥ* | "When, in the course of his campaign of conquest, Rāvaṇa came to Mahishmatī (the capital of Kārttavīrya), there he who had become filled with pride from his victories over all the devas, daityas, and the chief of the Gandharvas, was captured without difficulty by Kārttavīrya (who was excited by bathing and sporting in the Narmadā, and by drinking wine), and was confined like a wild beast in a corner of his city." Prof. Wilson (p. 417, note) states that, according to the Vāyu Pur., Kārttavīrya invaded Lankā, and there took Rāvaṇa prisoner; but that the circumstances are more generally related as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

[130] Rigveda, iv. 57, 6, f. (=A.V. iii. 17, 8): *Arvāchī subhage bhava sīte vandāmahe tvā* | *Yathā naḥ sabhagā'sasi yathā naḥ suphalā 'sasi* | 17 | (=A.V., iii. 17, 4) *Indraḥ sītām ni gṛihṇātu tām Pūshā anu yachhatu* | (A.V., *abhi rakshatu*) | *Sā naḥ payasvatī duhām uttarām uttarām samām* | "Propitious Furrow, approach; Furrow, we worship thee, that thou mayest be propitious to us, and prolific to us. 7. May Indra plough the Furrow, may Pūshan direct her: may she, full of moisture, milk forth (food) for us in each successive year." See Wilson's translation and note, and Vāj. Sanhitā, 12, 70.

[131] See also the Indische Studien of the same author, vol. i. pp. 175, 277; vol. ii. pp. 292, 410; his dissertation on the Rāmatāpanīya-upanishad (Berlin, 1864), p. 275; and his Essay on the Rāmāyaṇa (Berlin, 1870), p. 7, ff. It would lead me too far to give any summary of the varied contents of this learned treatise. The reader can also consult the views of Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his History of India, vol. 2, The Rāmāyaṇa and the Brahmanic period, pp. 87, f.; 315-318.

SECT. V.—*Indian traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula.*

Having furnished some account of the advance of the Āryas into southern India, and of the races whom they there encountered (if there is any historical basis for the fabulous narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa), I have now to inquire whether the other Hindu traditions offer us any probable explanation of the origin and affinities of the tribes who occupied the Dekhan before its colonization by the Brāhmans.

Among the Dasyu tribes which, according to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, vii. 18,[132] were descended from the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra, are mentioned the Andhras. And Manu, x. 43, 44,[133] specifies the Draviḍas among the tribes which had once been Kshatriyas, but had sunk into the condition of Vṛishalas (or Śūdras), from the extinction of sacred rites, and the absence of Brāhmans. In like manner the Cholas and Keralas are stated in the Harivanśa to have once been Kshatriyas, but to have been deprived of their social and religious position by King Sagara.[134] In the same way it appears that several of the Purāṇas, the Vāyu, Matsya, Agni, and Brahma, claim an Arian descent for the southern races, by making their progenitors, or eponyms, Pāṇḍya, Karṇāṭa, Chola, and Kerala, to be descendants of Dushyanta, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the lunar line of the Kshatriyas. (See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed. vol. iv. p. 117, note 1).[135] Turvasu, the Purāṇas say, was appointed by his father to rule over the south-east. Thus the Harivanśa relates: "Yayāti, son of Nahusha, having conquered the earth with its seven continents and oceans, divided it into five portions for his sons. This wise monarch placed Turvasu over the south-east region." [136]

According to the legend, Turvasu, in common with most other of

[132] Quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 356, 358; and above, p. 364.

[133] Already quoted in the first volume, pp. 481, f., together with other parallel texts from the Mahābh. [134] See the first volume, p. 488.

[135] The Harivanśa, sect. 32, verse 1836, substitutes Kola for Karnāṭa: *Kuruthāmād ath' Ākrīḍaś chatvāras tasya chh" ātmajāḥ | Pāṇḍyaścha Keralaśchaiva Kolaś Cholaścha pārthivaḥ | Teshaṁ janapadāḥ sphītāḥ Pāṇḍyāś Cholāḥ sakeralāḥ |* "From Kuruthāma sprang Akrīḍa, who had four sons, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Kola, and Chola, who were the kings of the rich countries of Pāṇḍya, Chola, and Kerala."

[136] Ibid., sect. 30, verses 1616, ff.: *Saptadvīpāṁ Yayātis tu jitvā pṛithvīṁ sasāgarām | vyabhajat panchadhā rājan putrāṇāṁ Nāhushas tadā | Diśi dakshiṇapūrvasyām Turvasam matimān prabhuḥ | . . . . nyayojayat | |*

Yayâti's sons, had declined to accede to his father's request that he should exchange his condition of youthful vigour for his father's decrepitude, and was, in consequence, cursed by the old man. The Mahābh. i. 3478, ff., gives the following particulars of the curse: "Since thou, though born from within me, dost not give me up thy youth, therefore thy offspring shall be cut off. Thou, fool, shalt be king over those degraded men who live like the mixed castes, who marry in the inverse order of the classes, and who eat flesh; thou shalt rule over those wicked Mlechhas who commit adultery with their preceptors' wives, perpetrate nameless offences, and follow the practices of brutes."[137]

The Andhras, Draviḍas, Cholas, and Keralas, who have been mentioned in the preceding passages as degraded Kshatriyas, or as descendants of the adopted son of Turvasu, were the inhabitants of Telingana, of the central and southern parts of the Coromandel coast (or the Tamil country), and of Malabar respectively. It is evident that the legendary notices which I have just quoted do not throw any light on their origin. That these tribes could not have been of Arian descent, I shall proceed to show in the next Section by more satisfactory evidence, derived from the language of their modern descendants.

Sect. VI.—*Languages of the south of India, and their fundamental difference from Sanskrit.*

As I have already intimated in the earlier parts of this volume, there appear in the vernacular dialects of northern India many remains of pre-existing languages, distinct from Sanskrit, which are supposed to have been spoken by non-Arian tribes settled in that portion of the peninsula before the immigration of the Âryas; and I have also alluded to the existence of a class of languages in the south of India, viz., the Telugu, the Tamil, the Malayālim, and the Canarese, which are fundamentally different from the Sanskrit.[138] I shall now proceed to

[137] *Yat tvam me hṛidayāj jāto vayaḥ svam na prayachhasi* | *tasmāt prajā samuchhedam̃ Turvaso tava yāsyati* | *Sānkīrṇāchāra-dharmeshu pratilomachareshu cha* | *Piśitāśishu ch' āntyeshu mūḍha rājā bhavishyasi* | *Guru-dara-prasakteshu tiryag-yoni-gateshu cha* | *Paśu-dharmishu pāpeshu Mlechheshu tvam bhavishyasi* || In verse 3533 Turvasu is said to be the progenitor of the Yavanas (*Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ* |)

[138] See above, p. 49.

establish in detail the assertions I have made regarding these southern languages.

Various savage tribes are still to be found among the hilly tracts in central India, such as the Goṇḍs, Kols, etc., whose language is quite distinct from any of the ancient or modern Prākṛit dialects derived from the Sanskrit. It is not, however, necessary that I should enter into any details regarding the speech of these wild races. It will suffice for the purposes of my argument if I show that the same remark applies equally to the far more numerous, and more cultivated tribes who occupy the Dekhan; and that the various languages which are current in the different provinces of the south, while they have a close affinity to each other and a common origin, are, in their entire character, essentially distinct from Sanskrit and its derivatives. In regard to these languages, information of the most conclusive character may be obtained from the preface to Mr. A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar (including the note by Mr. Ellis), as well as from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages. From the last-named work I abstract the following details:—"There are four principal languages current in the different provinces of southern India, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim, spoken collectively by upwards of thirty-one millions of people, besides five minor dialects, spoken by 650,000 persons. These forms of speech are not, in the proper sense of the word, dialects of one language, as no one of them is so nearly related to any of the others, as that two persons using different members of the group, the one, for instance, Tamil, and the other Telugu, would be mutually intelligible. The Tamil and the Malayālim have the most affinity to each other, and yet it is only the simplest sentences in one of these languages that would be understood by a person who spoke only the other. The Tamil and the Telugu, on the other hand, are the furthest removed from each other of the four languages; and though the great majority of roots in both are identical, yet they are so disguised by inflection and dialectic changes, that persons speaking each only one of these two languages would be scarcely at all understood by each other. The various Dravidian idioms therefore, though sprung from a common stock, must be regarded as distinct languages.

"The northern Pandits classify the vernacular dialects of India.[139]

139 See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, vol. ii., pp. 21, ff.

in two sets of five, the five Gauras and the five Dravidas. In the latter, they include the Mahratha and Gurjara, as well as the Telinga, the Karṇāṭaka, and the Drāviḍa or Tamil. The first two languages are, however, erroneously coupled with the last three; as, though the Mahratha and Gurjara (Guzeratee) possess certain features of resemblance to the languages of the south, they yet differ from the latter so widely and radically and are so closely allied with the northern group, Hindī, Bengalī, etc., that they must be placed in the same class with the latter. The Drāviḍa proper or Tamil, the Telinga or Telugu, and the Karṇāṭaka, or Canarese, are not, as the northern Pandits suppose, derived from the Sanskrit, like the northern dialects, but, as regards their original and fundamental portion, are quite independent of Sanskrit. The difference between the northern and southern dialects consists in this, that though the former contain a small proportion of aboriginal or non-Sanskrit words, they are mainly composed of words derived by corruption from the Sanskrit,[140] while the Tamil, Telugu, and other southern languages, on the contrary, though they contain a certain amount of Sanskrit words, are yet, both as regards the great bulk of their vocabulary and their whole genius and spirit, totally distinct from the classical speech of the Arians."

On this subject I shall introduce here some quotations from a note by Mr. F. W. Ellis, appended to the preface to Campbell's Telugu Grammar: "In arrangement the two latter [the Carnata and Telingana alphabets], which are nearly the same, certainly follow the Nágari, but in the form of the letters, mode of combination, and other particulars, there is no resemblance; and the Tamil is totally different, rejecting all aspirates, and having many sounds which cannot be expressed by any alphabet in which the Sanscrit is written. . . . . Neither the Tamil, Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects, are derivations from the Sanscrit; the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence; and they form a distinct family of languages, with which the Sanscrit has, in latter times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connexion."—(p. 2). . . . . "The Telugu, to which attention is here more specially directed, is formed from its own roots, which, in general, have no connexion with the Sanscrit, nor with those of any other language,

[140] See above, p. 32, f.

the cognate dialects of Southern India, the Tamil, Cannaḍi, etc., excepted, with which, allowing for the occasional variation of con-similar sounds, they generally agree; the actual difference in the three dialects here mentioned is in fact to be found only in the affixes used in the formation of words from the roots; the roots themselves are not similar merely, but the same."—(p. 3.)

"To show that no radical connexion exists between the Sanscrit and Telugu, ten roots in alphabetic order, under the letters A, C, P, and V, have been taken from the common Dhātumālā, or list of roots, and with them have been compared the Telugu roots under the same letters taken from a Telugu Dhātumālā. . . . These will be found in the following lists, the mere inspection of which will show, that among the forty Telugu roots not one agrees with any Sanskrit root." These lists I will copy here:—

SANSKRIT.	TELUGU.
Ak, to mark, move, move tortuously.	*Akkalu*, to contract the abdominal muscles.
Ag, to move, move tortuously.	*Agalu*, to separate, break.
Anka, *Anga*, } to mark.	*Aggu*, to worship.
Agh, to move, despise, begin, move quickly.	*Aggalu*, to be insufferable, excessive.
Agha, to sin.	*Ats*, to give by compulsion, to incur debt.
Ach, to honour, serve.	*Aṇtu*, to touch, adhere, anoint the head.
Anch, to move, speak unintelligibly, speak intelligibly.	*Aḍangu*, to be destroyed, submit, be subdued.
Aj, to throw, move, shine.	*Aḍaru*, to shine, shoot at.
Aṭ, *Aṭh*, } to move.	*Aḍalu*, to weep bitterly.
Aḍ, to occupy, undertake.	*Aḍu*, to slap.
Kak, to hint desire, go.	*Kakku*, to vomit.
Kakk, laugh.	*Kats*, to play dice, chess.
Kakh, laugh.	*Krats*, to want.
Kakkh, laugh.	*Kaṭṭu*, to tie, build, become pregnant.
Kag, to move.	*Kaḍugu*, to wash.
Kach, to tie, shine.	*Kaḍangu*, *Kanaṅgu*, } to swell, boil.
Kaj, to hiccup.	*Kaṭaku*, *Kaḍagu*, } to lick as a dog.
Kaṭ, to move, screen, rain.	*Kaḍaru*, to call aloud.
Kaṭh, to fear, recollect anxiously.	*Kaḍalu*, to move or shake.
Kaḍ, to eat, rejoice, divide, preserve.	*Kaḍi*, to approach, obtain.
Pach, to cook, explain, stretch.	*Pagalu*, *Pangalu*, } to break, make forked.
Paḍ, to shine, move.	*Panchu*, to divide, send away, appoint.
Paṭh, to speak.	*Paṭṭu*, to seize, touch, begin, knead the limbs, understand, unite intimately.
Paṇ, to traffic, praise.	*Paḍu*, to suffer, fall.

SANSKRIT.	TELUGU.
Pat, to rule, move.	*Panḍu*, to reprove, produce, lie down.
Path, to move.	*Paḍayu*, to obtain.
Pad, to move, be fixed.	*Pantangu*, to vow.
Pan, to praise.	*Paḍaṛu*, to act precipitately, speak nonsense, threaten.
Pamb, to move,	*Pannu*, to join steers to a plough, prepare.
Parbb, to move.	*Panatsu*, to send, employ.
Vak, to be cooked, move.	*Vaga*, *Vagu*, to grieve, pretend grief, consult.
Vag, to be lame.	*Vagir*, to speak deceitfully, bark as a dog.
Vach, to speak, order.	*Vangu*, to stoop.
Vaj, to move, renew, or repair.	*Vats*, to come.
Vaṭ, to surround, share, speak.	*Vantsu*, to bind, pour out water.
Vaṭa, to surround, share.	*Vrats*, to divide.
Vaṇṭa, to share.	*Vaṭu*, to become lean.
Vaṭh, to go alone, be able.	*Vaṭṭu*, to dry up.
Vaḍ, to shine, surround.	*Vaṭṭru*, to shine.
Vaṉ, to sound.	*Vaḍḍu*, to serve food.

Mr. Ellis then (p. 7) adduces a list of fifteen roots, Telugu, Canarese and Tamil, taken in alphabetical order, "to show that an intimate radical connexion exists between the Telugu and other dialects of Southern India." As I believe the affinity between these languages is admitted by all competent scholars, I do not consider it necessary to quote this comparative list. Mr. Ellis then proceeds (p. 11) to prove by further details that these three languages are not only radically connected, but have also an intimate relation to each other "as regards terms used for the expression of ideas." With this view he first quotes a native writer, Māmidi Vencaya:

"Māmidi Vencaya, the author of the Āndhra Dīpikā, an excellent dictionary of the Telugu, has, in the preface to this work, introduced a concise analysis of the language, the substance of which . . . . is translated in the following paragraph.

"'The modes of derivation in the Andhra [Telugu] language are four; they are Tatsamam, Tadbhavam, Deśyam, and Grāmyam. Tatsamam consists of Sanscrit terms, pure as spoken in heaven, the Telugu terminations being substituted for those of the original language.'"

Of these the following are examples[141]:—

SANSKRIT.	TATSAMAM.	SANSKRIT.	TATSAMAM.
Rāmaḥ	*Rāmanḍu.*	*Vāc*	*Vāccu.*
Vanam	*Vanamu.*	*Dyau*	*Divamu.*

141 [A few examples only are selected under two heads.—J. M.]

"'Tadbhavam consists of terms formed, either from the Sanscrit direct, or through one of the six Pracrits, varied by the interposition of syllables, and by the substitution, increment, and decrement of letters. . . . . The several modes of derivation . . . . are exemplified in the following lists:'"—

SANSKRIT.	TADBHAVAM.	SANSKRIT.	TADBHAVAM.
Samudraḥ	*Sandaramu.*	*Chandraḥ*	*Tsandurundu.*

Separate lists follow of Tadbhava terms introduced from Sanskrit into Telugu through the Mahārāshṭrī, the S'aurasenī, the Māgadhī, the Paiśāchī (said to be spoken in the countries of Pāṇḍya and Kekaya), the Chulikā-Paiśāchī (spoken in Gandhāra, Nepāla, and Kuntala), and the Apabhranśa, spoken in the country of Abhīra, and on the coast of the western ocean.

Mr. Ellis proceeds, p. 15, with his extracts from Māmidi Vencaya: "'Deśyam, in other words Āndhra or Telugu, is of two kinds; the language which originated in the country of Telingana, and Anya-deśyam, or the language of foreign countries intermixed with it.'" Previously to showing what part of the language originated in Trilingam, the native author quotes from the "Adharavana Vyācaranam" a description of the country to which this name applies.[142] Mr. Ellis gives the author's definition of the native Telugu, as the language which arose within the boundaries of Trilinga, as follows: "As it is here said, in the country between S'rīsailam, the station of Bhīmeswara at Dracharāmam, the greater Kāleśwaram, and, as the fourth, the

[142] This passage, as quoted in the Andhrakaumudī, is given by Mr. Campbell in the Introduction to his Grammar, p. ii. note. I am indebted to the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, for transcribing it for me from the Telugu into Roman characters: *S'rīśaila - Bhīma - Kāleśa - Mahendra - giri - saṁyutam* | *Prākāraṁ tu mahat kṛitvā trīṇi dvārāṇi ch' ākarot* | *Trilochano maheśasya triśūlaṁcha kare vahan* | *Trilinga-rūpī nyavasat tri-dvāreshu gaṇair vṛitaḥ* | *Āndhra-Vishṇuḥ sura-yuto Danujena Nishambhuna* | *Yuddhvā trayodaśa yugān hatvā tam Rākshasottamam* | *Avasat tatra ṛishibhir yuto Godāvarī-taṭe* | *Tatkāla-prabhṛiti kshetṛam Trilingam iti viśrutam* | I translate this anew as follows:—"He [the Andhrian Vishṇu before mentioned], having constructed a vast wall connecting S'rīśaila, Bhīmeśvara, Kāleśvara, and the Mahendra hills, formed in it three gates. There, in the form of three Lingas, with three eyes, bearing in his hand the trident of Maheśa (S'iva), he dwelt in the three gates surrounded by his hosts. The Andhrian Vishṇu, attended by the Suras, having slain the illustrious Rākshasa Nishambhu, the son of Danu, after a conflict lasting for thirteen yugas, resided there with the ṛishis, on the banks of the Godāvarī. Since that time this sacred territory has been called Trilinga."

mountain of Mahendra, in these holy places were three lingams, and the language which originated in the country known by the name of the Trilinga-dēśam, is that now under consideration; this is the Atsu or pure Telugu, and is thus described in the Appacavīyam (verse): 'All those words which are in use among the several races who are aborigines of the country of Andhra, which are perfectly clear and free from all obscurity, these shine forth to the world as the pure native speech of Andhra (Śuddha-Andhra-Dēśyam).'" The following are some of the examples given, viz., *pālu*, milk, *perugu*, curdled milk, *ney*, clarified butter, *puḍami*, the earth, *paḍatuka*, a woman, *koduku*, a son, *tala*, the head, *nela*, the moon, *maḍi*, a field, *puli*, a tiger, *magavanḍu*, a man. Māmidi Vencaya then proceeds to the terms introduced into Telugu from foreign countries. "The following verse is from the Appacavīyam: 'O Keśava, the natives of Andhra, having resided in various countries, by using Telugu terms conjointly with those of other countries, these have become Andhra terms of foreign origin.'"

This is what Māmidi Vencaya has to say about the Grāmyam terms: "Terms which cannot be subjected to the rules of grammar, and in which an irregular increment or decrement of letters occurs, are called Grāmyam; they are corruptions, and are described in the following verse from the Appacavīyam (verse): 'Such Telugu words as are commonly used by rustic folk are known as Grāmyam terms: these lose some of their regular letters and are not found in poetry, unless, as in abusive language, the use of them cannot be avoided.'"

"In the preceding extracts" (Mr. Ellis proceeds) "the author, supported by due authority, teaches that, rejecting direct and indirect derivatives from the Sanscrit, and words borrowed from foreign languages, what remains is the pure native language of the land: this constitutes the great body of the tongue, and is capable of expressing every mental and bodily operation, every possible relation and existing thing; for, with the exception of some religious and technical terms, no word of Sanscrit derivation is necessary to the Telugu. This pure native language of the land, allowing for dialectic differences and variations of termination, is, with the Telugu, common to the Tamil, Cannaḍi (i.e. Canarese), and the other dialects of southern India: this may be demonstrated by comparing the Dēśyam terms contained in the list taken by Vencaya from the Appacavīyam with the terms

ive of the same ideas in Tamil and Cannaḍi. It has been shown that the radicals of these languages mutatis mutandis same, and this comparison will show that the native terms in use in each, also, correspond."

mparative list of Telugu, Canarese, and Tamil words is then l, pp. 19–21, which I omit. Mr. Ellis then goes on (p. 21): the preceding extracts and remarks on the composition of the language, as respects terms, it results that the language may ded into four branches, of which the following is the natural Dēśyam, or Atsu-Telugu, pure native terms, constituting the f this language, and, generally also, of the other dialects of n India: Anya-dēśyam, terms borrowed from other countries of the same derivation as the preceding: Tatsamam, pure t terms, the Telugu affixes being substituted for those of the l language: Tadbhavam, Sanscrit derivatives, received into the direct, or through one of the six Pracrits, and in all instance less corrupted. The Grāmyam (literally the rustic dialect, from m, Sans. a village), is not a constituent portion of the languag formed from the Atsu-Telugu by contraction, or by some ... n of the letters not authorized by the rules of grammar. ... ion of Atsu-Telugu terms to those derived from every ... is one half; of Anya-dēśyam terms one tenth; of Tatsa... n general use three twentieths; and of Tadbhavam terms ... is

ith little variation, the composition of Tamil and Canna... are ie as the Telugu, and the same distinctions, consequently ... th y their grammatical writers. The Telugu and Cannaḍi ... the f a freer adoption of Tatsamam terms than the Tamil; in ... of mer, in fact, the discretion of the writer is the only ... sed se; in the high dialect of the latter those only ... age nave been admitted into the dictionaries by which ... ced; been fixed, or for which classical authority can be ... ans ow dialect the use of them is more general; by the ... The profusely employed, more sparingly by the Sudra tribes. ... vam i has a greater, and the Tamil a less, proportion of Tadbh... s are ian the other dialects; but in the latter all Sanscrit wor... ce of greater variation than is produced by the mere differe...

termination, for, as the alphabet of this language rejects all aspirates, expresses the first and third consonants of each regular series by the same character, and admits of no other combination of consonants than the duplication of mutes or the junction of a nasal and a mute, it is obviously incapable of expressing correctly any but the simplest terms of the Sanscrit. All such, however, in this tongue are accounted Tatsamam when the alteration is regular and produced only by the deficiencies of the alphabet.

"But though the derivation and general terms may be the same in cognate dialects, a difference of idiom may exist so great that in the acquisition of one no assistance in this respect can be derived from a knowledge of the other. As regards the dialects of southern India this is by no means the case: in collocation of words, in syntactical government, in phrase, and indeed in all that is comprehended under the term idiom, they are not similar only, but the same. To demonstrate this, and to show how far they agree with, or differ from, the Sanscrit," Mr. Ellis proceeds to give a series of comparative renderings of sentences in Sanskrit, and in the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese. As, however, it would lengthen this Section too much to cite these details, I must refer the reader who is desirous of pursuing the subject further to Mr. Ellis's "Note" itself.

From Mr. Campbell's Introduction to his Grammar, pp. vii, viii, ff., I supply some further particulars regarding the early cultivation of Telugu and the belief of the native grammarians as to the origin of their language:—"The most ancient Teloogoo grammarian of whom mention is made in the native books is the sage Kunva, who is said to have been the first that composed a treatise on the principles of the language. It is stated[143] that he executed this work by command of a king of Andhra, named Andhra Royoodoo,[144] son of Soochundra. . . .

[143] "Kunva said: 'He who speaks irreverently of my grammar, composed by the command of Andhra Vishnoo, shall be considered as guilty of irreverence to his priest.' Andhra Cowmudi." The original is as follows: *Kaṇvas tu yathā āha Andhra-vishṇor anujnā-kṛitasya mad-vyākaraṇasya drohī guru-drohīti.*

[144] In regard to this king Mr. Campbell quotes the following passage, which precedes that cited in my former note, p. 428: *Andhra-nātho Mahāvishṇur Nishambhu-danujāpahā | Purā Svayambhuvo Manoḥ kāle Kaliyuge Hariḥ | Kākule rāja-varyasya Suchandrasya tanūbhavaḥ | Abhavat sarva-devaiścha veshṭito loka-pūjitaḥ |* "Formerly, in the time of Manu Svayambhū, in the Kali age, Hari, the lord of Andhra,

The works of Kunva, of Audharvan Achary, and of several other ancient grammarians, are not now to be found. All the treatises on Teloogoo grammar at present extant consist of Sanscrit commentaries on a series of concise apophthegms written in Sanscrit by a Bramin named Nannapa, or Nunniah Bhutt."

"It has been very generally asserted (says Mr. Campbell, p. xv, ff.,) and indeed believed, that the Teloogoo has its origin in the language of the Vedams. . . . I venture publicly to state my inquiries to have led me to a contrary conclusion; but I do so with the less hesitation as I find myself supported by the concurrent evidence of all native authors who have ever written on the subject of the Teloogoo language."

"In common with every other tongue now spoken in India, modern Teloogoo abounds with Sanscrit words; . . . nevertheless there is reason to believe that the origin of the two languages is altogether distinct." "In speaking the Teloogoo the Soodras use very few Sanscrit words: among the superior classes of Vysyas, and pretenders to the Rajah caste, Sanscrit terms are used only in proportion to their greater intimacy with the Bramins, and their books; and when we find even such Sanscrit words as these classes do adopt, pronounced by them in so improper and rude a manner as to be a common jest to the Bramins, who, at the same time, never question their pronunciation of pure Teloogoo words, I think we may fairly infer it to be probable at least that these Sanscrit terms were originally foreign to the language spoken by the great body of the people."

"Some native grammarians maintain that before the king Andhra Royadoo[145] established his residence on the banks of the Godavery, the only Teloogoo words were those peculiar to what is emphatically termed the pure Teloogoo, now generally named the language of the land, which they consider coeval with the people, or, as they express it, 'created by the god Brimha.' The followers of this prince, say they, for the first time began to adopt Sanscrit terms with Teloogoo

the great Vishnu, the slayer of the Dānava Nishambhu, was born [illegible] son of the monarch Suchandra, and was attended by all the gods, as well [illegible] by all mankind."

145 "This is the prince who is now worshipped as a divinity at Sicca[illegible] river Krishna, and who was the patron of Kunva, the first Teloogoo gram[illegible]

terminations, and by degrees corruptions from the Sanscrit crept into the language, from the ignorance of the people respecting the proper pronunciation of the original words.[146] This would imply that the nation still retain some faint remembrance of those times in which their language still existed independent of the Sanscrit; and it is certain that every Teloogoo grammarian, from the days of Nunniah Bhutt to the present period, considers the two languages as derived from sources entirely distinct; for each commences his work by classing the words of the language under four separate heads, which they distinguish by the respective names of Dēshyumoo, language of the land; Tutsumumoo, Sanscrit derivatives; Tudbhuvumoo, Sanscrit corruptions; and Gramyumoo, provincial terms. [Compare the Grammar, p. 37.] To these, later authors have added Anya-dēshyumoo, foreign words."

"The words included in the first class, which I have denominated the language of the land, are . . . the most numerous in the language, and the model by which those included in the other classes are modified and altered from the different languages to which they originally belonged. The name by which they are designated implies 'that which belongs to the country or land;' it marks the words in question not as merely 'current in the country,' but as the growth and produce of the land."

"In the course of this work it will be obvious to the Sanscrit scholar that the declension of the noun by particles or words added to it,—the use of a plural pronoun applicable to the first and second persons conjointly—the conjugation of the affirmative verb—the existence of a negative aorist, a negative imperative, and other negative

[146] The following is the passage referred to, and it follows the one quoted in the note, p. 428: *Tatratyās tatsamālāpās tatkālīnāḥ Harer bhaṭāḥ | Kālena mahatā sarvaṁ tatsamaṁ svalpa-buddhibhiḥ | Aśuddhochchāryamāṇaṁ sat tadbhavañcheti sammatam | Vikarsha-vyatyayābhyāṁcha pādārdhokti viśeshataḥ | Tadbhavam iti kathyante kālena mahatā samāḥ | Brahmaṇā nirmitāḥ vāchaḥ pūrvam Andhreśitur Hareḥ | Achchāḥ iti cha kathyante sup-kṛid-dhātu-samanvitāḥ |* "The adherents of Hari who dwelt there (in Trilinga, on the banks of the Godāvarī) at that time, spoke tatsama words. In process of time these tatsama words began to be incorrectly pronounced by simple persons, and were regarded as tadbhava. Tatsama words were denominated tadbhava from loss or substitution [of letters], or from being contracted a fourth or a half. Words, consisting of nouns, verbals, and roots, which were fashioned by Brahmā before the time of Hari, the lord of Andhra, are called achcha (pure)."

forms of the verb—the union of the neuter and feminine genders in the singular, and of the masculine and feminine genders in the plural, of the pronouns and verbs—and the whole body of the syntax, are entirely unconnected with the Sanscrit; while the Tamil and Karnataca scholar will at once recognize their radical connexion with each of these languages. The reader will find all words denoting the different parts of the human frame, the various sorts of food or utensils in common use among the natives, the several parts of their dress, the compartments of their dwellings, the degrees of affinity and consanguinity peculiar to them, in short, all terms expressive of primitive ideas or of things necessarily named in the earlier stages of society, to belong to the pure Teloogoo or language of the land. It is true (so mixed have the two languages now become) that Sanscrit derivatives or corruptions may, without impropriety, be occasionally used to denote some of these. This, however, is not common: the great body of Sanscrit words admitted into the language consists of abstract terms, and of words connected with science, religion, or law, as is the case, in a great degree, with the Greek and Latin words incorporated with our own tongue: but even such Sanscrit words as are thus introduced into Teloogoo are not allowed to retain their original forms; they undergo changes and assume terminations and inflections unknown to the Sanscrit, and, except as foreign quotations, are never admitted into Teloogoo until they appear in the dress peculiar to the language of the land."

At the risk of some repetition, I shall add a few further observations, abstracted from Dr. Caldwell's grammar, pp. 29, ff., and 56, in proof of the radical differences between the Sanskrit and the southern languages:—"No person," he remarks, "who is acquainted with comparative philology, and who has compared the primitive and essential words, and the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages with those of the Sanskrit, can imagine that the former have been derived from the latter by any known process of corruption or decomposition. We shall first advert to the Sanskrit element which has been introduced into these languages, and then revert to their non-Sanskrit or essential basis." First, the most recent infusion of Sanskrit words into the Tamil, Dr. Caldwell states (p. 56), "was effected by the great religious schools of Śankara Achāryya and Rāmānuja, from about the

tenth to the fifteenth century A.D. The words then introduced (excepting a few points wherein change was unavoidable) are pure, unchanged Sanskrit. Secondly, at a period partly preceding and partly contemporaneous with the above, from the eighth to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., the Jainas introduced the largest proportion of the Sanskrit derivatives that are to be found in Tamil. This period of Jaina intellectual predominance was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, a period when the celebrated college of Madura flourished, and the Cuṟaḷ, the Chintāmani, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written. The Tamilian writers of this period, from national feeling, and their jealousy of Brahminical influence, modified the Sanskrit words which they employed so as to accord with the euphonic rules of Tamil. Thus *loka*, 'world,' becomes *ulagu*[147] in Tamil; *rājā*, 'king,' becomes *araśu*; and *ra*, 'night,' (from *rātri*) becomes *iravu*. Nearly the whole of the Sanskrit words found in the Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim belong to these two periods, or correspond mainly with the Sanskrit derivatives found in the Tamil of those two periods, especially the more recent. These derivatives are divided into the two classes of Tatsama, words identical or nearly so with pure Sanskrit, and Tadbhava, words which are borrowed from Sanskrit or the northern Prakrits, but have been to some degree modified in form. Thirdly, the Tamil contains many derivatives, belonging to the very earliest period of the literary cultivation of that language, which were probably introduced before Sanskrit words had begun to be imported into the other southern dialects. The Sanskrit of this period is more corrupted than that of the Jaina period, and the corruptions are of a different character. The Jainas altered the Sanskrit words in accordance with the euphonic rules of Tamil, whereas the words introduced in the earliest period have been changed in defiance of all rules; as the Sanskrit *śrī*, 'sacred,' into *tiru*. While, however, a certain proportion of Sanskrit words have been introduced into the Dravidian tongues in the ways just described,—it would be quite a mistake to suppose that these languages are derived from the Sanskrit in the same manner as

[147] It is supposed by some scholars, from the fact that, in most passages of the Rigveda where the word "loka" occurs, it is preceded by "u," that the original form of the word was "uloka," and that in the texts in question "u" is not a particle separate from the word before which it stands. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "loka."

the Hindī, Mahrattī, and other Gauḍa dialects. For (1) the non-Sanskrit portion of the Dravidian languages exceeds the Sanskrit portion nearly as much as in the North-Indian dialects the Sanskrit element exceeds the indigenous or non-Sanskrit element. (2) The pronouns and numerals of the Dravidian languages, their mode of inflecting verbs and nouns, the syntactic arrangement of their words—everything, in fact, which constitutes the essential structure of a language, are radically different from those of the Sanskrit. The contrary is the case with the vernacular dialects of the north, in which the pronouns, the numerals, and a large proportion of nouns and verbs, have been derived by adoption or gradual transformation from the older Prakrits and ultimately from the Sanskrit. (3) The true Dravidian words, which form the great majority in the southern vocabularies, are placed by the native grammarians in a different class from the Sanskrit derivatives, and are honoured with the epithets 'national words' and 'pure words.'" In support of this Dr. Caldwell refers to the passage already quoted in p. 433; and gives it as his opinion that Andhrarāya probably lived several centuries before the Christian era. "(4) In the uncultivated languages of the Dravidian stock, Sanskrit words are not at all, or very rarely, employed. And further, some of the cultivated Dravidian languages which do make use of Sanskrit derivatives are able to dispense with these altogether. This indeed is not the case with Telugu, Canarese, or Malayālim; but Tamil, the most highly cultivated, as regards its original structure, of all the Dravidian idioms, is not dependent on Sanskrit for the full expression of thought. In fact, the ancient or classical dialect of this language, the Shen-Tamil, in which nearly all the literature has been written, contains very little Sanskrit; and even differs chiefly from the colloquial dialect by the jealous care with which it rejects derivatives from Sanskrit and restricts itself to pure Dravidian elements. So much is this the case that a Tamil composition is regarded as refined and classical, not in proportion to the amount of Sanskrit it contains, but in proportion to the absence of Sanskrit. It is also worthy of remark that though the principal Telugu writers and grammarians have been Brahmans, in Tamil, on the contrary, few Brahmans have written any works of distinction, while the Tamilian Sudras have cultivated and developed their language with great ardour and success; and the finest

compositions in the Tamil language, the Cuṛaḷ and the Chintāmani, are not only independent of the Sanskrit, but original in design and execution."

A few more specimens of Tamil words derived from Dr. Caldwell's book, passim, may be added to show how perfectly distinct they are from the Sanskrit, and North-Indian vernacular, words having the same sense, with which I shall presume the reader to be acquainted.

NOUNS, ETC.

nān	I	kīṛ	below	illāl	a wife
nām	we	kāl	foot	vaṉṉān	a washerman
nī	thou	viṉ	sky	vaṉṉātti	a washerwoman
nīr	we	kurudu	blindness	oru	one
viral	finger	irumbu	iron	irandu	two
kaḍal	the sea	iruppu	of iron	mūndru	three
maṉal	sand	suvar	a wall	nāngu	four
kuḍal	a bowel	ugir	finger-nail	eindu	five
niṛal	shade	tamir	sweetness	aru	six
sēval	a cock	kiṉaṛu	a well	eṛu	seven
nilam	the ground	īral	the liver	eṭṭu [148]	eight
mādu	an ox	tigil	a fright	onbadu	nine
ādu	a sheep	tinggal	the moon	pattu	ten
kuranju	a monkey	iruḷ	darkness	mupattu	thirty
pagal	a day	toppu	a grove	mūru	a hundred
kaṉ	the eye	magan	a son	munnūṛu	three hundred
mūkku	the nose	magaḷ	a daughter	arubadu	sixty
mēl	above	illān	a husband	eṛubadu	seventy

Tamil declension of *manei*, a house.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nom.	manei	maneigal
Acc.	maneiyei	maneigalei
Inst.	maneiyāl	maneigalāl
Conj.	maneiyoḍu	maneigaloḍu
Dat.	maneikku	maneigalukku
Abl.	maneiyilirundu	maneigalirundu
Gen.	maneiyin	maneigalin
Loc.	maneiyiḍattil	maneigaliḍattil
Voc.	maneiye	maneigaḷe

VERBS.

irrukkiṛadu	it is	tuḷir	to sprout
perugugiṛudu	it increases	pugaṛ	to praise
aḍangu	to be contained	magiṛ	to rejoice
aḍakku	to contain	suṛal	to whirl
āgu	to become	kuyil	to sound
ākku	to make	tuval	to bend
nīngu	to quit	uruḷ	to roll
nīkku	to put away	kaḍukku	to suffer pain
nirambu	to be full	tara	to give
nirappu	to fill	vara	to come
vaḷar	to grow		

[148] This word, it must be allowed, is not unlike the Hindī *āṭh*, eight.

"(5) The grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages is radically different from that of the Sanskrit; and proves that they are quite independent of that language." For further illustrations of this fact I must refer to Dr. Caldwell's Grammar, pp. 34, ff., and to the subsequent details given in that work, passim.

Sect. VII.—*Results deducible from the preceding Sections.*

In the last section I have supplied abundant evidence, derived from the best authorities, of the radical differences which exist between the languages of the south of India and the Sanskrit. The evidence which I have adduced is not (as will have been noticed) confined to the fact of those dissimilarities of roots and of structure which are sufficient to convince the comparative philologist that the Dravidian dialects have no original affinity with the Indo-European tongues. We have also the testimony of the native grammarians of the south to the same effect, as far as regards the Sanskrit (as we have seen, pp. 428, 433). The Telugu authors hold that the words of which their language is composed are of four classes, Deśya or Atsu (or aboriginal), Tatsama (pure Sanskrit), Tadbhava (modified Sanskrit), and Grāmya (or rustic); and they consider that the first class, the Deśya or Atsu-Telugu words, constituted the primeval basis of the language before the introduction of Tatsama words in the time of King Andhrarāya,[149] and were created, with a complete grammatical structure of their own, by the god Brahmā. I am not in a position to cite any similar testimony on the part of the Tamil grammarians; but Mr. Ellis informs us (see p. 430) that the same distinctions are made by them as by the Telugu writers, and their idea of the relation of perfect independence in which their language stands to the Sanskrit is sufficiently shown by the fact that they regard that Tamil as the most pure and classical in which there is the smallest admixture of Sanskrit. It is therefore a fact, established beyond all doubt, that the Dravidian or South-Indian languages have, as regards their original and fundamental portion, no affinity with the

[149] We have already seen, p. 436, that Dr. Caldwell considers this monarch to have flourished several centuries B.C. From the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 24, it appears that an Andhra-bhṛitya dynasty of kings reigned in Magadha, whose accession Wilson (V.P., iv. 203, Dr. Hall's ed.) calculates to have dated from 18 years B.C. See also Lassen, Ind. Ant., ii. 755, 934.

Indo-European languages; and could not, by any modification known to comparative philologists, have been derived from any member of that family. There are certain processes and modes of mutation which are always discoverable when one language springs out of another. The words of the derivative tongue are always, or almost always, recognizable (even if considerably modified), in the new forms which they have assumed; and the steps of their transformation can be either exactly traced, or at least divined with certainty. But the primitive words and forms of the South-Indian dialects could not have issued from the Sanskrit by any known law of modification.

But if the Dravidian languages be of a stock altogether distinct from the Sanskrit, it follows, at least, as a primâ facie inference (see above, p. 267), that the races which originally spoke these two classes of languages must also have been distinct from one another in their descent, and could not have belonged to the same branch of the human family. Had the Dravidian nations been of Arian lineage, the whole of their languages must, in all probability, have more or less closely resembled either the older Prākṛits (described in the early part of this volume) or the later Hindī, Mahrattī, and Bengalī, all of which have evidently arisen, in great part, from the decomposition of Sanskrit. But such (as we have seen) is not the case in regard to those southern dialects.

And as the Dravidians now make use of languages which are radically distinct from Sanskrit, we cannot suppose it probable that the aboriginal part of the nation ever, at any former time, spoke a language which had any affinity to Sanskrit. Such a supposition would be at variance with the traditions preserved by the Telugu grammarians. And no race of mankind has ever been known which (except under the pressure of external influence) has lost, or abandoned, the language which it had derived from its forefathers, and of itself adopted a form of speech fundamentally different. But as we have no proof of any such external influence which could have led the Dravidians to exchange their original language for another, we must conclude that they have derived their existing dialects from their forefathers; and these their forefathers, as their speech was distinct from that of the ancestors of the Arians, must, as we have every reason to conclude, have been distinct in lineage also from the latter. But if

the original Dravidian Indians of the south of India are of a different race from the Arian Indians, they could not, as Manu and the Mahābhārata assert (see above, p. 422), have been degraded Kshatriyas. And this conclusion is not in the slightest degree affected by the fact that a considerable portion of the existing Dravidian communities, though speaking the language of the south, belongs, or claims to belong, to the higher Arian castes. For if the southern Brāhmans, and some of the other castes, be (as in all probability they are) of Arian descent, more or less pure, this does not prove that the same is the case in regard to the great mass of the Dravidian population; for there is every reason to believe that those southern communities existed before the Arians had spread themselves to the south of the Vindhya mountains, and that the Brāhmans emigrated at a comparatively recent period from northern to southern India. On their arrival in the south, these Brāhmans no doubt spoke Sanskrit, or rather one of its derivative Prākṛits. But though, from their superior civilization and energy, they soon succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the Dravidian communities, and in introducing among them the Brahmanical religion and institutions, they must have been so inferior in numbers to the Dravidian inhabitants as to render it impracticable for them to dislodge the primitive speech of the country, and to replace it by their own language. They would therefore be compelled to acquire the Dravidian dialect of the province in which they settled; and in a generation or two, the majority of them would lose the vernacular use of the Prākṛit dialects which they had brought with them. This, however, might not prevent their retaining in use a good many words of Sanskrit origin. And as many of these Brāhmans, or subsequent immigrants from Northern India by whom they were subsequently reinforced, were, no doubt, learned men, and as their religious books were composed in Sanskrit, they would necessarily preserve their acquaintance with that sacred tongue, and with its literature; and would no doubt from time to time introduce fresh Sanskrit words into the local vernacular,[150] just as we see that English is continually enriched by

[150] I may take this opportunity of adverting again to the probability already alluded to above, in note 67, p. 33, that Sanskrit has not only influenced the aboriginal tongues both of northern and southern India, but has also received some influence from one or from both of them in return. Mr. E. Norris observes (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. xv., p. 19): "I will here express my conviction that the sounds

the addition of new Greek and Latin words. The fact that many of the present inhabitants of the south of India are of Arian extraction affords, therefore, no reason for doubting that the primitive language of those provinces was entirely distinct from the Sanskrit, and that the population by whom that language was originally employed was totally unconnected with the Arian race. For even the existence of the limited proportion of non-Sanskrit words which we can discover (see above, p. 31, f.) in the Hindī, Mahrattī, and other northern dialects, seems sufficient to prove that there originally existed in northern India one or more races of non-Arian inhabitants who occupied the country before the immigration into Hindustan of the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas.

It now remains for me to inquire how this important fact that the great bulk of the population of the Dekhan is non-Arian in its descent, affects the results at which I had previously arrived, on the grounds set forth in the foregoing pages, in regard to the trans-Himalayan origin of the Arians, and their immigration into India from the north-west.

In the preceding chapter, we were led by a variety of considerations,

called cerebral are peculiar to the Tartar or Finnish class of languages; that the really Indian [i.e. the aboriginal, or non-Arian—J.M.] languages are all of Tartar origin, or, at least, that their phonetic and grammatical affinities are Tartar; and that the writers of Sanskrit adopted the sound from their Indian neighbours." And Professor Benfey says (Complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 20): "The mute cerebrals have probably been introduced from the phonetic system of the Indian aborigines into Sanskrit, in which, however, they have become firmly established." And at p. 73 of the same work he thus writes: "Sanskrit is a language of great antiquity and of wide diffusion. Long after it had ceased to be vernacularly spoken, it continued to be employed as the organ of culture and religion, and in this capacity it prevailed over extensive regions where there existed alongside of it, not merely a variety of dialects which had been developed out of it, but also several popular dialects which were originally quite distinct from it. From these circumstances it has resulted, not only that forms which have been admitted into the Prakrit dialects have been afterwards adopted into Sanskrit, but further, that words which were originally quite foreign to the Sanskrit have been included in its vocabulary. To separate these foreign words will only become possible when an accurate knowledge of the dialects which have no affinity with Sanskrit shall have been attained. But it is almost as difficult to distinguish those irregular forms which have originated in the dialects derived from Sanskrit and have been afterwards received into Sanskrit, from those forms which have arisen in Sanskrit itself; because, on the one hand, Sanskrit literature and its history are as yet but little known, and on the other hand, those phonetic changes, which attained their full power in the Prakrits, had already begun to work in Sanskrit itself. See also above, p. 141, f.

all pointing to the same result, to conclude that the Āryas had penetrated into India from the north-west. The facts which have been substantiated in the foregoing sections of the present chapter are in perfect harmony with that conclusion. These facts are (1) that the Āryas, when living in the Panjāb, found themselves in conflict with a class of enemies whom, in contrast to the men of their own race, they called Dasyus: (2) that the Āryas, after occupying the north-west of India, from the Indus to the Sarasvatī, began, at length, to move forward to the east and to the south: (3) that, still later, they crossed the Vindhya range, and commenced to colonize the Dekhan, which had been previously occupied exclusively by savage or alien tribes: and now we learn (4) that the nations who at the present day inhabit the different provinces of the Dekhan, and who (with the exception of such part of the population as is descended from the later Arian immigrants, or has received an infusion of Arian blood) are the direct descendants of the original tribes, — speak a class of languages which are radically distinct from the Sanskrit. It may be expedient, however, to show somewhat more in detail the manner in which these circumstances corroborate, or at least harmonize with, the theory that the Arians are not autochthonous, but of trans-Himalayan origin, and that they immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west. First, then, the fact that at the dawn of Indian history, the earliest Vedic period, we find the Arian Indians inhabiting the Panjāb; then advancing gradually eastward along the southern border of the Himālaya from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā, and spreading simultaneously, no doubt, over the southern parts of Doab, and in Behar; and at length crossing the Vindhya mountains into the Dekhan;—affords the strongest presumption that they penetrated into India from some quarter closely adjoining the north-western corner of that country, which was the starting-point of their onward course of conquest and colonization. Secondly: the indubitable fact that the Arians found, on advancing into the Dekhan, a people speaking a language radically different from their own, who had been in earlier occupation of the country; and the almost equally certain fact that they had previously encountered similar alien tribes in the Panjāb and in the Doab, add to the probability of the conclusion that they (the Arians) could not have belonged to the race by whom India was originally peopled. For, we

must either suppose that both of these two races, the Arian and the non-Arian, grew up together in India, where we find them in contact from the earliest period, or that one or both of them have immigrated into that country from without. But it seems unlikely that two races whose languages differ so essentially, as those of the Arians and non-Arians do, and whose religions also were, no doubt, originally diverse, should have sprung up, and co-existed, in the same country, and under the same climatic influences. It is much more likely that one or both of them should have been foreign. The fact is that both have probably immigrated into India from the north-west;[151] but the evidence in favour of this supposition is far stronger in the case of the Arian, than in that of the non-Arian tribes. For, besides the proofs derived from the language of the Arians, which clearly connects them with the nations to the west of the Indus, we have the evidence of their complexion, which in the present day is fairer than that of the aborigines, and in earlier times was perhaps still more clearly distinguishable from the dark colour of the latter (see pp. 281, f., 310). But if neither of these two races was indigenous in India, and if they did not at first occupy any portion of that country contemporaneously with each other, which of them is most likely to have been the first possessor? We must, no doubt, conclude that the Dasyus or barbarous races and the Dravidians were the earliest occupants. For, as Lassen observes (see p. 309), we perceive evident traces of the Arians having severed asunder an earlier population, and driven one portion of it towards the northern and another towards the southern hills; and the inhabitants of the Vindhya range, and of the Dekhan, appear always as the weaker and retiring party who were driven back by the Arians. And we cannot ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of forcing themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Arian population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre and south of the peninsula: for the Arians were from the beginning a more powerful and civilized people than their adversaries, and from a very early period have held them in subjection. It is indeed objected by Mr. Curzon (see above, p. 301), that these rude so-called aboriginal tribes may have been descended from some of the barbaric hordes who under the name of Śakas, Hūṉas, etc., are

[151] In the App., note O, I shall quote the views of the Rev. Dr. Caldwell and other writers, regarding the origin and relations of the different non-Arian tribes.

mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India, and some of whom, after their defeat, may have taken refuge in the hills and forests of Hindustan. But I apprehend that this explanation will not meet the facts of the case. We can have no assurance, that such legends as that regarding the Sakas, which is quoted in the first volume of this work (pp. 486, ff.), even if they have any historical foundation, can be referred to any very remote period. For the time at which the Indo-Scythians, who were repelled by Vikramaditya, made themselves masters, and retained possession, of the western frontiers of India, cannot be placed much earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. (See Lassen's Ind. Antiq. vol. ii. 365, ff., 398, 408, 409.) But the traces which we discover in Indian literature of the existence of the Dasyus are (as we have seen from the various Vedic texts cited above) much older than this period.

In conclusion, I return to the point from which I started at the commencement of this volume; and, as the result of the preceding investigations, repeat the following propositions: First, that the Hindus of the superior castes are sprung at least partially from the same race with the Indo-European nations of the west: Secondly, that as the parent race appears to have had its origin in Central Asia, the ancestors of the Indian branch of it could not have been indigenous in Hindustan, but must have immigrated into that country from the north-west.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—*Page* 187, *last line*.

On this subject Professor H. Kern remarks in his recent dissertation, "Indische theorieën over de Standenverdeeling" (Indian Theories on the Division of Classes): "That mention is sometimes made [in the Zendavesta] of three, and at other times of four [classes], proves of itself nothing whatever. The case may once have stood on the same footing as the mention sometimes of three, sometimes of four, Vedas. Here also some have thought to discover a contradiction, and have drawn from it the most adventurous conclusions. When the Hindus speak of the three Vedas, they mean that there is a triple Veda, consisting (1) of recited verses (*rich*), (2) of verses sung (*sāman*) and (3) of formulas in prose (*yajush*), all the three words being comprehended under the name of "mantra." Altogether independent of the three sorts of mantras is the number of the collections of them. Though there were a hundred collections of mantras, the Veda is, and remains, threefold. It happens by accident that the Hindus possess four such collections (and in a certain sense, five), which usually bear the name of the Sanhitās of the Rigveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda (white and black), and Atharvaveda. This does not interfere with the fact that the Atharvaveda is almost entirely a Rigveda, though the larger collection is regarded as the Rigveda in the most eminent sense, whilst the Yajurveda only in part consists of yajush-verses. It does not need to be proved that we must know the principle on which any distribution proceeds before we can deduce any conclusion from numbers." p. 13, f.

NOTE B.—*Page* 191, *line* 22.

In his dissertation quoted in the preceding note, pp. 3, f., Professor Kern says of the Atharvaveda: "Sometimes it is difficult to guess what is meant by older and younger. For example, the Atharvaveda is said to be younger than the Rigveda: that has become a sort of article of faith, which some one uninitiated believer receives on the authority of critics; whilst another, again, copies with confidence what has been asserted by the former. Now about half the hymns in the Atharvaveda are, with the exception of an occasional *varietas lectionis*, the same as in the Rigveda, so that *the* Atharvaveda cannot be younger than the Rigveda. And it could only be asserted that the remaining portion of the A.V. is of later date, when grounds for this position, derived from language, versification, and style, etc., had been adduced. But, so far as I know, no one has ever even attempted to seek for such grounds. I will show, by a single example, that even in the remaining portion of the A.V. to which I have referred, somewhat may very well be found which, without the least doubt, was known to the Indians in the oldest Vedic period, and even still earlier, though the Rigveda makes no mention of it. In A.V. v. 22, 5, 7, 14, the Bahlīkas (or Balhikas) are named. As Balkh was conterminous with the most ancient abodes of the Arians in India, the Bahlīkas cannot possibly have been unknown to the oldest Indians. And yet we find in the Rigveda no traces of these neighbours with whom they were constantly coming into contact, whilst there are such traces in the Atharvaveda."

I am unable to agree with Professor Kern when he alleges that no one has ever attempted to seek for proofs of the posteriority of the A.V. to the R.V. from differences in language, versification, style, etc., between the two, although such proofs have not always been stated in detail. See the remarks quoted from Professor Whitney in p. 190, above. In his Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Veda, p. 12, Prof. Roth writes as follows: "In the pieces which are common to it (the A.V.), with the Rik, it allows itself a great many transpositions and alterations, which further appear to be in most cases of an arbitrary character. In the sections which are peculiar to it, the language approaches to the flowing mode of expression belonging to a later period, though it has the grammatical forms of the older hymns. Between it

and the Rik, there subsists, further, the peculiar relation that the latter too, towards the end (in the last anuvāka of the tenth maṇḍala), contains a considerable number of sections which bear completely the character of the Atharva-hymns, and are also actually reproduced in the latter. In addition to these general marks of a later origin of this Veda, we find also a number of special characters, of which I here adduce one: The hymns of the Rik celebrate in various ways the deliverances which Indra, the Aśvins, and other gods had vouchsafed to the forefathers. The names of the persons so rescued, however, lie beyond the times of the authors themselves, and a Vedic rishi is seldom found to be mentioned. But in the fourth book of the Atharva there occurs, for example, a hymn in which Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked so to protect the suppliant,—not as they had preserved, for instance, Dadhyach, Rebha, Pedu, and others, but Jamadagni, Vasishṭha, Medhātithi, Purumīlha, etc., all these being names of men whom the tradition makes to be composers of hymns in the Rigveda. It thus appears to admit of no doubt that the Atharva has not only been collected later than the Rik, but is also of later origin."

In his Dissertation on the A.V.[1] pp. 22, ff., the same author writes: "If I have above designated the A.V. as a sort of supplement to the R.V., it is already implied that I regard this collection as later. But it would be a useless undertaking to try to determine its date even approximately, as our information regarding the dates of particular Indian writings is far too uncertain. For the rest, this Veda must, without hesitation, be reckoned as part of the old literature. I shall be able in another place to collect, in the form of a survey, the manifold proofs which may be drawn from the contents of the A.V., to establish the assertions that the greater part of its formulas and hymns are later than the hymns of the R.V., and that this collection has been made subsequently to the other. Here I will confine myself to the single, but quite certain proof, that derived from language.

"With a view to the preparation of the Sanskrit Lexicon, the words of all the Vedic Sanhitās have been completely collected by myself and my co-editor of the A.V., Mr. W. D. Whitney. I can, therefore, state, with tolerable exactness, the number of times that particular words occur in these different Sanhitās. Generally regarded, the

[1] Abhandlung über den Atharwaveda, Tübingen, 1856.

language of the A.V. shows itself to be the same which is peculiar to the other Vedas, and thus as very notably distinguished from the so-called classical, or more properly, common, Sanskrit. The A.V. also has very many peculiar Vedic forms, i.e. forms which belong to the old speech; and yet when an opportunity is afforded of comparing parallel passages of the R.V., there may not seldom be observed (*a*) the exchange of the old form for one which prevailed at a later period, e.g. of the absolutive *tvi* or *tvāya* for *tvā*, which alone was in common use at a later period: similarly, (*b*) a treatment of the hiatus in verse which shows how gradually the ancient usage ceases (see the Sanskrit Lexicon, *s.v. iva*). But the tendency towards the later linguistic usage is most of all visible from a lexical point of view" (*i.e.* that which regards not the forms of words, but the words themselves). "This is shown most strikingly in the use of many particles: just as Homer, who is so rich in these small words, is in this respect distinguished from later authors, so is the R.V. distinguished from later books, and already from the A.V. Thus, in those pieces which are peculiar to it, the latter has the particle *itthā* but once, whilst it occurs more than sixty times in the R.V. So, too, it employs the particle *it* much more rarely, whilst *īm*, which is found about two hundred times in the R.V., is not used in it at all. On the other hand, the R.V. does not at all know the later form *evam*, but makes use of the older *eva*, whilst the A.V. has *evam* more than forty times, but (and here there may be a trace of a revision of the text) only from the eighth book onward.

"In the same way, certain main conceptions of the older language appear but seldom in the A.V. This case, it is true, is different from that of those particles. These small words may occur anywhere in a book, whatever its contents may be, provided only that it agrees in point of form with another book which is compared with it, which is the case here. Nouns and verbs, on the contrary, cannot occur with equal frequency in books of which the contents are different. Yet even here a comparison between the R.V. and A.V. may be instituted with an approach to correctness. "Ṛita," the fundamental conception in the religious system of the Vedas, could not certainly be so prominent in the A.V. as in the R.V.; yet it must surprise us that this word, with its compounds, is found so very seldom in the former, whilst it is met with more than three hundred times in the latter. So

too *ṛikvan*, which the R.V. has twenty times, is wanting in the A.V.; *ūti*, which is found in above a hundred places in the former, occurs in only six or seven texts of the latter. *Kāru*, which the R.V. has forty-five times, is met with only once in the A.V. So, too, the latter has *ukthya* only once, the former about forty times.

"The old much-employed word *ish* is met with very rarely in the A.V., and nearly always only in connexion with *ūrj*; *udan* but once; the adjective *ṛishva* is used forty-eight times in the R.V. and only once in the A.V.; the old adverbial form *uruyā* is unknown to the A.V., whilst in the R.V. we find it perhaps twenty times. The denominative verb *urushyati*, which would have suited perfectly the class of conceptions prevalent in the A.V., is met with there only twice, whilst the R.V. has it thirty-four times. The ancient verb *kan*, which was afterwards entirely lost, is wanting also in the A.V., while we encounter it nearly forty times in the R.V. On the other hand, the A.V. is very liberal in its use of the verb *kalp*, which was so much applied in later times, whilst the R.V. has it only once in the first nine, i.e., the ancient, books; although in the tenth book it certainly uses it fourteen times. The word *indriya*, which occurs indeed very often in the R.V., but never in its later ordinary signification, of "sense," has the latter meaning in the A.V.: in the nineteenth book it is used for the five senses.

"These examples might be increased at pleasure. I have chosen them from the letters already worked out in the Lexicon, in order that an opportunity may be afforded of examining the proofs of them; and they will abundantly suffice for our purpose. It will be observed how the vocabulary of the A.V. approaches to that of the later period of language, of which, so far as we yet know, the Brāhmaṇas, the second class of Vedic books, are the earliest productions. But from this fact it must not be immediately concluded that the hymns preserved in the A.V. are all of them later than those of the R.V., but we must, at the same time, keep in view that in the case of those among them which perhaps date from as early a linguistic period, either revision, or daily usage, may have stripped off the antiquated words. For, according to my view, it is not to be denied that the A.V. contains many pieces which, both by their style of expression, and by their ideas, are shown to be contemporary with the older hymns of the R.V."

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the following further detailed proofs of the same point. In the parts of the A.V., which consist of entire hymns common to it and the R.V., there are found not only whole verses, but portions of verses and phrases, which have been borrowed from the R.V., and adapted to certain purposes different from those which they served in the original. That these verses, portions of verses, and phrases, have been taken from the R.V. by the A.V., and not *vice versâ*, from the latter by the former, is shown by the context in each case. It is further to be remarked, that several verses which occur not in the text of the R.V., but only in the Khilas or supplementary hymns of an evidently late character interpolated in it, are found in the A.V. Compare Prof. Müller's Preface to his Rigveda, vol. ii., p. xxxiv., and vol. iv., preface, pp. 13 and 19, lines 12, ff., from the bottom. The Rātrisūkta, one of these Khilas, [printed in the 4th volume of this work, p. 424], is partly found in the A.V. This does not preclude the possibility that a few hymns, especially the magical ones in books i.–ix. of the A.V., but no others, may be as old as certain hymns of the tenth maṇḍala and others of the R.V., which have been attached to the end of other maṇḍalas, such as i. 191, and the last two hymns of the second maṇḍala; or that some ideas of the A.V. may be as ancient as any in those parts of the R.V.

The Rigveda, though the oldest collection, does not necessarily contain everything that is of the greatest age in Indian thought or tradition. We know, for example, that certain legends bearing the impress of the highest antiquity, such as that of the Deluge, appear first in the Brāhmaṇas.

Descending to particulars, we find a great difference between the two Sanhitās.

i. *Religion.*

Do the religious ideas in the A.V. stand at the same point as in the R.V.? or is there a progress towards a systematization of religion; Do we find traces of a development of polytheism, or of an advance towards monotheism? Surely the latter.

1. Vishṇu. The A.V. contains no hymn addressed to this god. He is mentioned merely as one of the οἱ πολλοί, or as a *lokapāla* (guardian of one of the regions of the world), iii. 27, 5; xii. 3, 59.

2. Varuṇa. The A.V. has a hymn to this god, iv. 16, remarkable in some respects (which was employed as an oath to be taken by a witness),[2] but every line of it affords evidence of being copied from the R.V. There is also another hymn, no doubt based upon some old tradition, in which Varuṇa is represented as giving a cow to Atharvan, but apparently spun out with the view of intimating to the faithful that the magician (Atharva-priest) should be rewarded by a donation of cows. For the rest, Varuṇa is treated very much as Vishṇu.

3. Indra. No particular hymn is addressed to him; no feats, no enemies, of his are mentioned beyond such as are found in the Rigveda.

4. The same is the case in regard to Agni. And, further, he no longer appears as the ever youthful mediator between gods and men, but his fire has become formally divided into the Dakshiṇāgni, the Pūrvāgni, the Gārhapatya, etc.

From all this it is clear that the A.V. has no fresh hymns contemporary with older ones of the R.V. or exhibiting distinct and original features of the most ancient gods, but in so far as they are concerned, builds upon the materials supplied by the R.V., while it introduces new and more modern characteristics leading in the direction of, and ultimately developed into, the latter mythology. In fact, the principal gods of the R.V. have sunk down to the same level, which they occupy in the later epic poems, and a new god, Bhava-Śarva, has arrived at supremacy.

The A.V. has, however, besides the last-named Bhava and Śarva (xi. 2, 1, and elsewhere), who occur nowhere in the R.V., its peculiar gods, not such as the bright elementary powers of the R.V., but serpents,[3] sprung from fire, from plants, from the waters, from lightning (*tebhyaḥ sarpebhyo namasā vidhema* | "Let us with reverence worship these serpents"), x. 4, 23; viii. 8, 15; viii. 10, 29 (where Takshaka is mentioned), etc.; and it has hymns to Night, xix. 47–50;[4] and

[2] In the actual application, in particular cases, of the formula in verse 9, *tais tvā sarvair abhi shyāmi pāśair asāv āmushyāyaṇa amushyāḥ putra*, "with all these bonds I bind thee, so and so, son of such and such a man, and of such and such a woman," the real name of the person was substituted for the words *āmushyāyaṇa*, and a definite purpose in the verse is thus evident. Comp. A.V. x. 5, 36, 44; xvi. 7, 8; xvi. 8, 1.

[3] The R.V. has *sarpa*, "serpent," only once, x. 16, 6.

[4] It is true that we have the same in R.V. x. 127; but in the A.V. the adoration is more decided.

pays worship to cows, xii. 4 and 5. On the other hand, the A.V. shows a progress towards monotheism in its celebration of Brahman, Brahma jyeshṭham, Skambha (see the 5th volume of this work, pp. 378, ff.); and has hymns to Kāla and Kāma, divinities unknown to the R.V. (See vol. v., pp. 402, ff.)

ii. *Poetry, Imagination.*

Of poetical sentiment, or imagination (such, for example, as breathes in the beautiful hymns to Ushas in the R.V.), the A.V. has next to nothing. The reader feels himself in a dark suffocating atmosphere, surrounded by domineering priests, who would sternly repress any flights of levity.

iii. *Ritual.*

The development in this department becomes clearer and clearer. Compare terms such as *agnishṭoma*, *anuvāka*, *prayāja*, *anuyāja*,[6] (i. 30, 4), *mahānāmnī*, *mahāvrata*, *rājasūya*, *vājapeya*, *agnihotra*, *ekarātra*, *dvirātra*, *chatūrātra*, *pancharātra*, etc. (x. 7, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11): see also xix. 22 and 23. In xiii. 3, 6, the three words of the sacrifice (*yajnasya trayo 'ksharāḥ*), meaning, it is to be supposed, such directions as *yakshat*, *vashaṭ*, *svāhā*, are mentioned. The whole 20th book is compiled for certain definite sacrificial purposes, which are very minutely stated in the A.V. Sūtras.

iv. *Speculation.*

In the A.V. we encounter the terms (*a*) *nāma* and *rūpa*, "name," and "form," which occur so constantly in the Brāhmaṇas and Vedantic literature; (*b*) *pīlumatī dyauḥ*, "a heaven formed of atoms," (xviii. 2, 48); (*c*) *kshiti* and *akshiti*, "transitoriness," and "eternity" (xi. 7, 25); (*d*) the three *guṇās*, x. 8, 43 (comp. viii. 2, 1, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 309, note 468, and 377, note 561); (*e*) the conception of sleep as being neither life nor death, vi. 46, 1, which is of a modern character.

v. *Language.*

A few points of difference in this respect between the R.V. and the A.V. may be mentioned, to which a multitude of others could easily be added. The root *kṛi* has in the R.V. only the form *kṛiṇoti*, and *kuru* occurs only in x. 145, 2. The A.V. has *kṛiṇoti*, but *karoti* quite as

[6] These two terms occur also in R.V. x. 51, 8, f.

often. The R.V. uses the root *sas*, and not so commonly *svap*, for "to sleep." The A.V. has *sas* only once, iv. 1, 6, and in verses that are borrowed from the R.V. it substitutes *svap*, e.g. iv. 5, 5, 6. The R.V. has only the form *dyut*, "to shine;" the A.V. has this, but also *jyut*, "to shine," vii. 16, 1; iv. 37, 10. The R.V. has never *tadā* for "then," and *tadānīṁ* only in x. 129, 1 (this being one of the points insisted upon for proving the comparatively modern origin of the hymn), while the A.V. has both forms. The use of *tva* . . . *tva*, "the one . . . the other," is common in R.V., whilst the A.V. has the phrase only once, viii. 9, 9, and there only in what appears to be an imitation of R.V. x. 71, 7, 8. *Divākara*, "the sun," in A.V. iv. 10, 5; xiii. 2, 34, is a word which has quite a modern sound. *Na*, in the sense of "like," "as," disappears in the A.V. gradually, as also the particle *it*, both so very common in the R.V. *Dṛiś*, "to see," of which in the R.V. we have the forms *dṛiśeyam*, *darśam*, *dṛiśan*, *adṛiśran*, *dṛiśāna*, never appears in the A.V., except, as in later Sanskrit, in the perf., etc.; for *jyog eva dṛiśema sūryam*, in i. 31, 4, is an imitation of R.V. i. 24, 1, 2, etc., etc.

vi. *Miscellaneous terms indicating a more modern stage.*

Dvīpin, "a leopard," occurs in iv. 8, 7; vi. 38, 2; xix. 49, 4. (The animal comes from the *dvīpa*, "island," perhaps Ceylon). *S'yāmaṁ lohitam ayas*, "real (black) iron and brass," xi. 3, 7. *Imāni panchendriyāṇi manaḥshashṭhāni*, "these five senses and the mind, *manas*, a sixth." Names of seasons: *grīshma* (R.V. only in the Purusha-sūkta). *Kali*, one of the dice, vii. 109, 1. *Āchārya*, *brahmachārin*,[6] xi. 5, 1. A *S'rotriya* (a priest who has studied the Veda) can alone be a guest, ix. 6, 37. *Dhana*, which in the R.V., especially in old hymns, has the sense of "prize," appears in the A.V. chiefly (only rarely meaning "a stake,") in its later sense of property, wealth, money. The form *dharma* occurs in the A.V. xi. 7, 17; xii. 5, 7; xviii. 3, 1. In R.V. the word appears only in the form *dharman*. *Naga*, "mountain," is found in xix. 8, 1; it signifies "not going," and is a perfectly modern word, as modern as *namura*, xiii. 4, 46, "immortality," for the older *amṛita*. *Puṇḍarīkaṁ navadvāram*, i.e. the body "with the nine openings," x. 8, 43. *Nārakaṁ lokam*, "hell," occurs, xii. 4, 36, whilst there is nothing of the

[6] Brahmachārin occurs also in R.V. x. 109, 5.

kind in the R.V. *Panchānguri* (the five-fingered) "man," is modern. *Parameshṭhin*, of a supreme deity (often with *Prajāpati*, iv. 11, 7; viii. 5, 10; ix. 3, 11; or different from him, viii. 7, 1), very frequently occurring, is not found a single time in the R.V. *Paś*, "to see," has, in the R.V., often its oldest form *spaś*, but never in A.V. except in three passages that are taken from the R.V. *Paśupati*, applied to Bhava, e.g. xi. 2, 28; xi. 6, 9; xv. 5, 3, never occurs in the R.V. *Māgadha*, "a bard," xv. 2, 1–4, as in later times.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the very fact that the A.V. mentions countries like Magadha, Anga, Balhika, v. 22, is a proof that it was composed at a time when the geographical knowledge of the Hindus had become enlarged. Strabo knew more of the world than Herodotus; therefore he was later.

On this subject, a learned correspondent writes: "No one will affirm that every single piece in the A.V. is more recent than every part of the R.V. But every one must see that the great bulk of the R.V. is of a much older character than the bulk of the A.V.; and that the collection of the pieces making up the latter is later than in the case of the R.V. It follows from this, that any one who seeks to represent any part of the A.V. as older than any part of the R.V., must prove this as the exception, and cannot be allowed to throw on his opponent the burden of establishing the contrary. For the rest, it will not aid us much to propound such general rules. In every individual given case, a sufficient number of material proofs will be found to relieve us from such general discussions."

Remarks on Professor Kern's conclusion regarding the antiquity of castes.

The present volume does not treat of caste; but as that is the subject of my first volume, it appears necessary that I should take this opportunity of adverting to Professor Kern's opinions on the antiquity of that institution, as set forth in the dissertation above quoted, which was read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam on the 13th of March, 1871. First of all I must briefly state the author's positions, and the grounds on which he bases them. He refers, first (p. 6) to the fact that the four castes or classes (Standen) are mentioned in the Purusha-sūkta, which, however, some scholars

regard as one of the most recent in the collection of the Rigveda, whilst others maintain the exact contrary. Neither party, he considers, have proved their assertions. He himself regards the antiquity of the hymn as a matter of indifference, not in itself, but in its bearing upon the question of the antiquity of classes. After quoting and explaining the hymn, he proceeds (p. 8): "We may confidently ask whether the expressions it contains either in themselves, or in connexion with the whole, furnish the least ground even for guessing that the poet intended to register, or to recommend, a new institution? In truth, if anything is plain in the whole poem, it is this, that in the estimation of the author, the division into classes was as old as the sun and moon, as Indra and Agni, as the horse and the cow, in short, as old as the creation. Before such a symbolical theory could arise, all remembrance of the historical origin of classes must have been lost. How is this affected by the question whether the Purusha-sūkta is the latest, or the earliest, hymn in the Rigveda?"

He adds (p. 8): "We are ignorant how long a period intervened between the institution of classes and the composition of the hymn. As little is it shown by the quotation whether all the legal prescriptions regarding the classes were then applied, or even existed theoretically; and we are also left in uncertainty whether, besides the four principal divisions, the intermediate classes also were recognized. But we must of necessity conclude that classes were hereditary, because the once effected division of Purusha is represented as something permanent." Dr. Kern goes on to remark (p. 9) that we must not expect to derive from the hymns a complete picture of the contemporaneous Indian institutions; or persuade ourselves that our conjectures founded on their scanty data possess the certainty of established facts. He had previously said in p. 3, that the argumentum a silentio has been sometimes abused in treating of geographical questions affecting the Vedic Indians.

Secondly, Professor Kern inquires (pp. 9, ff.) whether we find in the Zend Avesta any reference to the existence of the same classes as we meet with in India, as he considers that such reference would afford probable proof of the existence of this division into classes before the separation of the Perso-Arians and the Indo-Arians. This question he answers in the affirmative. He finds that in Yaśna xix.

46, four classes are mentioned: Âthrava, Rathaeshtâo, Vâśtriya-fshuyañt, and Hûiti [words which are rendered in Neriosengh's Sanskrit translation by âchârya, kshatriya, kuṭumbin, and prakṛitikarman, i.e. "religious teacher, kshatriya, householder (or peasant), and workman."] On this he remarks, p. 11, "It is thus established that according to the Zend Avesta the first class (pishtra) consists of teachers or priests, of Brâhmans, the second of Knights, Kshatriyas, exactly as in India. Consequently a division of the nobility into Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and the precedence of the former over all the classes, is not the work of the Indian Brahmans." In like manner, Professor Kern considers (p. 11) that the third class, Vâśtriya fshuyañt, corresponds to the Indian Vaiśya, being composed of the same elements; and that both designations are very ancient; and further (p. 12) that the fourth class, Hûiti, is that of workmen, servants, and petty traders, and answers to that of the Śûdras. The word pishtra (which Professor Spiegel renders by "trade") Professor Kern regards (p. 13) as probably synonymous with varṇa, the Sanskrit word for caste; and adds: "If we observe that a few lines above the passage which has been cited, it is said, Yaśna xix. 44; 'This word [command] which Ahura Mazda [the creator] has spoken embraces four classes [pishtra],' I think we may assert that there is an unmistakable correspondence in the manner in which the sacred books of the Iranians and of the Indians speak of the institution of classes, although here, as in every other case, the Hindu expresses himself in much more metaphorical language than his kinsman in Iran."

Prof. Kern then proceeds (p. 13) to combat the opinion expressed in a note on the passage by Prof. Spiegel, which I quote at length: "Four trades are known only to the later Iranian State. Older pieces of the Yaśna (comp. xiv. 5, ff.), as of the Vendidad, unequivocally recognize only three. The word by which the fourth class is here designated (Hûiti) is an entirely peculiar one, and does not occur elsewhere. There is no ground for assuming that the remark respecting the fourth class is here interpolated; and consequently the piece before us is shown to be a tolerably late one." Professor Kern demurs to this assertion without proof. He adds that nothing is proved by the circumstance that in some places four, in others only three classes are mentioned; as (p. 14) the three classes referred to in Yaśna xiv. 9,

teachers, knights, and peasants, are spoken of as "the greatest powers of the Mazdayasnian faith;" and that even in India, when reference is made to fellowship in religious worship, the three superior classes alone are mentioned. The same may have been the case in Bactria. Prof. Kern also remarks that four classes are referred to in Vendidad xiii. 125, the fourth being denoted by the word "vaeśu," rendered by Professor Spiegel, "villager." On the preceding grounds Professor Kern maintains that the fourfold division of classes is older than the most ancient Indian documents.

In a communication with which he has favoured me, Prof. Kern maintains that among all Indo-Germanic nations, classes were hereditary at the time when these nations appeared on the stage of history. It is, he says, a novelty to him to learn that anywhere amongst the Indo-Germans of yore, the classes could intermarry without any limit. The Bactrians, it appears to him, were the most exclusive of all the Indo-Germans in their notions about intermarriage, for the Magi of old, and the Parsis of modern times, proceed to such lengths in their apprehension of intermingling pure with impure blood, that they esteem marriages between the nearest relatives to be meritorious. However that may be, he asks (after referring to the Iranian subdivision of classes as above specified), whether the bare facts of the case such as we know them at present, lead to the conclusion that it was only in India that the Brāhmans acquired or usurped a supremacy which did not belong to them before they came to India? This question he finds himself obliged to answer in the negative. The further question, how far the four castes as a legal institution were common to all the Arian nations? Professor Kern leaves undecided, only drawing attention to the fact that hereditary classes with prescriptions regarding marriage, etc., among all the Indo-Germans, deviate less from the character of the existing Hindu castes in proportion as we extend our view further back into the history of the past.

A learned friend has favoured me with some remarks on Dr. Kern's dissertation, of which I will give the substance, with some additions of my own.

The decisive objection against these assertions is, that if castes had existed from the earliest times, they must have been everywhere mentioned in the oldest Indian records. Just as the later books are full of

allusions to them usque ad nauseum, so must in that case the ancient texts also have constantly referred to them. But now the Purusha-sūkta alone takes notice of them. This is strange. Professor Kern considers that the argumentum a silentio may be abused, but in this case its application seems to be perfectly legitimate. For the rest, it should not be necessary to prove to a Sanskrit scholar that this hymn is not old. Does it not read as much like a set of verses from the Mahābhārata as like one of the older hymns?[7] If that be not admitted, and special proofs be required, it is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the words "vaiśya," "śūdra," "pṛishadājya," "sādhya" (v. 7), occur only in this hymn (verse 16 is here, as also in R.V. i. 164, 50, evidently a subsequent addition); and that in v. 14, we have "loka" not "u loka" (see the St. Petersburg Lexicon, *s.v.*)

Professor Kern urges that in the estimation of the author of the Purusha-sūkta castes are as old as the sun and moon. True; but what does that prove? Is not in India everything as old? Did not the first man compose the well-known institutes of law?

Professor Kern says (p. 10) that the same classes are found among all kinds of nations. This tells more against, than for, him. In these cases it is natural classes, and not unnatural castes, that we find. And if the writer had made this distinction clear to himself, and had sought in his texts for the characteristics of each, he would have seen that there were no grounds for the assertion he has made. For we all know that wherever human society has attained to a settled order, it has become divided into classes; and that privileged orders have everywhere existed. But the transformation of classes into castes is peculiar to India (even in Egypt there were no castes in a strict sense). But this transformation did not cause itself. Did, for instance, the Vaiśya impose on himself the restriction that he was not to

[7] This does not of course mean that the Purusha-sūkta is contemporaneous with the Mahābhārata; and is not in some respects of a more archaic character than even the oldest parts of the latter. The rules of Sandhi, which were in force at the time when the Mahābhārata was composed, are not observed in the Purusha-sūkta (see above p. 161, end of note 181); and neuter plural forms like *viśvā* in verse 3 of the latter are no longer used in the former. In the opinion of my correspondent, the tenth maṇḍala of the R.V. is properly a gleaning of hymns supplementary to the preceding books, and contains compositions in regard to the authorship of which no tradition had been preserved. That such a "gleaning" should contain comparatively recent poems need occasion no surprise.

learn, and to practise, the functions of a priest, not to marry the daughter of a Brāhman, etc.? All this necessarily arose from a legislation which from small beginnings was continually pushing its inroads further and further; that is, it took place artificially. With this process should be compared the privileges which the Romish Church has partly striven after, and partly attained, for its Brāhmans. And who but the Brāhmans themselves were the authors of this legislation?

"The great point, I repeat, is to distinguish between the natural classes or orders, and castes, which cannot have arisen naturally, but are artificial.

"The solution of the question at issue cannot turn on the degree of strictness with which the classes were separated from each other. We have long been acquainted with the fact that classes and races—like nations—were everywhere far more rudely held asunder in ancient than in modern times. It is thus perfectly natural that marriages between persons of different classes were also rare. Let it be recollected what a gulf divided the patricians and plebeians in Rome. Hence the greatest weight is to be attached to an exact definition of the conception of caste. I believe it may be asserted that it is only in India that the conclusions resulting from this conception have been completely drawn, by regarding each caste as a description of men sui generis, as a separate divine creation.

"I am not aware on what evidence Professor Kern founds his opinion that the Bactrians were the most exclusive of all the Indo-Germans in regard to intermarriage. On this subject I would draw attention to the passage of Herodotus iii. 31, where the marriage of Cambyses with his sister is spoken of at length. What the later Iranian books say of the so-called Khetudas can prove nothing in regard to ancient times. The Avesta gives, so far as I understand of it, no sort of prescription about the marriage of relatives; and the counsellors of Cambyses said to him quite correctly *νόμον ουδένα ἐξευρίσκειν, ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν*. We must first be told what the word qaêtvadatha (see Justi's Lexicon, p. 86), in the few passages of the Avesta where it occurs, actually signifies. Justi himself understands it as meaning marriage between relatives only in one place. And even that has yet to be proved. The word qaêtu (hvaêtu),—or as it would be more correct (namely on the ground of

the metre, which everywhere reckons hv [=q] as a syllable; e.g. qâthra [hvâthra] as trisyllabic = huâthra) to write it,—haêtu, means only relationship (and is in the Gāthās always bisyllabic). Any one who wishes to combine with that the idea of marriage, must prove his point. In Spiegel too, I find no example from the old books. In fact, he says in his Introduction to vol. ii. of his translation, p. xxvi., that 'everything relating to marriage appears to date from a very recent period.'

The explanations of the few Avesta passages which Professor Kern adduces are not of importance in their bearing on the main question. Ordinarily, in fact, it is only the three natural classes, Āthrava, Rathesta, and Vāśtrya (cattle-farmer), that are mentioned. Though in two passages a "hūiti" or "vaeśa" is added to these, that, too, is only a class. Professor Kern explains "vaeśa" rightly. In the Veda also "veśa" denotes a dependent settler, perhaps an inhabitant, one belonging to somebody, and so a servant. The interpretation of hūiti as a "proletary" does not appear to be in conformity with the conceptions of that period. If it is to have such a signification, why does he not rather derive it from "hu" = "sū" (compare "prasūta," and other forms which frequently occur in the ancient language), which means to command, direct?

I may, in addition to the above remarks, draw attention to the fact, that if the Indian and Iranian classes had a common and simultaneous origin, it is singular that there should be no trace of any similarity in the names by which these classes were permanently denoted, although the Zend and the Sanskrit exhibit so close an affinity in so large a portion of their vocabulary.

It is true that two of the words are common to both languages, as "āthrava" (crude form "atharvan") corresponds to the Sanskrit "atharvan"; while the Zend "rathaēstāo" answers nearly to the Sanskrit "ratheshṭhā." The former word, "atharvan," is thus explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon: "(*a*) The fire and soma priest, R.V. ix. 11, 2; viii. 9, 7 (here Agni is the priest); V.S. viii. 56 (Soma is his own priest); R.V. vi. 47, 24; x. 48, 2; a brāhman, Medinīkosha, n. 164; (*b*) Atharvan personified is the first priest, in an undefined antiquity, who calls down fire from heaven, offers soma, and presents prayers, R.V. vi. 16, 13; vi. 15, 17; x. 21, 5; i. 80, 16; x. 92, 10;

i. 83, 5; A.V. xviii. 3, 54. With miraculous powers he overcomes the demons, and receives from the gods celestial gifts, R.V. x. 87, 12, etc." In Prof. Wilson's Dictionary the word is explained as signifying a brāhman. Prof. Goldstücker, *s.v.* interprets it as "(1) A brāhmaṇa, a priest, probably one connected with offerings to fire, or the attendance on the holy fire. (2) The proper name of a priest who is considered to have obtained fire from heaven," etc., etc. The word is perpetuated in the name of the Atharvaveda (which also bears the name of the "Atharvāngirasas," the hymns or incantations of the Atharvans and of the Angirases, who were another set of ancient sages, or priests). But although we should admit, on the authority of the Medinīkosha, that "atharvan" is a synonym of brāhmana, it cannot be said to have obtained much currency in Sanskrit in this sense, and cannot even be regarded as a generic name for priest. The passages of the R.V. given by Roth (see above), in which it is not employed as a proper name, are the following: ix. 11. 2 (=S.V. ii. 2): *Abhi te madhunā payo atharvāṇo aśiśrayuḥ | devaṁ devāya devayu |* "The atharvans have mingled milk with thy sweet liquor, [milk which is] divine, and devoted to [thee, soma], who art divine." viii. 9, 7: *Ā somam madhumattamaṁ gharmaṁ sinchād atharvaṇi |* "Let him (the ṛishi) pour the sweet soma, the heated potion, into the priest." By the priest is meant Agni, according to Professor Roth. Sāyaṇa explains the word *atharvaṇi* as = *ahiṁsake 'gnau | yadvā 'tharvā ṛishiḥ | tena nirmathito 'gnir upachārād "atharvā" ity uchyate |* "Into the innoxious fire; or, Atharvan was a ṛishi: the fire rubbed forth by him is by a figure called 'atharvan.'" Vāj. S. viii. 56: *Atharvā upāvahriyamāṇaḥ |* "It (soma) becomes 'atharvan' when being brought." Here, Professor Roth says Soma is his own priest. (The commentator's note is as follows: *Kaṇḍanārtham upāvahriyamaṇaḥ ānīyamānaḥ somo 'tharva-nāmako bhavati.*) R.V. vi. 47, 24: *Daśa rathān prashṭimataḥ śataṁ gāḥ atharvabhyaḥ | Aśvathaḥ Pāyave adāt |* 'Aśvatha has given ten chariots with their horses, and a hundred cows, to the priests, to Pāyu." Sāyaṇa explains *atharvabhyaḥ* as = *atharva-gotrebhyaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ |* "Rishis of the family of Atharvan." R.V. x. 48, 2: *Aham Indro rodho vaksho Atharvaṇaḥ |* "I, Indra, am the protecting armour, and strength, of Atharvan [or, of the priest]." Roth, *s.v. vakshaḥ*, seems to take Atharvan in this text for a proper name. The word employed in the

Veda for priest was at first "brahman," and subsequently "brāhmaṇa," the son of a "brahman." See the first vol. of this work, pp. 242, ff. If "atharvan" had been the name of a caste in the Indian sense from a period preceding the separation of the Indo- and Perso-Arians, it could scarcely have been dropped by the former, or made way for "brahman" and "brāhmaṇa."

The crude form of "rathaēstāo," as given in Justi's Dictionary, is "ṛathaēstar," whilst the Sanskrit form is "ratheshṭhā." The words thus differ somewhat in form. In all the passages of the Rig-veda, cited in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, "ratheshṭhā" appears to be an epithet of Indra, "riding in a chariot." The only other text cited in the Lexicon, viz. Vāj. S. 22, 22, is as follows: *Ā brahman brāhmaṇo brahmavarchasī jāyatām | ā rāshṭre rājanyo śūraḥ ishavyo 'tivyādhī mahāratho jāyatām | dogdhrī dhenuḥ | voḍhā 'naḍvān | āśuḥ saptiḥ | purandhir yoshā | jishṇuḥ ratheshṭhāḥ sabheyo yuvā ā'sya yajamānasya jāyatām |* "O priest, may a brāhman be born possessed of the lustre of sacred learning. May a rājanya be born in the kingdom, heroic, a piercing archer, riding on a great chariot ('mahāratha'). May a cow yielding milk, an ox fit to carry a load, a swift horse, a wise woman, a victorious rider in a chariot ('ratheshṭhā,' a polite youth, be born to this sacrificer." Here it will be observed that the word "ratheshṭhā" is not one of the epithets applied to the Rājanya in the early part of the sentence; and although where it is separately introduced afterwards, it probably denotes a person of the warrior class, yet it is evidently not the appellation of a caste, but a synonym for a fighting man. The word does not seem to be known to later Sanskrit; at least, no instance of its occurrence there is adduced by Böhtlingk and Roth, and it does not appear at all in Wilson's Dictionary.

In the first volume of this work, pp. 11, 14, f., 292, ff., the views of Prof. Haug, on the antiquity of caste, as explained in his tract on the "Origin of Brahmanism" (published at Poona, in 1863), have been stated. Dr. Haug returns to the subject in a dissertation ("Brahma und die Brahmanen") read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, on the 28th March, 1871, in which he maintains, with some modifications, the conclusions at which he had before arrived. Thus, in p. 13, he states—

(a) regarding the Purusha-sūkta: "In any case it proves that the

caste-system in India is very ancient, and existed already in the Vedic age. Some have sought to disprove its existence at that period, on the ground that, excepting this one, the old hymns contain no distinct reference to it. The hymn itself they assign to the very end of the Vedic era. In its present form, it is true, it is not older than the greater part of the hymns of the tenth book, and than those of the Atharvaveda. But the ideas which it contains are certainly of a primeval antiquity: in particular, the descriptive portion of it looks like a versified sacrificial formula. And in fact the hymn is found in the Yajurveda among the formulas connected with human sacrifices, which were formerly practised in India.

(*b*) "But even if it were to be admitted that this hymn, with its ideas, is but a very recent product of the Vedic age, that would afford no sufficient proof that castes did not exist at all in the earliest period of the Arian immigration into India. As we have seen above, p. 9, the Brāhman already appears [R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and i. 108, 7] in contrast to the Rājan, i.e. a member of the warrior caste (they are frequently called Rājanyas instead of Kshatriyas),—a circumstance which plainly points to a distinction of castes.

(*c*) "Besides, it is scarcely conceivable that the caste-system, to which reference is made in all the four Vedas, sometimes more frequently, sometimes more rarely, should have been suddenly formed in the later Vedic period.

(*d*) "The reason why the names of the castes are not mentioned in those hymns of the Rigveda which, rightly or wrongly (for a thorough investigation of this point with certain results is as yet wanting), are regarded as the oldest, may be a different one," [i.e. the reason why the castes are not there mentioned need not be that these castes did not then exist]. "The fact, namely, must not be overlooked, that by far the greater part of the Vedic hymns were composed for sacrificial purposes, and partly for quite definite ceremonies, are often merely the poetical variations of primeval sacrificial formulas, and further that the most of them are the compositions of Brāhmans. As the ceremonial is not prescribed in the hymns, where almost everything turns upon the invocation of the most diverse gods, no opportunity was offered to make special mention of the castes. The sacrificers, i.e. those who caused the sacrifice to be offered (yajamānās), are called 'givers' in

general, also 'the rich,' (maghavan) without any mention of their caste. . . . . Now as there were no hymns or sacrificial formulas composed specially for Brâhmans, or Kshatriyas, or Vaiśyas,—as there actually have been for the ceremonies of the Śûdras, who are not allowed to hear verses of the Veda,—the Vedic poets had no opportunity to mention the castes in their hymns. Consequently the fact that the names of the individual castes do not appear there does not by any means prove their non-existence. This conclusion was in any case premature."

(e) "Besides the grounds already assigned, a further positive proof can be adduced that castes actually existed already in the most ancient period. In the religious records of the Iranians, who are so nearly allied [to the Indians], in the Zendavesta, the four castes are quite plainly to be found, only under other names, (1) Athrava, 'priest,' (Skr. Atharvan), (2) Rathaēstāo, 'warrior,' (3) Vāstriyo fshuyãs, 'cultivator,' (4) Hūitis (Pehl. hutokhsh), 'workman' (Yasna 19, 17, Westerg.) No further data regarding the mutual relations of these castes are contained in the Zend writings; but we can conclude, from various circumstances, that the priests, the Athravas, already formed a caste. So, for example, Zarathustra is forbidden by Ahuramazda to communicate a sacred text to any one else but an Athrava, i.e. priest (Yasht 14, 46, West.)." [See Spiegel's Avesta, iii. 148.] "No one but the son of a priest may be a priest, and the daughters of members of the priestly caste may only be given in marriage within the caste,—a custom which continues to this day. The distinction of the other castes has, however, become obliterated among the Zoroastrians, just in the same way as, among the Hindus, the Brâhman caste alone has on the whole been maintained pure, though split up into innumerable subdivisions, whilst the other three castes have become dissolved into a great number of mixed castes, so that at the present day, properly speaking, four castes only exist in theory, but not in reality. This circumstance, now, that a remnant of the caste-system has still been preserved among the Zoroastrians, speaks strongly in favour of the assumption that that institution already existed among the Indians in the remotest times, in any case ever since their immigration into India. How close the connexion between the old Indians and the Iranians must have remained, even in the Vedic period, is shown by a distinct

allusion which I have lately discovered in the Zendavesta to the initial verse of the Atharvaveda."

(*f*) In an earlier part of his Dissertation (p. 8, f.), Prof. Haug, after explaining that in the Vedic age Kshatriyas as well as Brāhmans could take part in the performance of sacrifice, and were in some cases composers of Ṛik verses; and that even Kavasha Ailūsha, the son of a slave, was the author of a hymn (see above, p. 397, f., note 85), adds: "Notwithstanding that the Brāhmans in the Vedic age occasionally accorded to distinguished men of other classes a participation in the privileges they claimed, they nevertheless appear, even in the most remote period, to have formed a caste distinguished from the other classes, and already tolerably exclusive, into which no one who was not born in it could, without great difficulty, obtain an entrance." He then quotes the text R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and refers to and compares i. 108, 7.

I add a few remarks on some portions of Prof. Haug's argument.

(*a*) In regard to the Purusha-sūkta, I refer to what has been said above, in the first volume of this work, p. 11. Prof. Haug now states his opinion that the ideas of the hymn are very old, but not its diction.

(*b*) See the first volume of this work, pp. 246, and 247, note 15 in the latter page, and p. 263, f., also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "kshatra." Does not Prof. Haug found too much on the passages to which he refers (R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and i. 108, 7)? See, however, the verse of Manu, iii. 13, quoted below, where the word "rājan" is employed for Rājanya. In R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., the word seems evidently to denote a "king." In R.V. i. 108, 7, however, it may mean a man of the ruling tribe or class. Comp. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "rājan."

(*c*) The Vedic period was of considerable duration. Professor Haug himself estimates the period during which "the bulk of the Sanhitā" was composed to have been from 1400—2000 before our era, and thinks "the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2400 and 2000." Ait. Br. i. 47, f. The entire Vedic period would thus be a thousand years, which however, is, perhaps, too large an estimate.

(*d*) The reasons here assigned in explanation of the non-occurrence

in the hymns of other references to the castes, supposing them to have then existed, and to have borne the same names as afterwards, seem scarcely sufficient. The hymns do not appear to be so exclusively sacrificial in their character as is here assumed; and might in many passages have admitted of allusions to the existence of castes.

(*e*) The observations already made upon Professor Kern's Dissertation are applicable here.

(*f*) In reference to these remarks, see the first volume of this work, p. 265, ff. Prof. Kern, in his Dissertation, p. 18, cites a passage from the Mahābhārata, xiii. 2505, ff., in regard to the intermarriages of Brāhmans with the other two next classes, one verse of which (2515) is to the following effect: *Abrāhmaṇaṁ tu manyante S'ūdrā-putram anaipuṇāt* | *trishu varṇeshu jāto hi brāhmaṇād brāhmaṇo bhavet* | "They regard from want of skill as not a Brāhman the son of a Sūdrā woman [by a Brāhman father]. A son begotten by a Brāhman in the three castes [i.e. on a woman of either of the upper three classes] will be a Brāhman." And Manu says, iii. 13, *S'ūdraiva bhāryā S'ūdrasya sā cha svā cha viśah smṛite* | *te cha svā chaiva rājnaś cha tāś cha svā ch' āgrajanmanaḥ* | "A Sūdrā female only can be the wife of a Sūdra. She and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Viś, i.e. Vaiśya. These two and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Rājan, i.e. Rājanya; these three and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Brāhman." From these texts it would appear that purity of caste blood was not much regarded among the Hindus in early ages.

NOTE C.—*Page* 258.

"The conformities [between the languages of the same family] are astonishing; and especially so, because they enter into the minutest details, and even into the anomalies. It is a curious phenomenon to discover such an inconceivable tenacity in idioms which might appear to be nothing more than passing caprices. The most volatile portion of languages, I mean their pronunciation, has evinced its stability: in the midst of mutations of letters, which are, nevertheless, subject to certain rules, vowels, long or short, have often preserved their quantity." "On the other hand, the disparity is great: the distances which

the languages have traversed in their individual development are immense. After we have exhausted all the analogies, even the most secret, there remains in each of these languages a portion which is no longer susceptible of comparison with the other languages of the same family. We must therefore admit as the causes of that partial incommensurableness, two opposite principles, viz., oblivion and invention. The oblivion of forms and words formerly in use is but too manifest in the languages with whose history we are most intimately acquainted; and it has frequently injured their richness and beauty. Such oblivion must always follow a retrograde movement in civilization: in proportion as the intellectual sphere is contracted, a generation which has relapsed into ignorance and barbarism, abandons expressions which have now become superfluous. And as regards invention, I find no difficulty in that either, since in order to comprehend the absolute origin of language, we have no choice between having recourse to a miracle, and conceding to mankind an instinctive power of inventing language."—A. W. von Schlegel, de l'origine des Hindous, Essais; and in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, vol. ii. p. 433.

NOTE D.—*Page* 277.

Mr. Geldart argues the question both from a negative and a positive point of view. Under the first head, he remarks that "language is too uncertain an ethnological test to be of any practical value," and instances the complete discrepancy which exists between the races and the languages of the British Isles. Cumberland and Cornwall, for example, in language agree with London and disagree with Wales, while as to race, it is directly the reverse." The same thing is shown, he observes, "by many similar examples: the accumulative evidence of all amounted to this, that since in so many cases where the ethnological indications of language can be compared with the actual testimony of history, the latter completely contradicts the former," a common language is "not even primâ facie evidence in favour of a common lineage." "Secondly, in a positive point of view, it was shown that in all the instances above cited, there had taken place between the races a close assimilation of (1) political, (2) religious, (3)

intellectual, or (4) general social relations, or of any, or of all of these combined; and it was suggested that it is such an assimilation, and not unity of race, that unity of language rightly typifies."

"The sum of the whole was, that it is not safe to infer from affinity between the language of two nations more than this, that there was a time when there existed between them civil, religious, or some sort of social relations. Language was the product and token of a nation's political, moral, or intellectual, but not of its physical constitution. It would not reveal a people's genealogy, but its mental and social history.

"Should it ever be proved that all languages were derived from one original, the sole valid inference would be, that at some time one sovereign race had imposed upon all the rest its own political or social institutions, while the great question of the number of races would remain just where it stood."

NOTE D*.—*Page* 287.

"Strabo tells us that the tribes of the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sogdians, spoke nearly the same language. We can have no difficulty in supposing that this similarity of speech which existed in Strabo's age, existed also in earlier times. The old Iranian dialects, of which the monuments have been still preserved to us, justify this assumption. Of these there are four, (1) the speech of the earlier Achæmenidæ, (2) that of the later Achæmenidæ, (3) the dialect of the Gāthās,[8] (4) the old Bactrian, the ordinary language of the Avesta. The last two dialects might perhaps also be embraced under the designation of Avestic. The first two of these dialects belong to western, the last two to eastern, Iran."—Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. ii. 6. I must refer to the original paper for further details regarding these dialects. I will only quote one or two remarks. In his account of the old Persian or earlier Achæmenidan dialect, Spiegel observes (p. 7), that, "we find in it all the classes of the Sanskrit alphabet represented, excepting the cerebrals, which have a purely local origin." (See above, p. 440,

[8] [It is scarcely necessary to say that this has no connexion with the Indian Gāthā dialect, described above, pp. 115, ff.—J.M.]

note.) At p. 13, he remarks: "We have pointed out in the entire grammar of the old Persian so much that is identical with the Sanskrit, that it may now be time to notice the differences which stamp it as a distinct language from the old Indian. Not a few such peculiarities are to be found in all the departments of grammar. In a phonetic aspect, there is this important deviation that the old Persian has the letter *z*, which is unknown to the Sanskrit, and that it, like the Greek, changes the Indian *s* into *h*."—(See above, pp. 313, and 315).

NOTE E.—*Page* 296.

Rigveda ix. 113, 7–11. *Yatra jyotir ajasraṁ yasmin loke svar hitam* | *Tasmin māṁ dhehi pavamāna amṛite loke akshite* | *Yatra rājā Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ* | *Yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpas tatra māṁ amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | *Yatrānukāmaṁ charaṇam trināke tridive divaḥ* | *Lokāḥ yatra jyotishmantas tatra māṁ*, etc. | *Yatra kāmāḥ nikāmāścha yatra bradhnasya vishṭapam* | *Svadhā cha yatra tṛiptiścha tatra māṁ*, etc. | *Yatrānandāścha modāścha mudaḥ pramuda āsate* | *Kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās tatra māṁ*, etc. | "Place me, O purified (Soma), in that undecaying unchanging region, where perpetual light and glory abide. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivaśvata (Yama) reigns, where the sanctuary of the sky is, and those great waters are. Make me immortal in the third heaven, where action is at pleasure, where the shining regions exist. Make me immortal in the world where all enjoyments abide, in the realm of the sun, where celestial food and satisfaction are found. Make me immortal in the world where there are manifold pleasures and joys, and where the objects of desire are attained." Benfey, Gloss. to Sāmaveda, under the word *nikāma*, renders *svadhā* and *tṛiptiḥ* by "nectar and ambrosia." See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 284, ff.

NOTE F.—*Page* 297.

I shall here translate or abstract the most important parts of Dr. Windischmann's Dissertation, "On the Soma-worship of the Arians." Dr. Windischmann begins with the following remarks: "If we advert to the striking contrast which exists between the doctrine of Zarathustra and the Brahmanical system, and to the fact that the former

must be looked on as the work of a reformer seeking to preserve the old nature-worship from the mythological transformations with which it was threatened, it must appear as a matter of the greater importance to throw light upon those points in which the two religions agree. For as regards those conceptions which existed before the two systems had developed their opposing principles, we may reasonably assume that they were possessed in common long before the separation of the Arian race into the Indian and Iranian branches, that they formed part of the (already existing, and distinguishable) religions of the Zendavesta and the Veda, and that they had been inherited from the most primitive tradition. Such traditions are, indeed, comparatively few; but the concurrence of those which have been preserved, is so much the more striking; as, for example, Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 517) has shown in regard to the Iranian legend of king Yima, son of Vivañghat, who corresponds to the Indian Yama, son of Vivasvat. Yima, however, is regarded by the Medo-Persians as the first king, lawgiver, and founder of the Iranian worship, while Yama is looked on by the Brahmans as lord of Hades (R.V. i. 35, 6), and judge of the dead, and it is his brother Manu who plays the same part as Yima." [See, however, p. 296, above.] "But by far the most remarkable analogy is that which exists between the Haoma of the Zendavesta and the Soma of the most ancient Brahmanical books, an analogy which is not confined to some few features of the legend, but extends to the entire Soma-worship of the early Arian race.

"Haoma and Soma are names etymologically identical. Both come from the root su, in Zend hu, which signifies, 'to beget,' and also, but especially in the Vedic dialect, to 'drop,' or 'to press out juice.' In later Indian mythology Soma means the moon and its deity: but in the Zendavesta and the Vedas it signifies a celebrated plant, and its juice. This is the asclepias acida, or sarcostema viminalis, the expressed juice of which produces a peculiarly astringent, narcotic, and intoxicating effect. The plant,[9] plucked up by the roots, is collected by moonlight on the mountains; stripped of its leaves; carried on a car drawn by two goats to the place of sacrifice (where a spot covered with grass and twigs is prepared); crushed between stones by the

[9] Compare Stevenson's Translation of the Sāmaveda, p. iv. This work is repeatedly referred to in the sequel.

priests; and is then thrown, stalks as well as juice (sprinkled with water) into a sieve, whence, after the whole has been further pressed by the hand of the Brahmans, the juice trickles into a vessel (called *droṇa*) which is placed beneath. The fluid is then mixed with clarified butter, wheaten and other flour, and brought into a state of fermentation; it is then offered thrice a day, and partaken of by the Brahmans. The Sāmaveda is almost entirely made up of songs to accompany this ceremony; and the Rigveda, too, contains numerous passages which have reference to it. It was unquestionably the greatest and the holiest offering of the ancient Indian worship. The sound of the trickling juice is regarded as a sacred hymn. The gods drink the offered beverage; they long for it (as it does for them); they are nourished by it, and thrown into a joyous intoxication: this is the case with Indra (who performs his great deeds under its influence), with the Aśvins, the Maruts, and Agni. The beverage is divine, it purifies, it inspires greater joy than alcohol, it intoxicates Śakra, it is a water of life, protects and nourishes, gives health and immortality, prepares the way to heaven, destroys enemies, etc. The Sāmaveda distinguishes two kinds of Soma, the green and the yellow: but it is its golden colour which is for the most part celebrated.

"If we compare all this with what the Persians say of the Haoma plant, we find the most surprising agreement. Haoma is the first of the trees, planted by Ahura Mazda in the fountain of life. He who drinks of its juice never dies. According to the Bundehesh, the Gogard or Gokeren tree bears the Haoma, which gives health and generative power, and imparts life at the resurrection. The Haoma plant does not decay, bears no fruit, resembles the vine, is knotty, and has leaves like jessamine; it is yellow and white. Its juice is prepared and offered with sacred rites, and is called Parahaoma. Thus in Yaśna, iii. 5, it is said *haomencha para-haomencha ayēśē*, 'I reverence the Haoma and the Para-haoma.'

"The fact that the Magians offered up a plant was known to Plutarch,[10] but what this plant was is not certain. . . . . The plant

[10] The paragraph in which this information is found (of which Windischmann cites only a few words) is as follows:—

Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46. *Νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεὸν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον δαίμονα, καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρις ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν*

seems to have changed with the locality; and the soma-plant of the Indians does not appear to be the same as the haoma of the Persians; at least the latter affirm that their sacrificial plant does not grow in India. Ahura Mazda causes the white haoma to grow among the numerous kinds of trees. . . . . A constant appellation of the haoma is the gold-coloured (*zairigaonō*), just as in the Veda.

"But these are not the only points of resemblance between the Soma worship of the Indians and Persians. There is one other very important particular in which they both agree. In the Vedas, Soma is not merely a sacred sacrificial beverage, but also a god. This is proved by numerous passages of the Veda (Stevenson, p. 98); and in particular by the splendid hymn to Soma, Rigveda, i. 91. Precisely in the same manner, Haoma is, in the Zendavesta, not a plant only, but also a powerful deity; and in both works the conceptions of the god and the sacred juice blend wonderfully with each other. The most important passages regarding this personified Haoma are to be found in the 9th and 10th sections of the Yaśna, which are explained by striking analogies in the hymn of the Veda just referred to. The

Τρωϊκῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. Οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δὲ Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δε ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· μέσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν· ἐδίδαξε μὲν τῷ εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δὲ ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. Πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ, τὸν Ἅδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος, εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζώων, ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι, διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσι.

"For some think that there are two gods, as it were opposed in their functions, the one the framer of good objects, the other of bad. Some call the more excellent being God, and the other Demon; as Zoroaster, the Magian, who is related to have lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. He called the one Ōromazes, the other Arimanius, and declared that the former resembled light most of all sensible things, and the latter darkness and ignorance. He also said that Mithras was intermediate between them. This is the reason why the Persians call Mithras the mediator. He taught them to sacrifice votive and thank-offerings to the one (Ōromazes), and to the other gloomy oblations to avert his wrath. For after pounding a certain herb called *ōmōmi* in a mortar, they invoke Pluto and darkness; and when they have mixed it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, they carry it to a sunless spot and cast it away. For they also regard certain plants as belonging to the good deity, and others to the evil demon; and some animals, as dogs, and birds, and hedgehogs, to the former (and others as) sea-urchins, to the latter; and they felicitate those who have killed the greatest number of these last."

9th section begins thus: 'In early morning Haoma came to Zarathustra, who was consecrating his sacred fire, and repeating prayers. Zarathustra asked him, "What man art thou, whom I see to be the most excellent in the whole existing world on account of his immortal life?" Hereupon Haoma, the pure, the remover of sickness, answered me, "I am, O Zarathustra, the pure, the remover of sickness. Invoke me, holy man, pour me forth to drink, celebrate me with praise, as formerly the holy men used to do." Then Zarathustra said, "Reverence to Haoma."'[11] Haoma is here called 'remover of heat, or sickness,' and in the same way Soma is said in Rigveda, i. 91, 12, to be *amîvahā*, 'the destroyer of suffering.' This passage of the Yaśna clearly shows how, as I have before mentioned, the separate ideas of the god and of the juice are blended. Haoma desires that he himself shall he prepared for sacrifice.

"This passage is followed by a specification of the four original worshippers of Haoma. The first was Vivañhat, who prepared the celestial beverage *hunūta*, and in consequence obtained a blessing, and the fulfilment of his wish that a son should be born to him. This was King Yima, the most glorious of men, in whose realm men and animals never died, water and trees never dried up, food was superabundant, and cold, heat, disease, death, and devilish envy were unknown.

"What has before been said of Yima shows the importance of this passage. The worship of Haoma is placed anterior to Yima, *i.e.* to the commencement of Iranian civilization; and in fact is declared to be the cause of that happy period. The Rigveda also refers to this high antiquity of the Soma worship, when (i. 91, 1) it says of Soma: 'By thy guidance, O brilliant (Soma), our courageous fathers have obtained treasures among the gods.' Like Vivañhat, the next worshippers of Haoma, viz., Athwya and Samanām Sevishta, also obtained

[11] Compare Spiegel's translation of the same passage, and its continuation, Avesta, ii. 68, ff. In note 4 he remarks: "Haoma, like various other deities of the Avesta, is regarded as at once a personal god, and as the thing on account of which this god was imagined. Haoma is at once a Yazata and a drink. The original identity of the Indian Soma with the Haoma of the Avesta has been excellently shown in F. Windischmann's dissertation. Among both nations the healing power of the Haoma is prominently noticed, but among the Parsīs it is particularly the white Haoma which imparts immortality. The Indian plant is the asclepias acida; the Persian is not determined. Both nations notice that the plant grew on mountains, and originally, at least, it must have been the same plant which both employed."

offspring,—Thraētaonō and sons who destroyed the Ahrimanian monster. The heroic age of the conflict of light is thus referred back to Haoma, whilst in the Rigveda (i. 91, 8), Soma is invoked to 'deliver from destruction, to suffer none of his friends to perish;' and (in verse 15) to protect from incantations and from sin; and in the Sāmaveda (Stevenson, p. 259) he is said to drive away the Rakshasas.

"It is interesting to remark, that while Thraētaonō is said here to have been bestowed by Haoma, the Sāmaveda names a Ṛishi Trita as an offerer of Soma.

"The fourth worshipper of Haoma is Pourusaśpa, the father of Zarathustra: his reward was the birth of this illustrious son, the promulgator of the anti-demonic doctrine. Here also the ancient legend confirms the priority of the Haoma worship to the Zoroastrian reformation.

"When Zarathustra has thus learnt that he owes his own existence to Haoma, he celebrates his praises: and the epithets which he here applies to the god agree in a remarkable way with those of the Veda. Some of these parallel epithets are *hvaresa*, Zend, = *svarshā*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 21), 'giving heaven;' *verethrajao*, Zend, = *vṛitrahā*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 5), 'destroyer of enemies;' *hukhratus*, Zend, = *sukratuḥ*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 2), 'offering good sacrifices,' or 'wise,' or 'strong.' The blessings supplicated by Zarathustra from Haoma also agree in many points with those which the Vedic poet asks from Soma."

It is not necessary, however, to pursue the subject farther. I refer the reader, who wishes further details of this sort, to Dr. Windischmann's dissertation itself.

I copy the following remarks on the Soma worship from Mr. Whitney's "Main Results of the later Vedic Researches in Germany" (Journal of the Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 299, 300). The "hymns, one hundred and fourteen in number [of the 9th book of the Rigveda], are, without exception, addressed to the Soma, and being intended to be sung while that drink was expressed from the plant that afforded it, and was clarified, are called *pāvamānyas*, 'purificational.' . . . . The word *soma* means simply 'extract' (from the root *su*, to express, extract), and is the name of a beverage prepared from a certain herb, the asclepias acida, which grows abundantly upon the mountains of India and Persia. This plant, which by its name should be akin to our common milk-weed, furnishes, like the latter, an abundant milky

juice, which, when fermented, possesses intoxicating qualities. In this circumstance, it is believed, lies the explanation of the whole matter. The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary phrenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine; it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it entered with god-like powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta; it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory, as the *pāvamānya* hymns of the Veda exhibit it in a truly remarkable state of development. Soma is there addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow. And not only do such hymns compose one whole book of the Ṛik, and occur scattered here and there through other portions of it, but the most numerous single passages and references everywhere appearing, show how closely it had intertwined itself with the whole ritual of the Vedic religion." [See the section on Soma in the fifth volume of this work.]

Lassen remarks in reference to the affinities of the Iranians and Indians (Ind. Ant. 1st ed., i. 516; 2nd ed., i. 617): "It should first be recollected that the Zendavesta shows us the [Iranian] doctrine not in its original, but in a reformed shape; a distinction is made between the pious men who lived before the proclamation of the law by Zoroaster, and the 'nearest relations:' and we may conclude that the points wherein the Brahmanical Indians and the followers of Zoroaster coincide, belong to the old, and those in which they differ, to the new, system. Of the beings who are the objects of veneration in the Avesta, it is the seven highest, i.e. Ahura Mazda and the Amesha S'pentas, who are peculiarly Iranian; their names are unknown to the Brahmans; the Vedas recognize no class of seven divinities of the highest rank who are of the same character. On the other hand, there is no trace of Brahma among the Iranians. The fundamental principle of the Zend doctrine, the

dualistic separation of the good and evil principles, is, in like manner, foreign to Brahmanism. But there are, nevertheless, other deities, who are equally venerated in the Zendavesta and the Veda, viz., fire, the sun, the moon, the earth, and water; a fact which indicates that both religions have a common foundation."

Lassen also treats of the legend of Yima, and of other points of connexion between the Indian and Iranian religions, 1st ed. i. pp. 517–526, and at greater length in the 2nd ed. pp. 619–634; and then observes: "These common reminiscences of the Eastern Iranians, and the Arian Indians, cannot be explained from any communications such as neighbouring nations might make to one another. On the contrary, we perceive sometimes a varying, sometimes a contradictory, conception of important traditions and appellations, which is only intelligible if we presuppose an earlier agreement, which had, in part, become lost and modified in the course of time, after the separation of the two nations; and in part had become converted into a contradiction by a division in their opinions. Even this contradiction indicates a closer connexion between the two nations at an earlier period."

See also Professor R. Roth's articles in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, for 1848 (pp. 216, ff.), 1850 (pp. 417, ff.), and 1852 (pp. 67, ff.), on the legends of Feridūn and Jemshīd, and on the "highest gods of the Arian nations;" and also his paper on Nabānazdista, at p. 243 of the last-named volume; as well as Spiegel's paper in Indische Studien, iii. 448. In the vol. of the Journal of the Germ. Or. Society for 1848, p. 216, Roth proposes to show by an example, "how the Veda and the Avesta flow from one fountain, like two streams, the one of which, the Vedic, has continued fuller, purer, and truer to its original character; while the other has become in many ways polluted, has changed its original course, and consequently cannot always be followed back with equal certainty to its sources." See also Professor Müller's "Last Results of the Persian Researches," reprinted in "Chips," i. 81, ff.

NOTE G.—*Page* 306.

Professor Cowell, editor of the fifth edition of the History of India (1866), has some remarks on this conclusion of Mr. Elphinstone in an additional Appendix, no. viii., pp. 284, ff. He there gives a summary

of the circumstances which lead to the belief that the Indians were immigrants from without, as the most probable inference from the premises. He alludes first to "the fact of a connexion between the original Sanskrit-speaking tribes and the other nations of Western Asia and Europe, as proved by the common origin of their respective languages," as admitted by Mr. Elphinstone, and then proceeds: "It is perhaps going too far to assert that this connexion is thus proved to be one of race; at any rate, this is a question which belongs to physical science rather than to history. It is enough for the historian if it is granted that in some remote prehistoric time the ancestors of these various tribes were living in close political relation to each other; and the similarity which we find in their languages must undoubtedly prove this, even although the problem of race should remain as unsettled a question as before." Compare Mr. Geldart's remarks in note D, above, pp. 467, 468.

Professor Cowell allows that "this similarity and linguistic sympathy proves only the fact of a connexion; but they 'prove nothing regarding the place where it subsisted, nor about the time,' [Elphinstone]; but" (he adds) "perhaps the following considerations may throw some light on this further question," and then goes on to say that "a central home once occupied by the ancestors of these now widely scattered nations seems primâ facie more probable than to suppose that they emigrated from the furthest extremity of the line as India." He then states the considerations which confirm this view.

NOTE H.—*Page* 315.

"The question regarding the time and place of the separation is of yet greater importance than that concerning its cause. For our present inquiry, it is of less consequence to determine the place, than the time, of that separation. As regards the region where the Indians and Iranians dwelt together, several suppositions may be made. The Iranians may have immigrated into the Panjāb along with the Indians, and have turned thence in a westerly direction. But, on the other hand, the Indians might have separated themselves from the Iranians, and travelled towards the east. Thirdly, it might be conjectured that the two races had parted from each other before they migrated towards India and Iran. Be this as it may, though we are unable to assign

any date to the period of the separation, we must decidedly hold it to have occurred before the Vedic era. No such relation exists between the two races as would justify us in assuming that the Iranians formed one community with the Indians during the Vedic period. The great majority of the Vedic gods and of the Vedic conceptions are as little known to the Iranians, as the Iranian conceptions are to the Indians. The ideas which are common to both nations may be most easily and satisfactorily explained by supposing them to have been developed in the ante-Vedic period." Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachf. vol ii. pp. 3, 4.

NOTE I.—*Page* 316.

"It is the common view that it was religious grounds which occasioned the separation of the Indians and Iranians. This opinion is supported by the fact that the names of several divinities which have a good signification among the one people, are used in a bad sense by the other, and vice versâ. Thus the Indian *deva* (god), has become a demon among the Iranians under the form of *daeva;* and Indra as Añdra has experienced a similar degradation. It must not be denied that these differences of conception may have had their foundation in a religious schism between the two nations; but this opinion should not be regarded as more than a probable conjecture, or held to be an historical fact, which follows from the linguistic data with the same certainty as the proposition that the Indian and Iranian nations had originally the same common ancestors. Other possible modes may be conceived, in which this opposition may have arisen; such as the internal development of the Iranian people itself. We have only to reflect on the case of the German religions, and their ancient gods, who, in presence of Christianity, came to be regarded as evil spirits. Dualism, with its rigorous consequences, was a power which operated in Iran in precisely the same manner as Christianity did in Germany. This dualism, which was a result of the particular development of the Iranian people, was compelled to make room in its system, in the best way it could, for those forms of religious belief which it found already in existence, and did not feel itself strong enough to discard. Many beings formerly regarded as gods may thus have been transformed into

evil spirits, because they stood in too strong a contrast to the new moral system. It appears to me that the opposition between the religious conceptions of the Indians and the Iranians grew up gradually, and not all at once, in consequence of a reform of Zarathustra, as some have assumed." Spiegel, as above, p. 3. On Añdra see the 5th vol. of this work, p. 121, and note 212 there.

NOTE J.—*Page* 327.

Ptolemy, Geogr. vi. 16, has the following notice of Ottorocorra:—

Ὄρη δὲ διέζωκεν τὴν Σηρικὴν, τά τε καλούμενα Ἄννιβα, κ. τ. λ. "The country of Serica is surrounded by mountain ranges," viz., the Annibian, the Auxacian, the Asmiræan, the Casian, the Thagurian, and that of Emodus.

Καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὀττοροκόρρας, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας ρξθ λστ καὶ ροστ λθ. "[Another of these ranges] is that called Ottorocorras, the limits of which extend from 169° 36′ to 176° 39′ east longitude."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς Σηρικῆς κατανέμονται ἔθνη Ἀνθρωποφαγῶν. "The northern parts of Serica are inhabited by the tribes of the Anthropophagi" (men-eaters). The Annibi, Sizyges, etc. follow.

Καὶ μεσημβρινώτατοι παρὰ τὰ Ἠμωδὰ καὶ Σηρικὰ ὄρη Ὀττοροκόρραι. "And southernmost of all, near the Emodian and Serican mountains, dwell the Ottorocorræ."

Among the cities of Serica is mentioned Ottorocorra, in east longitude 165° 37′ 15″.

Ottorocora is again alluded to by Ptolemy in book viii., in his remarks on the eighth map of Asia:—

Ἡ Ὀττοροκόρα τὴν μεγίστην ἡμέραν ἔχει ὡρῶν ιδγο ἔγγιστα· καὶ διέστηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς ἕω ὥραις ἑπτά. "The greatest length of the day in Ottorocora is nearly 14⅔ hours. It is distant from Alexandria seven hours towards the east."

See, for an account of Ptolemy's geographical system, Lassen's Ind. Ant. iii. 94, ff.; and for the position of Ottorocorra, the map at the end of the same volume.

NOTE K.—*Page* 334.

In regard to Airyanem Vaējo, Lassen observes (Ind. Ant. 1st ed., i., p. 526, ff.; 2nd ed. p. 634, ff.): "If we assume that the Arian Indians and the Iranians had originally the same common abodes, out of India, we should expect to find a tradition on the subject among the latter people rather than among the former. We have already said that the Indians have no longer any legend of this sort, though they imagine a sacred region and the seats of the gods to exist to the north of India.[12] The Iranians, on the contrary, clearly designate Airyanem Vaējo as the first created country: this they place in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands, in the region where the Oxus and Yaxartes take their rise. This country was afflicted with winter by Ahriman, and had only two months of summer, as if the tradition of a decrease in the earth's temperature still floated in the legend. We must suppose the cold highlands on the western slopes of Belurtag and Mustag to be meant," etc. [The next paragraph will be quoted in Note M.] The following remarks are added: "It suffices to have made it probable that the earliest abodes of the Indians and Iranians are to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands; but we may assert it to be more than probable that the Indians were derived from some part of the Iranian

[12] Lassen's idea, quoted in p. 337, that the "daily prospect of the snowy summits of the Himālaya, glittering far and wide over the plains," and the knowledge the Indians had of the "table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky," etc., would point out the "north as the abode of the gods, and the theatre of wonders," is confirmed by Homer's description of Olympus, Odyss. vi. 42, ff.:—

> Οὔλυμπόνδ᾽, ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
> Ἔμμεναι· οὔτ᾽ ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, οὔτε ποτ᾽ ὄμβρῳ
> Δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται· ἀλλὰ μάλ᾽ αἴθρη
> Πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ᾽ ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη.

> "Olympus, where they say the blessed gods
> Repose for ever in secure abodes:
> No stormy blasts athwart those summits sweep,
> No showers or snows bedew the sacred steep;
> But cloudless skies serene above are spread,
> And golden radiance plays around its head."

This, however, is the ideal Olympus. The mountain is styled ἀγάννιφος, "snowy," in Iliad i. 420, where the scholiast explains the discrepancy by saying that the epithet "snowy" applies only to the parts below the clouds, the summits being above the clouds, and exempt from rain or snow.

country. . . . . The means of arriving at a conclusion on this subject are uncertain; we can only form conjectures from a review of the later geographical positions occupied by these nations; and we are thus led to fix on the country lying between the Caspian sea and the highlands before mentioned, as having been most probably their ancient seats."

See also Ariana Antiqua, p. 134, quoted in Note M.

Baron von Bunsen also treats of the First Fargard of the Vendidad in one of the Appendices to his Bibel-werk, vol. v. pp. 315, 316. I abstract the following remarks:—"The sacred books of Zoroaster's followers begin with a description of the gradual diffusion of the Arian races of Bactria, as far as the Penjab. The account of these migrations of the Bactrian Arians is preceded by a remarkable reference to the primeval country in the north-east, from which their forefathers removed to their present abodes, in consequence of a great natural convulsion. It appears that that once perfect primeval country, Airyana, had originally a very mild climate, until the hostile deity created a powerful serpent, and snow; so that only two months of summer remained, while winter prevailed during ten. The country next occupied was Sogdiana; and the third Bactria. The progress of the Arians with their civilization is, as it were, the march of Ahura Mazda, the lord of spirits. This advance has an historical import, for all the countries which are specified form a continuous series, extending towards the south and west, and in all of them the Arian culture is discoverable, and even now (in part exclusively) predominant. The first-named country can be no other than that where the Oxus and Yaxartes take their rise; the table-land of Pamer, and Khokand. Assuming the genuineness and antiquity of the Bactrian tradition, we have here a testimony, deserving of the highest consideration, to the historical character of the Biblical tradition regarding the interruption of the life of the Asiatic population by a great natural convulsion confined to this locality. The country lying between the highlands just mentioned to the east, and the mountains of Caucasus and Ararat to the west, with the Caspian Sea in its centre, is regarded by scientific geologists, such as Humboldt and Murchison, as the very region where the most recent convulsions of nature have occurred. The snow and the prolonged winter alluded to in the oldest Arian tradition must have been the result of an upheaving of the land into mountains."

NOTE L.—*Page* 354.

In the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 108, Professor H. H. Wilson translates parts of a long passage in the Karṇa Parva, or viii[th] book of the Mahābh., verses 2025, ff., in which the manners of the Bāhīkas, Madras, Gāndhāras, Araṭṭas, and other tribes of the Panjāb are stigmatized as disgraceful. The same text is quoted and translated in the appendix to M. Troyer's Rājataranginī, vol. ii. pp. 549, ff. I will cite a few specimens from this passage. The country where the Bāhīkas dwell is thus defined (verses 2029, ff.): *Vahishkṛitāḥ Himavatā Gangayā cha vahishkṛitāḥ | Sarasvatyā Yamunayā Kurukshetreṇa chāpi ye | Panchānām Sindhu-shashṭānāṁ nadīnāṁ ye'antarāśritāḥ | Tān dharmavāhyān aśuchīn Bāhīkān parivarjayet* | "Let every one avoid those impure Bāhīkas, who are outcasts[13] from righteousness, who are shut out by the Himavat, the Gangā, the Sarasvatī, the Yamunā, and Kurukshetra, and who dwell between the five rivers which are associated with the Sindhu (Indus), as the sixth."

Their women are thus described (v. 2035): *Gāyanty athacha nṛityanti striyo mattāḥ vivāsasaḥ | Nagarāgāra-vapreshu vahir mālyānulepanāḥ*, etc. "The women, drunk and undressed, wearing garlands, and perfumed with unguents, sing and dance in public places, and on the ramparts of the town," etc.; with much more to the same effect.

Again (v. 2063, ff.): *Panchanadyo vahanty etāḥ yatra nissṛitya parvatāt | Āraṭṭāḥ nāma Bāhīkāḥ na teshv Āryo dvyaham vaset* | (v. 2068, ff.) *Āraṭṭāḥ nāma te deśāḥ Bāhīkaṁ nāma tajjalam | Brāhmaṇāpasadāḥ yatra tulyakālāḥ Prajāpateḥ | Vedo na teshāṁ vedyañcha yajño yajanam eva cha | Vrātyānāṁ dāsamīyānām annam devāḥ na bhunjate | Prasthalāḥ Madra-Gāndhārāḥ Āraṭṭāḥ nāmataḥ Khaśāḥ | Vasāti-Sindhusauvīrāḥ iti prāyo 'tikutsitāḥ* | "In the region where these five rivers flow after issuing from the mountains dwell the Bāhīkas, called Araṭṭas; let no Ārya dwell there even for two days. . . . The name

[13] These expressions, "dharma-*vahyān*" and "*vāhish*-kṛitāḥ," seem to contain a play on the name of the *Bāhīkas*. This tribe is mentioned in the S'. P. Br. i. 7, 3, 8, quoted above, p. 202; where it is said that they gave to Agni the name of Bhava. This reference to their recognition of one of the Indian gods, without any depreciatory allusion to their manners, may perhaps be held to indicate that the author of the Brāhmaṇa did not hold them in such low esteem as the speaker in the Mahābhārata. See also the quotations from Pāṇini in note 142, p. 354.

of the country is Araṭṭa; the water of it is called Bāhīka. There dwell degraded Brāhmans, contemporary with Prajāpati. They have no Veda, no Vedic ceremony, nor any sacrifice. The gods do not eat the food offered by Vrātyas and servile people. The Prasthalas, Madras, Gandhāras, Araṭṭas, Khaśas, Vasātis, and Sindhusauvīras are nearly all very contemptible." Again it is said of the same country (v. 2076, ff.) *Tatra vai Brāhmaṇo bhūtvā tato bhavati Kshatriyaḥ* | *Vaiśyaḥ S'ūdraścha Bāhīkas tato bhavati nāpitaḥ* | *Nāpitaścha tato bhūtvā punar bhavati Brāhmaṇaḥ* | *Dvijo bhūtvā cha tatraiva punar dāso 'bhijāyate* | *Bhavaty ekaḥ kule vipraḥ prasrishṭāḥ kāmachāriṇaḥ* | *Gāndhārāḥ Madrakāśchaiva Bāhīkāśchālpachetasaḥ.* "There a Bāhīka, born a Brāhman, becomes afterwards a Kshatriya, a Vaiśya, or a S'ūdra, and eventually a barber. And again the barber becomes a Brāhman. And once again the Brāhman there is born a slave. One Brāhman alone is born in a family among the senseless Gāndhāras, Madras, and Bāhīkas; the [other brothers] act as they will without restraint."

In the Rājataranginī, i. 307, ff., the Gāndhāra Brāhmans are thus characterized: — *Agrahārān jagṛihire Gāndhāra-brāhmaṇās tataḥ* | *samāna-śīlās tasyaiva dhruvaṁ te 'pi dvijādhamāḥ* | *Bhaginī-varga-sambhoga-nirlajjāḥ Mlechha-vaṁśajāḥ* | *Snushā-sangati-saktāścha dāra-dāḥ santi pāpinaḥ* | *Vastubhāvais tathā bhāṭya bhāryyā-vikraya-kāriṇaḥ* | *paropabhogitās teshāṁ nirlajjās tarhi yoshitaḥ* | "Then the Gāndhāra Brāhmans seized upon rent-free lands; for these most degraded of priests were of the same disposition as that [tyrannical prince.] These sinners, sprung from Mlechhas, are so shameless as to corrupt their own sisters and daughters-in-law, and to offer their wives to others, hiring and selling them, like commodities, for money. Their women being thus given up to strangers, are consequently shameless."

M. Troyer remarks (vol. ii. 317) that "the inhabitants of the Panjāb are in this passage of the Mahābh. named generally Bāhīkas and Araṭṭas, while the Gāndhāras are associated with the different tribes into which these inhabitants are subdivided, such as the Prasthalas and Madras, in such a way that it can scarcely be doubted that the former (the Gāndhāras) lived in their neighbourhood, diffused like them between the six rivers of that country. . . The Sindhu-Gāndhāras mentioned, Rāj. i. 66, lived on the Indus."

And Wilson says (As. Res. xv. 105): "According to the Mahābh.

the Gandhari are not only met with upon crossing the Setlej and proceeding towards the Airāvatī (Ravi), or where Strabo places Gandaris, but they are scattered along with other tribes throughout the Panjāb, as far as to the Indus, when we approach Gandaritis. According also to our text (Rāj. i. 66) one body of the Gandhari appear to occupy a division of their own on the last river, which is named after that very circumstance, Sindhu-Gandhar, and these may have extended westward as far as the modern Candahar." In his Vishṇu-Pur., 1st ed., p. 191, note 83, the same writer says of the Gāndhāras: "These are also a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus, and in the Panjāb, and well known to classical authors as the Gandarii and Gandaridæ." See also Rawlinson's Herodotus, iv. pp. 216, 217.

NOTE M.—*Page* 356.

Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 527, remarks as follows: "The opinion that the original seats of these [the Indian and Iranian] nations are to be sought here in [the extreme east of the Iranian highlands], receives great confirmation from the fact, that we find branches of these nations on both sides of this lofty range; for the ancient inhabitants of Casghar, Yarkhand, Khoten, Aksu, Turfān, and Khamil are Tājīks and speak Persian; it is from this point only that they are diffused towards the interior of upland Asia: so that their most powerful germ seems to have been planted on this range."

And Professor H. H. Wilson says: "Without extending the limits of India, however, too far to the north, there is no reason to doubt that the valleys of the Indian Caucasus were properly included within them, and that their inhabitants, as far as to the Pamer mountains and Badakhshān, were Indians, who may have been at first tributary to Persia, and afterwards subjects of some branches of the Greek race of Bactrian kings."—Ariana Antiqua, p. 134.

Badakhshān is the country on the banks of the Oxus near its sources, situated between lat. 36° and 38° north, and lying eastward from Balkh. Pamer lies in the same direction. See the map in Ariana Ant. p. 214, or that of Ancient India in Lassen's Ind. Ant., vol. ii.

NOTE N.—*Page* 396, *note* 83, *line* 6.

The passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa here referred to is as follows: xiii. 8, 1, 5: *Chatussrakti | devāś cha asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ dikshv aspardhanta | te devāḥ asurān sapatnān bhrātṛivyān digbhyo 'nudanta | te 'dikkāḥ parābhavan | tasmād yāḥ daivyaḥ prajāś chatussraktīni tāḥ śmaśānāni kurvate | atha yāḥ āsuryaḥ prāchyās tvad ye tvat parimaṇḍalāni | te 'nudanta hy enān digbhyaḥ.* "Four-cornered. The gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajāpati, contended in the regions. The gods expelled the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions" [conceived, apparently, as square, or angular]. "They, being regionless, were overcome. Hence, the people who are divine construct their graves four-cornered; whilst the Eastern people, who are akin to the Asuras, construct them round. For the gods drove the Asuras from the regions."

NOTE O.—*Page* 443.

A question of considerable interest here presents itself, on which it may be desirable to make a few remarks, viz., whether the indigenous or non-Arian races, who now speak Tamil, and the other languages of the southern group, are of the same family as those tribes who were brought into contact with the Āryas on their first arrival in India, and the remains of whose languages have survived in the vernacular dialects of northern Hindustan. The late Rev. Dr. J. Stevenson appears to have been of opinion that the non-Sanskrit element in the northern and southern vernacular dialects was originally to a great extent the same, and that the people who spoke them also belonged to one race. He remarks (Art. vii., Journ. Bombay Branch Royal As. Soc., No. XII. for 1849), "It is usually taken also for granted that between the non-Sanskrit parts of the northern and southern families of languages there is no bond of union, and that the only connecting link between the two is their Sanskrit element. It is to this last proposition that the writer of this paper demurs." He afterwards proceeds: "The theory which has suggested itself to the writer as the most probable is, that on the entrance of the tribes which now form the highest castes, those of the Brahmans, Kshattriyas and

Waisyas, into India, they found a rude aboriginal population, speaking a different language, having a different religion, and different customs and manners; that by arms and policy the original inhabitants were all subdued, and in great numbers expelled from the northern regions, those that remained mixing with the new population, and being first their slaves, and then forming the Sudra caste. The language of these aborigines is supposed to have belonged to the southern family of languages, the most perfect remaining type of which family is the Tamil." The fundamental affinities of the northern and southern languages are then discussed by Dr. Stevenson in various papers in the same journal, which appeared in the years 1851 and 1852. Dr. Caldwell, however, has expressed his dissent from Dr. Stevenson, both in regard to the affinities between the pre-Aryan races themselves of the north and of the south, and their original languages. (See pp. 38, ff. and 69, ff. of his Dravidian Grammar). In regard to the languages he remarks (p. 39, ff.) that the hypothesis of their affinity does not appear to him to have been established; as though various analogies in grammatical structure seem to connect the non-Sanskrit element in the north Indian idioms with the Scythian or Tartar tongues, yet that no special relationship of the former to the Dravidian languages has yet been proved to exist. If the non-Sanskrit element in the northern vernaculars (p. 40) had been Dravidian, we might have expected to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots such as the words for head, hand, foot, eye, ear; whereas Dr. Caldwell has been unable to discover any trustworthy analogy in words belonging to this class. Further research, he adds (p. 42), may possibly disclose the existence in the northern vernaculars of distinctively Dravidian forms and roots, but their presence does not yet appear to be proved; and he therefore concludes that the non-Sanskrit portion of the northern languages cannot safely be placed in the same class with the southern, except, perhaps, in the sense of both being Scythian rather than Arian. The same is the opinion of the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson, who in his "Notes on the Marāthī Language," in the preface to the second edition of Molesworth's Marāthī Dictionary (p. xxii), thus writes:—"The Scythian words in the Marāthī are, in general, like those of the other Turanian tongues, more in their forms than in their sounds. They differ very much

from the vocables of the Turanian languages in the south of India (the Canarese, Telugu, Tāmul, and Malayālam), the comparison of the dictionaries and grammars of which throws but little light on the Marāthī; and though they may be classed in the same tribe of languages, they evidently belong to a different family, to a different Turanian immigration into India, yet to be explored by the combined labours of the philologist and the ethnographer." Regarding the question whether the non-Arian tribes of the north and the south are themselves of the same stock, Dr. Caldwell remarks (p. 72) that the Dravidians may be confidently regarded as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest that entered from the north-west, but it is not so easy to determine whether they are the people whom the Arians found in possession, or whether they had been already expelled from the north by the irruption of another Scythian race. Without deciding this point positively, Dr. Caldwell is led by the apparent differences between the Dravidian languages and the aboriginal element in the northern vernaculars, to incline to the supposition that the Dravidian idioms belong to an older stage of Scythian speech; and if this view be correct, it seems to follow that the ancestors of the Scythian or non-Arian portion of the north Indian population must have immigrated into India at a later period than the Dravidians, and must have expelled the Dravidians from the greater portion of north India before they were themselves subjugated by a new race of Arian invaders from the north-west. In any case Dr. Caldwell is persuaded that it was not by the Arians that the Dravidians were expelled from northern India, and that, as no reference occurs either in Sanskrit or Dravidian tradition to any hostilities between these two races, their primitive relations could never have been otherwise than amicable. The pre-Arian Scythians, by whom Dr. Caldwell supposes that the Dravidians may have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not, he considers, to be confounded with the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, Doms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north, who, he supposes, may have retired into the forests before the Dravidians, or, like the Bhotan tribes, have entered into India from the north-east. The languages of these forest tribes Dr. Caldwell conceives to exhibit no affinity with the aboriginal element in the north-Indian vernaculars. We

have therefore, according to the views just summarily expounded, four separate strata, so to speak, of population in India:

First and earliest, the forest-tribes, such as the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, etc., etc., who may have entered India from the north-east.

Second. The Dravidians, who entered India from the north-west, and either advanced voluntarily towards their ultimate seats in the south of the peninsula, or were driven by the pressure of subsequent hordes, following them from the same direction.

Third. We have the race (alluded to at the end of the preceding head, No. 2) of Scythian or non-Arian immigrants from the north-west, whose language afterwards united with the Sanskrit to form the Prākṛit dialects of northern India.

Fourth. The Arian invaders who (after separating first from the other branches of the Indo-Germanic stock, and last of all from the Persian branch of that family) advanced into India, drove before them the non-Arian tribes who were previously in possession of the Panjāb and other parts of the north-west provinces of India, and after organizing Brahmanical communities, and founding Brahmanical institutions in the north, gradually diffused themselves to the east and south, and eventually extended their discipline, and to some degree their sacred language, to the remotest parts of the peninsula.

To whatever degree the details of this theory may be capable of proof, the general conclusion, at least, seems to be undeniable, viz., that the ancestors, both of the Dravidian nations, and of other non-Sanskritic tribes now occupying different parts of India, were in occupation of that country before the immigration of the Arians; and that the former could not (as is erroneously intimated in various Puranic and other traditions) have been descended from the latter. If the Dravidian Cholas, Keralas, etc., were originally Kshatriyas who fell away from Brahmanism, they must have been reconverted to that system; a double process of which there is no historical proof.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

i. *Page* 47, *lines* 21–24.

This remark seems to be incorrect. The Scholiast could not have meant to denote the Mahārāshṭrī, or any other of the provincial Prākṛits, by the term "*deśi*," as they all embraced a "tatsama" and a "tadbhava" element also. He could only, when using the word "*deśi*," have referred to the local element in each. See pp. 49, 427, ff.

ii. *Page* 249, *lines* 18, ff.

A leanred friend informs me that the Sanskrit *astu* does not correspond to the Latin *esto*, which in old Latin is *estod*; that the latter word coincides with such Sanskrit forms as *yajatāt*, etc.; and that the same holds good of the Greek *estō*. He also states that *santu* (Sanskrit) is not = *sunto* (Latin); and that the Greek *ēs*, *ēn*, do not correspond to the Sanskrit *āsīs*, *āsīt*, but to the Vedic *ās* (compare Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* 1, *as*; where Pāṇini vii. 3, 97, and R.V. x. 85, 7; x. 129, 3, and x. 149, 2, are referred to). Bopp. Comp. Gr., 2nd ed., ii. p. 410, gives the Sanskrit *āsam*, *āsīs*, *āsīt*, and *ās*, as corresponding to the Greek *ēn*, *ēs*, *ēs*, *ēn*; and Schleicher in the table in p. 710, of his Compendium, 3rd ed., gives *estō* (Gr.) and *esto* (Lat.) as corresponding to the Sanskrit *astu*, and *sunto* (Lat.) as coinciding with the Sanskrit *santu*.

iii. *Page* 250, *line* 14.

Darś, *dadarśa*, correspond both in sense and sound to *derkō*, *dedorka*.

iv. *Page* 251, *lines* 25–27.

Instead of the Sanskrit *navatā*, *samatā*, *laghutā*, such Vedic forms as *arishṭatāti*, *devatāti*, *sarvatāti*, should have been given as the more exact equivalents of the Zend, Greek, and Latin words there quoted. See Bopp's Comp. Grammar, 2nd ed., vol. iii. pp. 218 (where the Latin *senecta*, *juventa*, *vindicta*, are specified as the forms corresponding to the

Sanskrit *navatā*, etc.), and 221. See also Schleicher's Compendium, 3rd ed., p. 425. f.

v. *Page* 251, *lines* 28, ff.

Compare with the Sanskrit and Greek forms in *tis* and *sis*, the Latin *mens, mentis; ars, artis; fors, fortis;* and *vestis*. See Schleicher's Compendium, p. 437.

vi. *Page* 253.

In the appendix to his edition of Ujjvaladatta, Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out a number of forms which correspond in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.

vii. *Page* 264, *line* 1; and 289, *line* 6, *and note* 66.

See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* 1, *rudh*; where *rodhati* in R.V. viii. 43, 6, and *vi rodhat*, in R.V. i. 67, 5 (9), are derived from *rudh*, the old form of *ruh*, and are explained in the sense of "growing." See also Benfey's translation of the latter passage in Orient und Occident, i. 596.

viii. *Page* 347, *lines* 8, ff; 348, *lines* 25, ff., *and* 350, f.

Compare note 12 in the first preface above, p. xxv.

ix. *Page* 393, *line* 19; 395, *line* 21; 396, *line* 15; *and* 418, *note* 124.

The points referred to in these passages are further illustrated by the following lines from the Mahābhārata, ii. 1169, ff.: *Tataḥ S'ūrpārakam̃ chaiva Tālākaṭam athāpi cha | vaśe chakre mahātejāḥ Daṇḍakām̃ś cha mahābalaḥ* | 1170 | *Sāgara-dvīpa-vāsām̃ś cha nṛipatīn Mlechha-yoni-jān | Nishādān purushādām̃ś cha Karṇaprāvaraṇān api* | 1171 | *Ye cha Kālamukhāḥ nāma nara-rākshasa-yonayaḥ | kṛitsnam̃ Koligirim̃ chaiva Surabhīpattanam̃ tathā* | . . . . 1173 | *Ekapādām̃ś cha purushān Kerakān vana-vāsinaḥ | nagarīm̃ Sanjayantīm̃ cha pāshaṇḍam̃ Karahāṭakam* | 1175 | *Dūtair eva vaśe chakre-* | 1176 | *Tataḥ kachchha-gato dhīmān dūtān Mādravatī-sutaḥ* | 1177 | *Preshayāmāsa rājendra Paulastyāya mahātmane | Vibhīshaṇāya dharmātmā prīti-pūrvam arindama* | 1178 | *S'a chāsya pratijagrāha śāsanam prīti-pūrvakam* | "1169. Then the glorious and mighty warrior reduced to subjection S'ūrpāraka, Tālākaṭa, the Daṇḍakas, (1170) the kings

of Mlechha race, who inhabited the islands of the ocean, the Nishādas, the men-eaters, the Karṇaprāvaraṇas, [men whose ears served them for coverings], (1171) the Kālamukhas sprung from men and Rākshasas, the whole of Kolagiri and Surabhīpattana . . . . 1173. He then by his heralds subjected the Kerakas, one-footed men living in forests, the city Sanjayantī, and the wicked Karahāṭaka . . . 1176. Then the wise and righteous son of Mādravatī, arrived in the low-lying tract, sent messengers amicably to the great son of Pulastya, Vibhīshaṇa, who received his commands in the same spirit." In verse 1837, the "man-eating Romakas," and in v. 1875, the Karṇaprāvaraṇas, are again mentioned.

The monkeys despatched to seek for Sītā are desired to visit among other countries those of the following races:—Rāmayaṇa iv., 40, 26, ff. (Bombay ed., =iv. 40, 29, ff., Gorr. ed.): *Karṇaprāvaraṇāṁś chaiva tathā chāpy Oshṭhakarṇakāḥ | Ghoralohamukhāś chaiva javanāś chaika-pādakāḥ | akshayāḥ balavantaś cha tathaiva purushādakāḥ | Kirātāś tīkshṇachūḍāś cha hemābhāḥ priya-darśanāḥ | āma-mīnāśanāś chāpi Kirātāḥ dvīpavāsinaḥ | antarjalacharāḥ ghorāḥ naravyāghrāḥ iti smṛitāḥ.* "The Kārṇaprāvaraṇas (men whose ears served for coverings), the Oshṭhakarṇakas (people whose ears extended to their lips), the dreadful Lohamukhas (iron-faced-men), swift, and one-footed, undecaying, strong, men-eaters (a kind of Rākshasas according to the commentator), the Kirātās, with sharp-pointed hair-knots, gold-coloured, and pleasant to behold; and the dreadful Kirātas, who are islanders, and eat raw fish, live in the waters, and are men-tigers (men below and tigers above, according to the commentator)." One of the Rākshasīs mentioned in the Mahābh. iii. 6137, is called ekapādā, "the one-footed."

x. *Page* 416, *line* 4.

The Rākshasas are in other places also described as following Brahmanical observances. Thus in the sequel of the story of Gautama (from the Mahābhārata xii. 6293, ff.), above referred to in pp. 365, f., and 418, note 124,—which is told as an illustration of ingratitude,—it is narrated that in consequence of the remonstrances of the other Brāhman, the hero of the story, after pleading poverty as an excuse for his mode of life, left the Dasyu village in which he had been living,

and went towards the ocean. While he is halting in a delightful forest under a tree, a crane, called Rājadharman, son of Kaśyapa and the goddess Dākshāyaṇī, and a friend of Brahmā, arrives in the evening from the heaven of that deity. Gautama, being hungry and thirsty, is tempted to kill and eat him. The bird, however, welcomes him as a guest to his house, and entertains him with the utmost kindness and hospitality. Gautama then, in answer to an inquiry of his host, explains that he is indigent, and on his way to the sea-coast in search of the means of subsistence. The bird promises to procure him riches, and in the morning sends him to a friend of his own, a Rākshasa king, called Virūpaksha, who lived not far off, and who, he said, would fulfil all Gautama's aspirations (v. 6356). The Brāhman accordingly proceeds to the court of the Rākshasa chief, where he is eagerly welcomed. In answer to the Rākshasa's questions, he avows that he has married a Śūdra woman as his second wife (*punarbhū*). Notwithstanding this confession, he is invited to a feast to be given to a thousand learned Brāhmans whom the Rākshasa chief was to entertain on that day (vv. 6376, ff.) These Brāhmans were all well fed, received large presents of jewels, and were assured that on that day they would receive no molestation from any Rākshasas (vv. 6392, f.). Gautama, too, got his share of gold, which weighed so heavily, that he could scarcely carry it away to his place of sojourn in the forest, where he sat down wearied and hungry. He is, however, welcomed and entertained by the crane Rājadharman, but resolves to slay his host, that he may have somewhat to eat on the way home (v. 6401). He accordingly kills the crane while asleep, plucks and roasts him (v. 6403), and sets out on his journey homeward. After a time, the Rākshasa king is apprehensive that something may have befallen his friend Rājadharman, who had not come to visit him as usual, and sends to ascertain the cause of his absence (6407, ff.). The bird's skeleton is discovered, and Gautama is pursued and brought to the Rākshasa king, who, with his ministers and purohitas, weeps at the sight of his friend's remains (v. 6418); and commands the malefactor to be slain and his flesh given to the Rākshasas to eat. They, however, beg to decline eating the flesh of such a sinner, and say it should be given to the Dasyus. But even the latter refuse to eat it. Both Rājadharman and Gautama are, however, afterwards restored to life.

The latter returns to his old haunts, and begets wicked sons on this S'ūdra woman, his second wife. He is in consequence cursed by the gods, and doomed to hell (vv. 6445, ff.).

xi. *Page* 343, *lines* 8 *and* 19.

The number of the periodical called "Nature," for 14th Sept., 1871, contains an article by Prof. Max Müller, on Major-General Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," in which R.V. v. 53, 9, and x. 75, 6, are translated, and some remarks on the Kubhā, Krumu, and Gomatī rivers are added.

xii. *Page* 439, *line* 14.

As this sheet is passing through the press, I find that it is stated by a writer in the "Cornhill Magazine" for November, 1871, p. 570, f., that Dr. Caldwell is wrong in asserting that the Dravidians are a Turanian people; and that in reality they "represent lineally an offshoot from the great parent stock which left the fatherland long before Sanskrit was grown into vigour, and about the same period that the Teutonic wave flowed northwards into Europe. There is scarcely a Dravidian root which does not appear in Gothic, Anglosaxon, or Icelandic." As at present informed, I am unable to say whether any detailed proof of these assertions has been, or can be, adduced.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS.

I REPRINT here two metrical translations from Indian authors, which have already been published, though they are but very slightly connected with the other contents of this volume.

I. *Asita and Buddha, or the Indian Simeon.*

In the Lalita Vistara—a legendary history in prose and verse of the life of Buddha, the great Indian Saint, and founder of the religion which bears his name—it is related that a Ṛishi, or inspired sage, named Asita, who dwelt on the skirts of the Himālaya mountains, became informed, by the occurrence of a variety of portents, of the birth of the future lawgiver, as the son of King S'uddhōdana, in the city of Kapilavastu, in Northern India, and went to pay his homage to the infant. I have tried to reproduce the legend in the following verses. The similarity of some of the incidents to portions of the narrative in St. Luke ii. 25, ff., will strike the reader.

I may mention that the Buddhist books speak also of earlier Buddhas, that the word means "the enlightened," or "the intelligent," and that Buddha also bore the appellations of Gautama, and of S'ākyasinha, and S'ākyamuni—i.e., the lion, and the devotee, of the tribe of the S'ākyas, to which he belonged.

That I have not at all exaggerated the expressions in the text which speak of Buddha as a deliverer or redeemer, or assimilated his character more than was justifiable to the Christian conception of a Saviour, will be clear to any one who can examine the original for himself. In a passage quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 509, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, a renowned Brahmanical opponent of the Buddhists, while charging Buddha with presumption and transgression of the rules of his caste in assuming the functions of a religious teacher (with which, as belonging to the Kshatriya, and not to the Brahmanical, class, he had no right to interfere), ascribes to him these words—"Let all the evils (or sins) flowing from the corruption of the Kali

age" (the fourth, or most degenerate, age of the world) "fall upon me; but let the world be redeemed!" If we were to judge from this passage, it might seem that the character of a vicarious redeemer was claimed by, or at least ascribed to, Buddha. I am informed by Mr. R. C. Childers, however, that in his opinion the idea of Buddha's having suffered vicariously for the sins of men is foreign to Buddhism, and indeed, opposed to the whole spirit and tendency of the system. According to him the Buddhist idea is simply this, that Buddha voluntarily underwent great sufferings and privations during a long course of probation, in order that he might attain the truth, and teach it to men, and so redeem them from worldly existence.

Another valued correspondent, Professor E. B. Cowell, is unable to think that the sentiment ascribed to Buddha by Kumārila is foreign to his system, as it is thoroughly in accordance with the idea of the six *pāramitas*. But he does not understand it as implying any theological notion of vicarious atonement, but rather the enthusiastic utterance of highly-strung moral sympathy and charity; and would compare it with St. Paul's words in Romans ix. 3, and explain it in just the same way as, he thinks, Chrysostom does that verse. He further refers to the existence of numerous Buddhist stories in the Kathāsaritsāgara, among which is one from lvi. 153, viz., the story of the disobedient son with a red-hot iron wheel on his head, who says:—*Pāpino 'nye 'pi* [vi?] *muchyantām pṛithvyām tat-pātakair api* | *ā pāpakshayam etad me chakram bhrāmyatu mūrdhani* | "Let other sinners on earth be freed from their sins; and until the removal of [their] sin let this wheel turn round upon my head." In either case it is only a wish, and it is not pretended that it really had, or ever could have, any effect on other men. It only expresses a perfection of charity. The same idea (borrowed, as Mr. Cowell supposes, from Buddha) occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāna, ix. ch. 21. The "immortal word" (*amṛitaṁ vachaḥ*, v. 11) contained in the 12th verse, and ascribed to the pious and benevolent king Rantideva,—who himself endured hunger and thirst to relieve others,—is as follows: *Na kāmaye 'haṁ gatim īśvarāt parām ashṭarddhi-yuktām apunarbhavaṁ vā* | *ārtim prapadye 'khila-dehabhājām antaḥsthito yena bhavanty aduḥkhāḥ* | "I desire not from God that highest destiny which is attended with the eight perfections, nor do I ask to be exempted from future births. I seek to live within all cor-

poreal beings, and endure their pains, that so they may be freed from suffering." On this the commentator annotates thus: *Para-duḥkhā-sahishṇutayā sarveshām̃ duḥkham̃ svayam bhoktum āśāste* | . . . . . "*akhiladeha-bhājām ārtim̃*" *duḥkham̃ tat-tad-bhoktṛi-rūpeṇa* "*antaḥ-sthitaḥ*" *sann aham* "*prapadye*" *prāpnuyām ity evam̃ kāmaye* |) .

On Himālaya's lonely steep
There lived of old a holy sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bent with age,
Inured to meditation deep.

He—when great Buddha had been born,
The glory of the Sākya race,
Endowed with every holy grace,
To save the suffering world forlorn—

Beheld strange portents, signs which taught
The wise that that auspicious time
Had witnessed some event sublime,
With universal blessing fraught.

The sky with joyful gods was thronged:
He heard their voice with glad acclaim
Resounding loudly Buddha's name,
While echoes clear their shouts prolonged.

The cause exploring, far and wide
The sage's vision ranged; with awe
Within a cradle laid he saw
Far off the babe, the Sākyas' pride.

With longing seized this child to view
At hand, and clasp, and homage pay,
Athwart the sky he took his way
By magic art, and swan-like flew;

And came to King Suddhōdan's gates,
And entrance craved—"Go, royal page,
And tell thy lord an ancient sage
To see the King permission waits."

The page obeyed, and joined his hands
Before the prince, and said—"A sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bowed with age,
Before the gate, my sovereign, stands,

"And humbly asks to see the King."
To whom Suddhōdan cried—"We greet
All such with joy; with honour meet
The holy man before us bring."

The saint beside the monarch stood,
And spake his blessing—"Thine be health,
With length of life, and might, and wealth;
And ever seek thy people's good."

With all due forms, and meet respect,
The King received the holy man,
And bade him sit; and then began—
"Great sage, I do not recollect

"That I thy venerable face
Have ever seen before; allow
That I inquire what brings thee now
From thy far-distant dwelling-place."

"To see thy babe," the saint replies,
"I come from Himālaya's steeps."
The king rejoined—"My infant sleeps;
A moment wait until he rise."

"Such great ones ne'er," the Ṛishi spake,
"In torpor long their senses steep,
Nor softly love luxurious sleep;
The infant Prince will soon awake."

The wondrous child, alert to rise,
At will his slumbers light dispelled.
His father's arms the infant held
Before the sage's longing eyes.

The babe beholding, passing bright,
More glorious than the race divine,
And marked with every noble sign,[14]
The saint was whelmed with deep delight;

And crying—"Lo! an infant graced
With every charm of form I greet!"
He fell before the Buddha's feet,
With fingers joined, and round him paced[15]

Next round the babe his arms he wound,
And "One," he said, "of two careers
Of fame awaits in coming years
The child in whom these signs are found.

[14] Certain corporeal marks are supposed by Indian writers to indicate the future greatness of those children in whom they appear. Of these, thirty-two primary, and eighty secondary, marks are referred to in the original as being visible on Buddha's person.

[15] The word here imperfectly translated, means, according to Professor H. H. Wilson's Dictionary, "reverential salutation, by circumambulating a person or object, keeping the right side towards them."

"If such an one at home abide,
He shall become a King, whose sway
Supreme a mighty arm'd array
On earth shall stablish far and wide.

"If, spurning worldly pomp as vain,
He choose to lead a tranquil life,
And wander forth from home and wife,
He then a Buddha's rank shall gain."

He spoke, and on the infant gazed,
When tears suffused his aged eyes;
His bosom heaved with heavy sighs;
Then King Suddhōdan asked, amazed—

"Say, holy man, what makes thee weep,
And deeply sigh? Does any fate
Malign the royal child await?
May heavenly powers my infant keep!"

"For thy fair infant's weal no fears
Disturb me, King," the Rishi cried;
"No ill can such a child betide:
My own sad lot commands my tears.

"In every grace complete, thy son
Of truth shall perfect insight[16] gain,
And far sublimer fame attain
Than ever lawgiver has won.

"He such a Wheel[17] of sacred lore
Shall speed on earth to roll, as yet
Hath never been in motion set
By priest, or sage, or god of yore.

"The world of men and gods to bless,
The way of rest and peace to teach,
A holy law thy son shall preach—
A law of stainless righteousness.

"By him shall suffering men be freed
From weakness, sickness, pain and grief;
From all the ills shall find relief
Which hatred, love, illusion, breed.

"His hand shall loose the chains of all
Who groan in fleshly bonds confined;
With healing touch the wounds shall bind
Of those whom pain's sharp arrows gall.

"His words of power shall put to flight
The dull array of leaden clouds
Which helpless mortals' vision shrouds,
And clear their intellectual sight.

"By him shall men who, now untaught,
In devious paths of error stray,
Be led to find a perfect way—
To final calm[18] at last be brought.

"But once, O King, in many years,
The figtree[19] somewhere flowers perhaps;
So after countless ages' lapse,
A Buddha once on earth appears.

"And now, at length, this blessed time
Has come: for he who cradled lies
An infant there before thine eyes
Shall be a Buddha in his prime.

"Full, perfect, insight gaining, he
Shall rescue endless myriads tost
On life's rough ocean waves, and lost,
And grant them immortality.[20]

"But I am old, and frail, and worn;
I shall not live the day to see
When this thy wondrous child shall free
From woe the suffering world forlorn.

"'Tis this mine own unhappy fate
Which bids me mourn, and weep, and sigh;
The Buddha's triumph now is nigh,
But ah! for me it comes too late!"

When thus the aged saint, inspired,
Had all the infant's greatness told,
The King his wondrous son extolled,
And sang, with pious ardour fired—

"Thee, child, th' immortals worship all,
The great Physician, born to cure
All ills that hapless men endure;
I, too, before thee prostrate fall."

And now—his errand done—the sage,
Dismissed with gifts, and honour due,
Athwart the æther swan-like flew,
And reached again his hermitage.

16 The term here translated "insight" is derived from the same root as the word "Buddha," and means "intelligence," or "enlightenment."

17 The term thus rendered, *dharmachakra*, expresses a somewhat singular figure. It denotes the "wheel of the law," or the "wheel of righteousness," or the "wheel of religion."

18 The word in the original is *nirvāṇa*, a term of which the sense is disputed—some scholars esteeming it to mean absolute annihilation; others explaining it as the extinction of passion, the attainment of perfect dispassion. Mr. Childers informs me that he considers *nirvāṇa* to signify active bliss on earth for a brief period, followed (upon death) by total annihilation. See a letter from him on this subject in No. 62 of "Trübner's Literary Record" for October, 1870, p. 27.

19 The tree referred to in the original is the Udumbara, the *Ficus glomerata*.

20 *Amrite cha pratishṭhāpayishyati.*

II. *Rāvaṇa and Vedavatī.*

The Rāmāyaṇa, as is well known to students of Indian literature, relates the adventures of Rāma, son of the King of Ayodhyā (Oude), who, in consequence of a domestic intrigue, became an exile from his country, and wandered about the southern regions of India in company with his brother Lakshmaṇa and his wife Sītā. Sītā was carried off by Rāvaṇa, King of the Rākshasas (demons or goblins), to his capital Lankā, in the island of Ceylon. Ultimately, Rāvaṇa was slain in battle by Rāma, who (according, at least, to the poem in its existing, and perhaps interpolated, form) was an incarnation of the supreme god Vishṇu, and Sītā was rescued. Rāma returned to Ayodhyā after his father's death, and succeeded him on the throne. The legend now freely translated is taken from the supplementary book of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 17, and relates a passage in the earlier life of Rāvaṇa. Vedavatī, the heroine of the story, agreeably to the Indian theory of the transmigration of souls, was subsequently re-born in the form of Sītā.

Where, clothed in everlasting snow,
Himālay's giant peaks arise
Against the ambient azure skies,
And bright as molten silver glow—
While, far beneath, the solitudes
Are green with Devadāru [21] woods—

It chanced that once the demon lord
Who ruled in Lankā's isle afar,
And, mounted on his airy car,
Those northern tracts sublime explored,
Alighted there upon the ground,
And roamed the forests wild around.

And, lo, he saw a maiden, fair
And brilliant as a goddess, clad
In garb ascetic, rude and sad,
Deform with squalid matted hair:
And all at once with passion fired,
The damsel's secret thus inquired:

"How is it, tell me, lovely maid—
Whose virgin charms subdue the heart,
Whose form with every grace of art
In gold and gems should be arrayed—
Thou dost this doleful garb assume,
Which ill beseems thy youthful bloom?

"Whose daughter art thou? What hath led
Thy choice to such a life austere?
O blest were he whom, lady dear
And beauteous, thou should'st deign to wed."
Him, duly honoured as a guest,
The fair ascetic thus addressed:

"My father was a holy sage;
From him I sprang as, calm, and dead
To earthly aims and joys, he read
Th' eternal Veda's hallowed page:
The voice which spoke within the Book
In me a form corporeal took.

"The gods, enamoured, all aspired
The honour of my hand to gain:
Their ardent pleas were urged in vain;
A loftier aim my father fired;
For he had vowed, with lawful pride,
I could be only Vishṇu's bride.

"Incensed at his rejection, one
Among the suitors, proud but base,
The chieftain of the Daitya race, [22]
Avenged the slight the sage had shown:
By night he nigh my father crept,
And vilely slew him while he slept.

[21] *Pinus devadaru*, which signifies, the "divine tree;" the Deodar, a magnificent tree, both n height and girth.

[22] The Daityas in character correspond with the Titans of the Greeks.

"That I my sire's high aim may gain,
  And win great Vishnu for my lord,
  I lead this life, by thee abhorred,
Of hard austerity and pain;
And, till the god himself impart,
I wed his image in my heart.

"I know thee, Rāvan, who thou art:
  By virtue of this life austere
  All hidden things to me are clear;
I bid thee hence; avaunt, depart!"
But by the maiden's charms subdued,
The demon still his suit pursued.

"Proud art thou, lady fair, whose soul
  So high aspires; but such sublime
  Devotion suits not well thy prime,
Nor stern and painful self-control.
The old may so their days employ;
But thou should'st live for love and joy.

"I am the lord of Lankā's isle;
  Thy peerless charms my bosom fire;
  If thou wilt crown my heart's desire,
And ever on me sweetly smile,
Then thou, my favoured queen, shalt know
The bliss that power and wealth bestow.

"And who is Vishnu, pray, declare,
  Whose form thy fancy paints so bright?
  Can he in prowess, grandeur, might,
And magic gifts, with me compare?
A phantom vain no longer chase,
The offer of my love embrace."

To whom the holy maid replied—
  "Presumptuous fiend, thy boast is loud:
  No voice but thine, profanely proud,
Hath ever Vishnu's might defied.
Heaven, earth, and hell, all own him lord—
By all their hosts and powers adored."

She spake; the fiend with rage was fired:
  The damsel's hair he rudely grasped;
  Thus by his hated fingers clasped,
She tore her locks, and cried, inspired—
"This insult I may not survive:
I enter now this fire, alive.

"Yet though I die, I once again
  Shall live to recompense this wrong.
  And though my vengeance slumber long,
My pious works their meed shall gain,
And I shall re-appear on earth,
A virgin fair of royal birth."

She ceased. With fixed resolve to die,
  The fire she entered, calm, elate;
  When all at once, to celebrate
This deed heroic, from the sky
There fell a shower of fragrant flowers,
Rained down by gods from heavenly bowers.

Nor was this maid's prediction vain.
  Attaining all her heart's desire,
As Sītā she was born again,
  The daughter of a royal sire,
And won great Rāma for her lord,
Whom men as Vishnu's Self adored.

And now the demon-king profane,
  Whose coming doom had been foretold
  By that insulted maid of old,
By Rāma's hand in fight was slain.
For how could hellish power withstand
Incarnate Vishnu's murderous brand?

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